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# **The Keepers' Trade: Skills, Attributes and the Pursuit of the Hotel Trade in Late Nineteenth-Century Guelph**

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by  
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## Abstract

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This study explores the nineteenth-century commercial hotel and its associated business from the perspective of the proprietor. Five dominant themes emerge from the study. The keeper possessed business, inter-personal and political **skills** that contributed to the success of the enterprise. Personal skills allowed the keeper to maintain **respectability**, both within the trade and within the community. Hotelkeepers pursued a **wealth** accumulation strategy that rested primarily upon their business skills. **Family** participation contributed to the running of the hotel and the success of the business. Furthermore, the predominance of those of **Irish** ethnicity amongst keepers suggests that there were ethnic and religious dimensions to the trade.

Evidence drawn largely from primary sources such as record books, invoices, receipts, business directories and census records allows for the reconstruction of the business structure and operation of two Guelph area hotels during this period.

Cette étude explore l'hôtel commercial de XIXe siècle et ses affaires associées de la perspective du propriétaire. Cinq thèmes dominants émergent de l'étude. L'hôtelier a possédé les **qualifications** d'affaires, interpersonnelles et politiques qui ont contribué au succès ou à l'échec de l'entreprise. Les qualifications personnelles ont permis au hôtelier de maintenir la **respectabilité**, dans le commerce et au sein de la communauté. Hôteliers a poursuivi une stratégie d'accumulation de **richesse** qui s'est reposée principalement sur leurs qualifications d'affaires. La participation de **famille** a contribué au fonctionnement de l'hôtel et le succès des affaires. En outre, la prédominance de ceux de l'appartenance ethnique **irlandaise** parmi des hôteliers suggère qu'il y ait eu des dimensions ethniques et religieuses au commerce.

Démontrez tiré en grande partie des sources primaires, telles que les livres comptables, des factures, reçus, les annuaires commerciaux et les disques de recensement tiennent compte de la reconstruction de la structure d'affaires et de l'opération de deux hôtels de région de Guelph pendant cette période.

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# Table of Contents

	Abstract	i
	Acknowledgements	ii
	Table of Contents	iii
	List of Abbreviations	iv
	List of Tables	v
	List of Figures	vi
	List of Appendices	vii
<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>The View from Outside: Historiographic Survey</b>	<b>14</b>
	Taverns, Inns and Hotels	
	Drink and Temperance in Ontario	
	Trades, Professions and Respectability	
<b>3</b>	<b>The View from Below: Licensing, Legislation and the Hotelkeeper</b>	<b>25</b>
	Introduction	
	The Licensing Process	
	History of Liquor Licensing in Ontario	
	Political Organization	
<b>4</b>	<b>The View from the Street: The Geography of the Hotel</b>	<b>48</b>
	Introduction	
	Proliferation	
	Persistence and Mobility	
	Respectability	
<b>5</b>	<b>The View from Behind the Front Desk: The Business of the Hotel</b>	<b>84</b>
	Introduction	
	Revenues and Expenses	
	Patrons	
	Ownership and Leasing	
<b>6</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>118</b>
	Appendices	124
	Select Bibliography	141

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>GPLA</b>	Guelph Public Library Archives
<b>GDM</b>	Guelph Daily Mercury
<b>GDH</b>	Guelph Daily Herald
<b>GHS</b>	Guelph Historical Society
<b>GCM</b>	Guelph Civic Museum
<b>LROG</b>	Land Registry Office for the County of Wellington
<b>NAC</b>	National Archives of Canada
<b>UGA</b>	University of Guelph McLaughlin Archives

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## List of Tables

<b>Table 1</b>	Plebiscite Results on Prohibition in Guelph, 1885, 1889
<b>Table 2</b>	Hotels per Capita, Guelph, 1851-1916
<b>Table 3</b>	Guelph Hotel Inspections, 1869
<b>Table 4</b>	Census Data for Hotelkeepers, Ontario and Guelph, 1871, 1881
<b>Table 5</b>	Guelph Keepers Tracked for Persistence in Hotel Trade and at the Same Hotel, 1851-1919
<b>Table 6</b>	Estimated Income Statements, Western and American Hotels, 1890, 1895, 1914
<b>Table 7</b>	Occupational Data from Business Directory, 1889
<b>Table 8</b>	Distance of Guest Residence from Guelph, American Hotel, 1914-16
<b>Table 9</b>	Draft Beer Purchases, American Hotel, 1914

---

## List of Figures

- Figure 1** Photographs of Albion Hotel, 1880, 2003  
**Figure 2** McAteer Family Tree  
**Figure 3** Photographs of *New Western Hotel*, 1905, 2003  
**Figure 4** Photograph of John McAteer, 1907  
**Figure 5** Photographs of American Hotel, 1880, 1905  
**Figure 6** Licensed Hotels in Guelph, 1851-1921  
**Figure 7** Photographs of the New Hotels in Guelph, 1883  
**Figure 8** Transportation and Hotels, Guelph within Wellington County, 1851  
**Figure 9** Map of Guelph Hotels, 1851-1931  
**Figure 10** Guelph Hotel Topology, 1869  
**Figure 11** Religious Affiliations of Keepers, Guelph, 1871, 1881 Censuses  
**Figure 12** Ethnic Origins of Keepers, Guelph, 1871, 1881 Censuses  
**Figure 13** Influence of Liquor Trade on Guelph City Council, 1856-1916  
**Figure 14** Photograph of John McAteer, circa 1885  
**Figure 15** Sources of Revenue at a Commercial Hotel  
**Figure 16** Photographs of Restaurant, American Hotel, 1905, Unidentified Guelph bar room, c1900.  
**Figure 17** Chart of Guelph Hotel Room Composition, 1869  
**Figure 18** Numbers of Hotel Guests versus Revenue, American Hotel, 1914-16

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## List of Appendices

<b>Appendix 1</b>	Guelph Hotelkeeper Summary Data
<b>Appendix 2</b>	Business Duration of Guelph Hotels, 1851-1921
<b>Appendix 3</b>	Canadian Liquor Licensing Legislative History
<b>Appendix 4</b>	Census Analysis & Methodology, 1871,1881
<b>Appendix 5</b>	Analysis of Guests, American Hotel, 1914-16
<b>Appendix 6</b>	Guelph Railway Schedules, 1863-1896
<b>Appendix 7</b>	Methodology Employed to Analyze Manuscript Financial Records
<b>Appendix 8</b>	Estimated Expenses, Western and American Hotels, 1895, 1914

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

*Few words for our Town Innkeepers,  
I hope you won't get tight,  
Carry out your business decently from morning until night,  
So as our visitors by the thousands will return and have to say  
They've been treated in our town of Guelph  
in a kind and friendly way.*<sup>1</sup>

- James Gay, Guelph, 1875.

Within these few simple lines, local poet James Gay, a hotelkeeper himself, captured the ambivalence of the community towards the hotelkeeper's trade. While the Victorian city relied on the keeper's services, those same services challenged the order and respectability of the community. The poet warned local keepers to manage their own affairs amidst a trade that its opponents cast as the root of all social evils. Yet, he also expressed a hope that the keeper could provide a convivial atmosphere that would reflect positively on the community as a whole.

Volatile business cycles, fickle markets and a rapidly changing economy challenged the ability of the hotelkeeper attempting to run a profitable business. However, to succeed, the keeper had to contend with much more. The late nineteenth-century hotelkeeper sought a livelihood from a business that was the subject of this ongoing social contest. He faced

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<sup>1</sup> GDM, Guelph, 2 September 1875.

additional challenges from Victorian moral rectitude and the stringent demands of temperance movements. Temperance advocates cast the hotel as the site of illicit assignations, bar room brawls and drunken licentiousness, and as a result, it was subject to scrutiny by police and liquor license inspectors. Hotelkeeping demanded specialized skills on the part of the proprietor to negotiate the turbulent waters of moral crusaders and the close attention of government license inspectors and still turn a profit. The social side of the hotel trade recognized that many keepers were mothers and fathers, members of a wider community, raising families and seeking to maintain respectability within the community. Nonetheless, while under attack on multiple fronts, hotels continued to thrive and prosper, which allowed their keepers to accumulate significant wealth. Throughout the Victorian era, the community continued to patronize the hotel, *even during local prohibition*, and demanded new functions such as a place to conduct business, both private and public. Some hotelkeepers succumbed to business pressures, but many met the challenge and were rewarded for their success in adapting to change and managing risk. They developed specialized skills and capitalized on the opportunities that the trade offered.

This study presents a social, cultural and economic discussion of the circumstances of hotelkeeping from the perspective of the proprietor. It will demonstrate that the skilled practitioner dealt with the uncertainty of ever-changing regulation, relied upon family for support and success, and participated in a trade that was markedly skewed towards those of Irish origin. This study is informed by the story of the McAteer family of Guelph, Ontario – a family intimately involved in the hotel trade during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. Observations and questions raised by their story suggest industry-wide trends and help to ground discussion in the real-life decisions faced by individuals and families within the occupation of hotelkeeper and as proprietors of a small business.

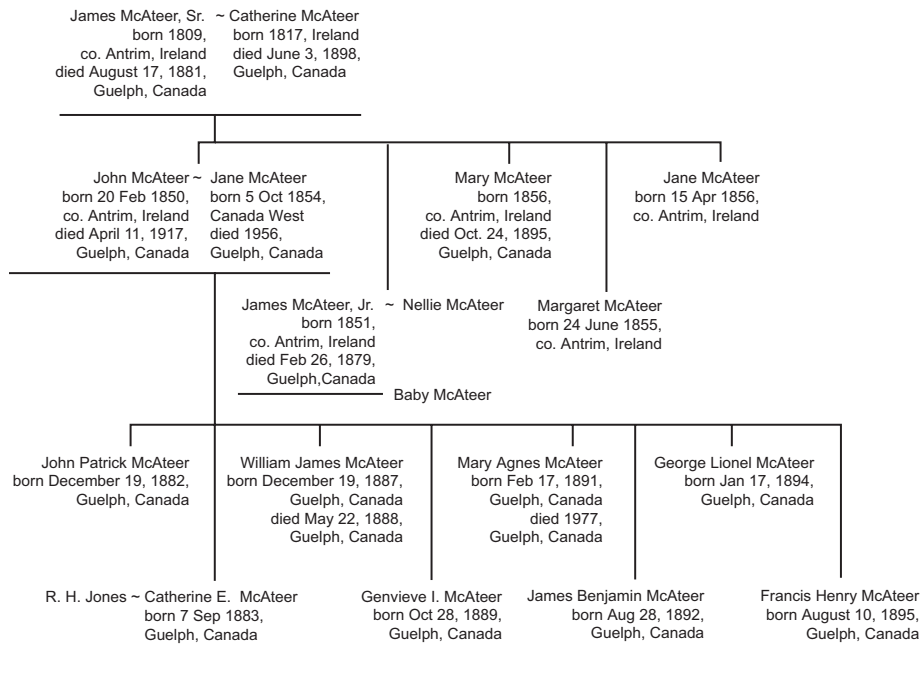
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### The McAteer Story

John McAteer arrived in Canada from Donegal, Ireland in 1878 at the age of twenty-eight, along with his seventy-year-old father, mother, younger brother and sister (see Figure 1). The family bought a house at 35 Galt Street in 1879. The municipal tax roll listed James McAteer Sr. as a labourer and his son, James Jr. as a grocer, operating out of a rented house. James Jr. married in Canada in 1878; however, tragedy struck the young family when he died a year later, leaving behind a widow and newborn child.

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**Figure 1 – Genealogy of the McAteer Family of Guelph, Ontario<sup>2</sup>**



<sup>2</sup> GPLA, F2-2-1, City of Guelph Assessment Roll, 1851-1951, marriage records and obituaries in the GDM. Records consulted did not indicate the maiden names of Catherine, Jane or Nellie McAteer.

The elder son, John, became the hotelkeeper at the Albion Hotel during 1881. John McAteer leased the Albion Hotel from a widow, Roseanne Waite. During the next five years, he married and began to raise a family in the hotel. John McAteer became the sole breadwinner for his mother and sister when his father passed away in August of 1881.<sup>3</sup>

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**Figure 2 - Photograph of Albion Hotel, 1900, 2003<sup>4</sup>**



The Albion, built in 1856, was located at the junction of two busy streets, and faced the principal Roman Catholic Church in Guelph. It was a solid stone edifice of three stories offering approximately sixteen guest rooms, a barroom and a dining room. It had an attached stable, evident to the right of the hotel in Figure 2, which could accommodate up to sixty horses. John McAteer ran the Albion successfully for five years, and left in early 1886. The Albion sat vacant until J.C. Schmuck leased it nine months later.<sup>5</sup> The municipal tax roll listed McAteer as a livery owner in 1886.<sup>6</sup> By then, John McAteer had amassed enough capital

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<sup>3</sup> GPLA, F2-2-1, City of Guelph Assessment Roll, 1880; GDM, Guelph, February 26, 1879; Michelle Ducharme, “The History of the Albion Hotel (1856-1985)”, GHS, Volume 24, 1984. p.57.

<sup>4</sup> 1900, Ducharme; 2003 photograph by the Author.

<sup>5</sup> Ducharme, pp. 56-58.

<sup>6</sup> GDM, 30 November 1877; Ontario: Sessional Papers, Report No. 14. “Report upon the working of the Tavern and Shop Licenses Act, for the year 1886; GPLA, F2-2-1, City of Guelph Assessment Roll, 1887.

or credit to begin to build a substantial real estate portfolio. By 1886, he owned four residential properties and held interest in a number of commercial properties in Guelph.<sup>7</sup>

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**Figure 3 - Photograph of new Western Hotel 1900, 2003<sup>8</sup>**



Within six months, McAteer was back in the hotel trade. In December of 1886, he became the proprietor of the *new* Western Hotel and provided \$10,500 as surety against his leasehold.<sup>9</sup>

The Western was similar in size to the Albion and also on Macdonell Street. However, it was newly constructed in 1886 and featured a spacious dining room, barroom and ornate furnishings. The Western featured adjacent stable accommodation for a seemingly

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<sup>7</sup> GPLA, F2-2-1, City of Guelph Assessment Rolls, 1879-1889; LROG, Instruments detailing mortgages, between Robert Coulson, Mary Ann Coulson, Lillie Coulson and John McAteer, E4437, E4708, E4867, E5196, E5191, E6391.

<sup>8</sup> 1900, UGA, Sleeman Collection, Business and Personal Correspondence of Murray Inch, XR1 MS A803; 2003 photograph by the Author.

<sup>9</sup> LROG, Instrument No. E34666, Lease between Robert B. Coulson and James Hewer, then John McAteer, December 23, 1881, July 2, 1885, December 16, 1886.

remarkable 400 horses. As proprietor of the Western, McAteer leased the rights to run a business using the hotel. He paid a net rent of \$600 a year to lease the New Western.<sup>10</sup>

By the time, the McAteer family moved into the Western, John and his wife Jane had five children to feed. Many of the family expenses, such as shelter and sustenance, were buried in the cost of running the hotel.

Jane McAteer fulfilled a crucial role at the Western Hotel. She was responsible for the provisioning, which meant numerous visits to local grocery and specialty stores throughout the day to acquire supplies. She also managed the books, placed classified advertisements for help in the local newspaper, cooked the meals for guests and family, and managed the serving staff. Jane McAteer carried out all these tasks in addition to raising a family of seven. Her contribution to the success of the business was enormous.<sup>11</sup>

After ten years of successful operation of the Western Hotel, John McAteer sold the lease to Patrick Welsh.<sup>12</sup> McAteer indicated that he was a retired hotel keeper on the tax roll of 1897. The family purchased a fashionable house on a large property in a respectable part

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<sup>10</sup> Appendix 1 - Guelph Hotelkeepers Summary Data, 1851-1916; Ontario: Sessional Papers, Report on Labour and Wages, 1888; See Chapter 5, *The Business of the Hotel*; LROG, Instrument No. E34666, Lease between Robert B. Coulson and James Hewer, then John McAteer, December 23, 1881, July 2, 1885, December 16, 1886.

<sup>11</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165, Box 1, Expense Slips, 1885-1895; Flat Box, Practice Account Book of Jane McAteer, 1888; It was quite common to find multiple entries at a single merchant during the same day for a variety of different comestibles. Further oral evidence was provided by Lenora and Violet Beswitherick, University of Guelph Archives, Huron County Oral History Project Collection, "General record of a collection of tape recorded interviews discussing rural life in Huron County", conducted by Catharine A. Wilson, 1981. The sisters recalled how their mother "tended to go to the store and get food as required when travelers showed up".

<sup>12</sup> LROG, Instrument No. E34666, Lease between Robert B. Coulson and James Hewer, then John McAteer, December 23, 1881, July 2, 1885, December 16, 1886, April 1895; General Ledger 11 for Plan 8 of the City of Guelph.

of town. The children's letters and school assignments from this period provide a picture of a leisured lifestyle, in a house by the riverside, with pleasant forests in which they rode horses and ponies.<sup>13</sup>

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**Figure 4 - Photograph of John McAteer as Alderman, 1907<sup>14</sup>**



McAteer *was employed* as a manager at the Victoria Hotel from 1901-1904. This re-entry into the trade coincided with the family's purchase of a vacation property on Lake Simcoe, which may have demanded additional short-term income. Additional family expenses related to the maturing family may also explain why McAteer sought employment. In 1907, he made a further brief foray into local politics and served as council member for St. James Ward.

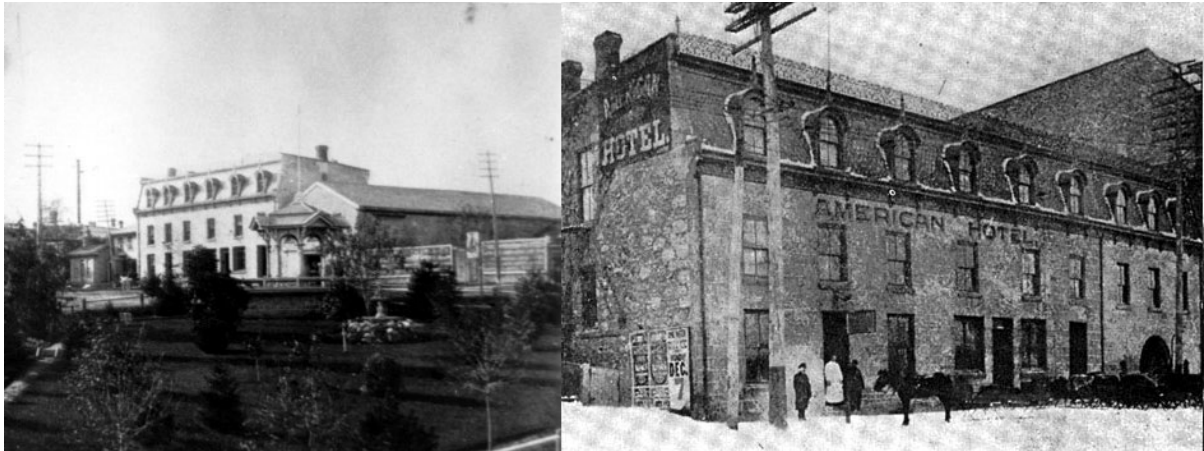
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<sup>13</sup> GPLA, F2-2-1, City of Guelph Assessment Rolls, 1897; GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165, Box 2, Genevieve McAteer's personal journal from the Loretto Academy, 1897.

<sup>14</sup> Ducharme, unattributed.

The final chapter of the McAteer saga was less rosy. The McAteer family re-entered the hotel trade in 1909, when John and Jane McAteer leased the American Hotel. It was a bit of an antique, originally constructed in 1848, but it was in a good location to attract customers and it had five long-term boarders, who provided ongoing guest revenue. The American was a substantial three story stone hotel located opposite the much larger Wellington Hotel at the top of Wyndham Street at the edge of the business district. Figure 5 depicts the American Hotel before and after an addition was made over the stables located to the left of the hotel. The move back into the trade seems to have resulted from choice, not desperation as the McAteers owned five residential rental properties in 1909.<sup>15</sup>

**Figure 5 - Photographs of American Hotel, 1886, 1905<sup>16</sup>**



Within six months, the McAteers purchased the American Hotel outright for \$10,500.<sup>17</sup> For the first time, John McAteer was the *owner and operator* of his own hotel and the family in its

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<sup>15</sup> LROG, General Ledger 11, Plan 8, Lot 73, August 1909, Lease between Elizabeth and Joseph Wagner and John and Jane McAteer.

<sup>16</sup> Robert A. M. Stewart, A Picture History of Guelph, volume 2, (Guelph: Ampersand Press, 1978); GPLA, R.A.M. Stewart Historical Photograph Collection, F38-0-14-0-0-384 (cropped from original).

<sup>17</sup> LROG, Ledger for Lot 73, Plan 8, City of Guelph.

entirety fulfilled staff positions in the hotel. John McAteer was in failing health during his last years and increasingly called upon his sons to manage the hotel. Business directories listed John Jr. as the manager of the hotel by 1912, with his son Frank as the wine clerk, and son Ben, a porter at the Grand Trunk Station, also a clerk at the American. His daughter Genevieve contributed to her own board at the American by offering music lessons.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, owning and running the American Hotel did not provide the return that John McAteer had realized at the Western Hotel in the 1880s and 90s. Times had changed. Fewer people boarded at hotels after 1900 with the increased popularity of apartment houses. Moreover, the American Hotel was not the fashionable hotel for occasional visitors to stay at in Guelph. While it did get a share of the traveling public, revenues came largely from the liquor trade and from meals in the restaurant. The lack of diversity in revenue sources at the American left it particularly vulnerable to changes in liquor licensing regulations.<sup>19</sup>

Prohibition was the death knell for the American Hotel and for John McAteer personally. In 1916, with the enactment of the Ontario Temperance Act, the American fell on hard times. John Jr. enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force in 1916, and Ben moved to Manitoba. Then, in April 1917, John McAteer died. Jane McAteer put the hotel up for sale in

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<sup>18</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Box 2, Business Stationery and Cards from American Hotel; Vernon's Directory for City of Guelph, 1912-13, (Hamilton: H. Vernon, 1912).

<sup>19</sup> Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Wellington, 1867 (Toronto: Irwin & Burnham, 1867), The Union Publishing Co.'s Farmers' and Business Directory for the Counties of Halton, Waterloo and Wellington, (Ingersoll, Ont.: Union Pub. Co., 1875-1893), Vernon's County of Wellington Gazetteer and Directory (Hamilton: H. Vernon, 1891-1931); See Chapter 5, *The Business of the Hotel*.

1918, when Frank, her youngest son, was conscripted. With prohibition in force, hotels were not attractive investment opportunities and it was not until 1921 that she was able to find a buyer.<sup>20</sup> However, Jane McAteer was a shrewd woman. She managed to sell the former stable portion of the hotel to a theatre development company. Using the returns from that sale, she turned the hotel into a series of street level shops and created three separate apartments on the upper floors. The revenues from the rental properties eventually allowed her to purchase a fine house on a fashionable street.<sup>21</sup>

Through the prism of the hotel, we have a privileged glimpse of the Victorian business world from the inside. The fortunes of the McAteer family reflected the rise and fall of the hotel trade itself during this period. Despite the social experiment of prohibition, they experienced an early boom period. With the right combination of skills and good timing, success led to retirement from the trade. When the family decided to re-enter the trade, they may have had a dated perception of its viability. The efforts of the temperance movement had made concrete legislative impact and proprietors were in the process of redefining the hotel business and searching for new revenue sources.

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<sup>20</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Guest Ledgers from American Hotel, 1914-1916; Vernon's County of Wellington Gazetteer and Directory.; NAC, Department of National Defense, Attestation Paper, Instrument 334967, September 21, 1916. Particulars of Recruit Drafted under Military Service Act, 1917, Instrument 3132777, April 23, 1918 and GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Box 2, Letters dated August 1921 between Jane McAteer and solicitor.

<sup>21</sup> LROG, Ledger for Lot 73, Plan 8. and Ledger for Lot 9, Plan 27, City of Guelph.

The story of the McAteer family's involvement in the local hotel trade provides both an entertaining and illuminating narrative of the late nineteenth-century hotel trade, but more importantly, it raises a variety of questions about that trade:

1. What was the role of family within the hotel?
2. How profitable was the business and what proportion accrued from liquor sales?
3. What skills were particular to the keeper's trade and how were they related to persistence and portability?
4. How important was political affiliation and involvement?
5. What is the significance of particular ethnic and religious affiliations and in particular those of the Irish or Roman Catholics?
6. What is the relationship among ownership and profitability, wealth accumulation strategy and hands-on involvement in the trade?
7. How did the community view the hotelkeeper, both officially and unofficially?
8. Was the occasional licensing infraction simply a cost of doing business, or were licensing laws rigidly enforced?

Existing literature on the subject of the hotel trade within a Canadian context is scarce. Moreover, when available, it rarely addresses the trade from the perspective of the proprietor of the hotel. This study utilizes the McAteer Family records and local and official sources to explore the late-nineteenth-century hotel keeping trade in Guelph. It seeks to answer the questions raised by the narrative and then go beyond these through secondary literature to explore the broader issues involved in the trade from the perspective of the keeper. Five dominant themes emerge. There were business, inter-personal and political **skills** particular to the operation of the hotel that contributed to the success of the enterprise. Another way in which skills were demonstrated was to maintain **respectability**, both within the trade and within the community. The business of the hotel rested primarily on liquor

sales, the profitability of which permitted a **wealth** accumulation strategy in which capital was reinvested both in the hotel and in the community. **Family** participation contributed to the running of the hotel and the success of the business. Furthermore, the prevalence of those of **Irish** ethnicity amongst keepers reveals the ethnic and religious dimensions of the trade.

The second chapter of this study considers existing literature. Recent studies explore the tavern trade in the early nineteenth-century and the re-emergence of the hotel trade in the twentieth-century. There is also an extensive history of temperance societies and drink in Canada. The third chapter explores the nature of the regulated business. It specifically focuses on how changing legislation and enforcement affected the business of the hotel. The skills necessary to manage risk and maintain respectability are highlighted. The connection between wealth accumulation and support for a family signified acceptance of societal norms and integration into the community and thus are a useful measure of respectability. The fourth chapter surveys the hotel trade in Guelph and explores the physical and economic factors that influenced its spatial and temporal development. It will draw upon a wealth of hereto untapped primary source material to demonstrate the relationships among ethnicity, religious affiliation and business success that permeated the hotel trade and influenced its respectability. The fifth chapter drives to the heart of the business of the hotel. The keeper's skills, market demands, services offered and the role of the family will be demonstrated within the context of running a successful business. This chapter draws upon financial records to explore the day-to-day operation of the business of the hotel and to demonstrate

the reliance on liquor revenues. Finally, this study concludes with a summary of findings as well as some suggestion as to opportunities for future study.

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## **Chapter Two**

### **The View from Outside: Historiographic Survey**

Generally, the hotelkeeping trade in Canada has received little attention from historians. This study provides a rare look at the trade in Ontario. Despite extensive legislation, few detailed governmental records survive. Private records are scarce and this limits the historian's ability to understand the contemporary public perception of the trade, as well as the inner workings by practitioners. Secondary sources recount the political or social battles that took place in the streets or were recounted in the newspapers and debates in the legislature, but few cross the threshold either into the bar or into the actual business of the running of the hotel. When they do, they are from the perspective of the patron and have produced little knowledge of the industry itself. Much that has emerged has relied on contemporary temperance literature.

The perspective of the temperance movement has dominated this intellectual space and resulted in the perpetuation of mythology based on rally testimonials and anecdotal tales. Jan Noel's study and many of the articles in Cheryl Krasnick Warsh's collection were informed by temperance society materials and Addiction Research Foundation publications and are valuable guides and contributors to the existing historiography in this area. Noel identifies taverns and hotels as one of the primary institutional targets of organized activity in the mid-nineteenth-century. Through exploration of the imagery and methodology, she

demonstrates the spread of adherence to the persuasiveness of the message of the temperance advocates.<sup>22</sup> Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation, explores the emergence of the temperance movement from its American and Maritime roots and chronicles its spread in British North America. Noel contends that Canada West/Ontario became a hotbed of temperance activity. She notes that Guelph in particular was home to two separate temperance societies in 1852, when many towns of a similar size in Canada West were limited to one.<sup>23</sup>

In Warsh's work, Drink in Canada, the collected essays explore a broader geographic area across a longer period. Temperance groups are identified as both responding to and stemming from additional social stimuli. Glenn Lockwood's article, for example, attributes a significant impetus of the rise of temperance to the growth of the Orange Order in Ontario and suggests that one of the ways that the non-Irish members of the population reacted against the influx of immigrants of Irish origin was membership in a temperance society. Thus, Lockwood introduces the correlation between religion, ethnicity and drink culture.<sup>24</sup> The tie between religion, social perceptions, ethnicity and political activism identified by Lockwood dissects the motivations of the temperance movement and illustrates ulterior motives unconnected with curing social ills. This squarely lands the relevance of this work in

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<sup>22</sup> Jan Noel, Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p.233, p.150.

<sup>24</sup> Glen Lockwood, "Temperance in Upper Canada as Ethnic Subterfuge," in Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, ed., Drink in Canada : Historical Essays, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), pp. 43-69.

the debate on how the individual keeper could demonstrate private respectability within a publicly condemned trade.

Warsh observes, “the heyday of the saloon had passed by the second half of the nineteenth-century, as communities grew more stable and both counter-attractions and services became available. By the 1870s new foods, recreation, and leisure activities, coffee shops, sports, and libraries were common. The transportation revolution, especially that [of] railways, eliminated arduous coach travel, which dictated frequent stopovers at inns.”<sup>25</sup> This suggests that the hotels of this study period had achieved a certain institutional maturity, but provided fewer services than previously offered.

More recently, historians have begun to question the temperance perceptions of the tavern as a den of depravity and the root of all social ills. In her doctoral thesis, and recent journal articles, Julia Roberts seeks to resurrect the respectability of the tavern. She explores the multifaceted social roles performed by the establishment. The contention that taverns “were orderly and well-regulated places of public resort...catering to formal and informal association amongst diverse populace,” provides a clear contrast with the picture of rough and disorderly houses painted by the temperance movement. She explores, gender, class and ethnic dimensions, heretofore ignored by studies in this area. Her use of journals, letters and the popular press provides for an engaging overdue demonstration of the multi-faceted role of the tavern in the socio-economic development of Upper Canada and brings a new

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<sup>25</sup> Warsh, p.16.

perspective to the study of the public space in pre-1850 Ontario.<sup>26</sup> Roberts identifies three broad classifications for taverns: the backwoods or primitive tavern, minor public houses and the principal public houses in towns and cities.<sup>27</sup> The classifications hold true in 1850, but the period of this study clearly witnesses the disappearance of the first, the consolidation of the second to form a renovated form of the third. Roberts concludes that “as a group, [tavern keepers of her time] had a difficult time making a living in the trade.”<sup>28</sup> They struggled for success, required a solid business sense, as well as sociability and in many cases, good luck.

In her work, Roberts also identifies the crucial involvement of the family in the tavern enterprise. While she makes the statement that those frequenting taverns included the fine upstanding members of society and not just the marginalized, this study goes an additional step and suggests that there was a similar respectability amongst the keepers of these public houses. They too, “founded voluntary societies and charitable organizations, they went to church and sent children to school, they read newspapers and discussed politics,” and “successfully integrated taverning with productive working lives and family responsibilities.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> H. Julia Roberts, "Taverns and Tavern-Goers in Upper Canada, the 1790s to the 1850s." Unpublished Ph.D. University of Toronto, 1999; Roberts, "Harry Jones and His Cronies in the Taverns of Kingston, Canada West." *Ontario History* XCV.1 (2003): pp.1-21; Roberts, "A Mixed Assemblage of Persons': Race and Tavern Space in Upper Canada." *The Canadian Historical Review* 83.1 (2002): 1-27; Roberts, "Taverns and Tavern-Goers," p.310.

<sup>27</sup> Roberts, "Taverns and Tavern-Goers in Upper Canada, the 1790s to the 1850s.", pp.38-49.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.60-63.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19, p.317.

The varied services offered by the tavern, as Roberts states, “explain their continued importance to the public despite the successful reforming crusades of the pre-Confederation years.”<sup>30</sup> She identifies Peter Clark’s study of the English Alehouse, where he contends that innkeepers established strong community roots, much deeper than many other trades. These community roots led them to remain attached to a community for a longer period than other trades, and also contributed to the role and respectability of the keeper within the larger community.<sup>31</sup>

Peter Delottinville’s “Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889,” remains an important work which demonstrates the diverse needs satisfied by taverns and tavern keepers in the nineteenth-century. His work has given impetus to various studies as well as dramatic pieces relating to the role of the tavern as financial institution, medical centre, and source of entertainment as well as a place of accommodation.<sup>32</sup>

Robert Campbell’s contribution to the Canadian liquor historiography examines a later period than this study. However, his work provides a valuable look at the role of the state in regulating the hotel and ultimately enacting prohibition. He contends, “that despite claims to the contrary, the licensing of taverns was done to ensure order, not out of concern for the health of its patrons. The government’s concern is not with the livers of its citizens,

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p.305.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>32</sup> Peter Delottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889." Labour/Le travail 8/9, Autumn-Spring 1981-82, pp.9-40.

but with peace in the streets.” The scope of Campbell’s work however, did not include the business operation of the hotel.<sup>33</sup>

Most recently, Craig Heron’s, Booze: A Distilled History, provides a comprehensive social study of the impact of liquor on Canadian society. He considers public and private records, including visual evidence, and secondary literature to conclude that Canadian society has demonstrated a long term ambivalence towards liquor consumption. Heron contrasts the social outcry to legislative silence, balances the power of the liquor lobby against popular votes, and builds a strong case for a structured and intentional ambivalence arising from class distinctions. He attributes the complexity to a societal unwillingness to examine the true motivations behind the liquor debate over power and the perpetuation of political structure. Heron’s contribution to this area cannot be overemphasized. This work is, the author admits, weaker for its silence on the business of the retail trade. He clearly identifies the need for solid scholarly investigation of the retail end of the liquor trade, to add a missing layer to the social, political and gender-based aspects of the existing study.<sup>34</sup> Heron’s need to rely on relevant works from outside Canada emphasizes the scarcity of Canadian work in the social understanding of the liquor trade.

Clearly, what Roberts, Campbell, Heron and others have faced is a variety of contemporary sources that have adopted and not questioned either the focus or the evidence

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<sup>33</sup> Robert A. Campbell, Sit Down and Drink Your Beer: Regulating Vancouver’s Beer Parlours, 1925-1954, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Campbell, Demon Rum or Easy Money : Government Control of Liquor in British Columbia from Prohibition to Privatization. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991).

<sup>34</sup> Craig Heron, Booze : A Distilled History, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003).

presented by the temperance cause. Among their contributions is raising the awareness of this gap in academic study as well as the need to reappraise the broader perspective of nineteenth-century life, attitudes towards drink and the industries it spawned. Study has been hampered because the targets of the temperance societies: the manufacturers, wholesalers and consumers of liquor and the partakers of the sociability of the tavern, left little, if any written evidence of their experience.

Mr. Sam, Michael Marrus's 1990 biography of Samuel Bronfman mines some of these valuable and scarce private records of those who were inside the liquor trade for this exact purpose. Marrus' examination of the Bronfman family's experience in the hotel industry supports many of the conclusions reached in this study. Abraham and Harry Bronfman's initial business ventures in prairie hotels demonstrate the rapid return on the investment,<sup>35</sup> the heavy reliance on liquor revenue,<sup>36</sup> the importance of association with the political party in power,<sup>37</sup> and reliance on family to fulfill roles within the hotel business and to serve as a network that led to financial success.<sup>38</sup>

David Burley examines the development of both trades and professions in the nineteenth-century a range of occupations within a limited locality. While he deals only tangentially with the case of the hotelkeeper as entrepreneur, his multi-dimensional

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<sup>35</sup> Michael Robert Marrus, Mr. Sam : The Life and Times of Samuel Bronfman, (Toronto, Ont.: Viking, 1991), p.48.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p.48.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p.61.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. pp.69-73.

exploration of the social mechanisms and skillful use of sources such as the R.G. Dun Credit Advisory Ledgers informed this study. However, Burley implies that women entering self-employment did so largely through misfortune. While widowhood did lead some to the profession of keeper, some women in Guelph became successful hotel proprietors on their own accord. Mary Thompson at the Albion Hotel and Elizabeth Wagner at the American are prime examples. So, according to the Dun reporter for Wellington County did Mrs. William Mason who managed the hotel in Mount Forest in 1861, although her husband remained the recorded owner of the business.<sup>39</sup>

Bettina Bradbury has also shown that running a boardinghouse or a hotel was a frequent occupation for widows in the late nineteenth-century. These establishments allowed them the ability to stay within the home and continue to support a family, as well as rely on the participation of other family members within the business. Moreover, Bradbury asserts that these small businesses were established with limited capital usually following rather than preceding the death of a spouse.<sup>40</sup>

From a business perspective, the paucity of Canadian works has forced a reliance on American and British exploration of the hotel. Of particular note are Perry Duis' study of the contrast between Saloons in Boston and Chicago in the nineteenth-century, and Thomas Noel's unique study of the development of hotel in Denver in the late nineteenth-century. In

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<sup>39</sup> NAC, R. G. Dun and Company, MG28-III106, vol. 24, microfilm reel M-7759, File 202B, Mount Forest, 15 July 1861. Burley, A Particular Condition in Life, p.99.

<sup>40</sup> Bettina Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in 19th-Century Montreal." Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine 17.3 (1989), pp.152, 154.

all of these works, however, the local policing of the trade renders many of their findings inapplicable to a study of hotels in Ontario. Even so, Thomas Noel's social and economic geography of the development of the Saloon in Denver provides methodological direction and a contrast to the growth of the hotel trade in Ontario. The absence of widespread temperance influence in Denver led to a market-driven rather than morally restricted evolution in contrast to the legislative handcuffs placed on Canadian keepers. Perry Duis' Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880-1920, contends that the differences in the liquor trade between the two cities was influenced substantially by the varied ethnic makeup of the two cities as well as the social impact of organized crime. Timing, as in the Guelph case, also speaks to the eventual success or failure of the trade.<sup>41</sup> Works, such as William Rorabaugh's examination of the popular culture of drink in America and Roy Rosenzweig's Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920, while based exclusively on American evidence, share many similarities with contemporary Canadian experience. Rosenzweig's study in particular, examining the emergence of the saloon in response to a need to replace the factory floor as place of socialization and alcohol-consumption,<sup>42</sup> informs this study about the local shift in drinking practice.

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<sup>41</sup> Perry Duis, Saloon : Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880-1920, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); Thomas J. Noel, The City and the Saloon: Denver, 1858-1916, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

<sup>42</sup> William J. Rorabaugh, Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Roy Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920, (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

The development of small business and of the retail sector in a Canadian context has been explored by David Monod.<sup>43</sup> He concludes that there was an ongoing battle throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that pitted smaller independent operators against rapidly emerging national chains and larger concerns that benefited from advances in transportation and communication. The emergence of branding altered the loyalty relationship between small retail establishments and their customers and forced them to specialize to compete with larger stores. Branding very much affected hotel keepers, as beer and liquor were among the first examples of successful brands.<sup>44</sup> The rise of chains and the greater standardization of accommodation however, would not begin until the 1930s, with the appearance of motel chains.<sup>45</sup>

Existing literature has largely avoided discussion of the business of running a hotel in the nineteenth-century. What has been written has approached the subject from the perspective of the patron. This study seeks to illuminate this area by exploring a rich set of primary sources to provide a glimpse of the business world from the perspective of the keeper. These included one general ledger, two guest registers, personal correspondence, a box of invoices, receipts and daily cash chits for two Guelph hotels. Additional public records such as land registry records, tax rolls and business directories combine to allow a unique insight into the local trade in Guelph from 1851-1916. This study attempts to mine these

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<sup>43</sup> David Monod, Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939, (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

<sup>44</sup> Paul Duguid, "Developing the Brand: The case of Alcohol, 1800-1880". Enterprise and Society. 4:3 (2003), pp. 405-441.

<sup>45</sup> John A. Jackle, The Motel in America, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996).

precious artifacts to answer the questions raised in the prologue. The scant attention paid to the later part of the nineteenth-century liquor trade from a Canadian context and more generally from the perspective of the retailer highlights the importance of study in this area. The dominance of a single voice, that of the opponents of the trade, underlines the necessity of broadening the discourse to include the perspective of all participants to better appreciate this important aspect of Canadian business and social history.

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## **Chapter Three**

### **The View from Below: Licensing, Legislation and the Hotelkeeper**

The hotelkeeper's business was subject to legislation, from a variety of levels of government, which changed frequently over the period 1851-1916. The nineteenth-century hotelkeeper had to tread a judicious path to ensure the legal, profitable and continuing operation of a hotel. Government legislation was designed to raise revenue, ensure public order and to gain political advantage through patronage appointments. In addition, the temperance movement exerted public pressure on the government to carry out stricter licensing of the liquor trade to rectify what they perceived as a social evil. Temperance pressure resulted in local plebiscites on prohibition and increased restrictions on the local liquor trade.<sup>46</sup>

Secondary literature has provided a thorough exploration of the evolution of liquor licensing in Ontario. The post-confederation period was marked by a tenacious battle between the provincial and federal government over who ultimately had the right to control liquor licensing and to collect licensing revenue from retail liquor establishments. This has provided great fodder for political historians of the period. However, much of the political

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<sup>46</sup> Charles Robert Webster Biggar, Sir Oliver Mowat, a Biographical Sketch. (Toronto, Warwick & Rutter, 1905), p.264.

maneuvering had little impact on the keeper beyond creating ongoing uncertainty. This exploration will first provide a brief history of the evolution of licensing in Ontario and then focus on the licensing process and how this affected the keeper's business.

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### **Legislative History of Liquor Licensing**

From 1851 to 1916, the various levels of government made limited concessions to the temperance movement, but were hampered by both their own lack of resolve, as well as an inability to construct legislation that could effectively satisfy the divergent interests of producers, distributors and consumers of intoxicating beverages and their temperance opponents.<sup>47</sup> This ambivalence in legislation affected the hotelkeeper through gradually increasing demands on resources to maintain a license as well as the general uncertainty as to what future demands would be and what costs could be associated with these<sup>48</sup>. Ultimately, the threat of prohibition hung over the keeper, whose livelihood dependant upon the liquor trade could be severely affected by such an eventuality.

Until 1850, the rules that governed taverns were uniform throughout the various districts of the Province of Canada, only the individual policing, enforcement, and collection of license fees occurred at the district level, under provincial mandate. That year, the provincial government transferred liquor-licensing responsibilities to local municipal

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<sup>47</sup> A. Margaret Evans, Sir Oliver Mowat, Ontario Historical Studies Series, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 303, 347; Ruth Elizabeth Spence, Prohibition in Canada. (Toronto: Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, 1919), pp.100-101.

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix 3 which provides a detailed compilation of liquor licensing legislation from 1849-1916.

governments.<sup>49</sup> Taverns and saloons were allowed to sell small quantities of intoxicating beverages for consumption on the premises. City, town and township councils appointed their own license inspectors and took measures to enforce the law.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, local councils were empowered to increase the restrictions on liquor licensing in response to local demands, often stemming from temperance societies. Increased restrictions might often lead to an increase in the hotelkeeper's cost of doing business.

The municipal clerk issued licenses, but enforcement was subject to the success of local pressure groups and the whims and changing personalities on town councils and local police authorities. Moreover, police resources were usually scarce and liquor enforcement was rarely cited as a priority at a local level. This meant that in many cases keepers were not always held accountable to the strict terms of the law, but were subject to the vicissitudes of changes in policing regime. Changes in police personnel sometimes led to renewed enforcement. In 1885, for example, Guelph council hired a constable from Toronto as the new chief.<sup>51</sup> He immediately targeted the bartender at the Commercial Hotel and employed two local men to buy liquor from him outside of normal hours, leading to two charges against the hotel, temporary suspension of its license and the dismissal of the bartender.<sup>52</sup> The active

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<sup>49</sup> Biggar, p.264.

<sup>50</sup> Canada: Statutes, 1849, "The Municipal Corporations Act 1849", 12 Victoria, ch. 81.

<sup>51</sup> GDM, 3 September 1885.

<sup>52</sup> Canada: Sessional Papers, "Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, "Evidence Presented to the Royal Commission on the Effects of the Liquor Traffic", (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1894), Report 21, Vol. 15, Testimony of Police Chief Randall, p.210.

role played by temperance society volunteers in policing the laws and reporting infractions added to the unpredictable nature of enforcement.

In 1857, the Province of Canada attempted to remedy this inconsistency with further legislation that specified the way in which tavern licenses were to be distributed by local municipalities. In many cases, more licenses than permitted were issued and village and township clerks were frequently charged in provincial court for violation of the tavern licensing legislation.<sup>53</sup> The chance that an unfortunate keeper found himself suddenly without a license because of local misadministration was an unfortunate necessity of doing business in this contested space.

The Canada Temperance Act, 1864, referred to as the ‘Dunkin Act’, provided municipalities with the power to enact local prohibition.<sup>54</sup> The hotelkeeper now found that local temperance activities could lead to an absolute ban on the business from which he derived the bulk of his revenue.

The Committee on Licensing for the City of Guelph provides evidence of the evolution of the municipal licensing practice over a ten-year span. In 1869, locally appointed committees governed licensing and inspectors complied with standards set by the province.

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<sup>53</sup> As stipulated in the amendment to the Liquor License Act, the licensing officer was entitled to 6% of the revenue derived from the licensing fee, which explained the motivation on a local level to be generous in the distribution of liquor licenses. In 1861, for example, the city clerk in London, Ontario was discovered to have issued forty-six licenses when authorized by the city to issue only thirty-eight. He was charged and fined for this misdemeanor offense. Defendant: Abbot, Alexander S.; Charged with Charged with Wrongful Issuing of Tavern Licenses, City of London, 1862, Criminal Assize Clerk criminal indictment file, RG 22-392-C87, Archives of Ontario.

<sup>54</sup> Canada: Statutes, 1864, “An Act Respecting the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors, The Canada Temperance Act, 1864”, 27-28 Victoria, ch.18.

In 1869, the Committee reported to council that it recommended provision of 23 tavern licenses for the City, of which two would be earmarked for saloons. The cost of a standard tavern license was set at \$38.<sup>55</sup>

The Ontario House was refused a license in 1869 and again in February 1870. The committee reported in 1870 that the keeper was carrying out renovations and the house would be re-inspected. The nature of the house's failure to comply was omitted, but within the month, the inspector noted that the appropriate improvements brought the house into compliance and a certificate was duly granted.<sup>56</sup>

In 1872, the local committee recommended that the cost of licenses be raised to fifty dollars. As well, it was deemed necessary to mandate that license renewal *could* be denied following two breaches of license regulations by a keeper. This suggests that there was an issue with violators, and that without other grounds, licenses were generally renewed and were not subject to an annual contested process. In 1875, the committee, with the suggestion that the *Good Templars* had been pushing for better local policing, recommended the reduction of licenses to seventeen.<sup>57</sup> Council responded to these recommendations, the number of licenses for Guelph was reduced to eighteen, and licensing costs were set at fifty dollars in addition to provincial fees. As well, the minimum number of bedrooms, previously four, was raised to eight and stabling was to be provided for twelve horses and six vehicles.

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<sup>55</sup> GPLA, F2-8-1, City of Guelph License [sic] Committee Minutes, 1869-1875, 1869.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

The intention of the local committee in light of the impending switch appears to have been on the side of more severe curtailing of the local trade. Interestingly this may well have been a result of reduced presence on local council of those involved in the liquor trade.<sup>58</sup>

The transfer of licensing powers from the municipality to the provincial government under the Crooks Act of 1876, further raised the fees associated with licenses and increased the uniformity of enforcement across the province. Provincial license fees rose from \$30 to \$50, and the number of licenses that local boards could issue was curtailed.<sup>59</sup> The competition for local licenses increased and when permitted to procure one, the keeper had to pay a larger fee to conduct business. The politics of the local community determined who received a license and the issuance was tied to the provincial political machine. Although the Association of Licensed Victuallers strongly favoured stricter adherence to the terms of the license act, the fact that individual keepers were subject to a larger number of individuals and political forces called for skill in maintaining relationships with the licensing authorities.<sup>60</sup> Patronage was a serious issue in late nineteenth-century politics in Ontario.<sup>61</sup> Politicization of the licensing process led to charges that party adherents were being favoured, not only with patronage appointments to local license boards, but also in granting of licenses themselves.

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<sup>58</sup> Leo A. Johnson and Guelph Historical Society, History of Guelph, 1827-1927. (Guelph: Guelph Historical Society, 1977), Appendix 2. In 1876, only two of twelve council members had any connection with the trade. In 1868, half of the council was connected with the liquor trade, and this number had been four to six members over the previous five years.

<sup>59</sup> Ontario: Statutes, 1876, "An Act to Amend the Law Respecting the Sale of Fermented or Spirituous Liquors", Ontario. 39 Victoria, ch. 26.

<sup>60</sup> Evans, pp. 107-108.

<sup>61</sup> S. J. R. Noel, Patrons, Clients, Brokers : Ontario Society and Politics, 1791-1896,(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

Sir John Willison, writing decades later in 1919, recalled that “it was dangerous for a tavern license holder to be an active Conservative in provincial politics. Inactivity was tolerated; some degree of zeal for the Mowat government was likely to assure the renewal of the license.”<sup>62</sup> The charges of patronage in the license process were serious enough to warrant the Provincial Secretary to report in 1881 and 1882 that despite the charges, the number of licensed granted and refused did not indicate any favouritism.<sup>63</sup> The Crooks Act placed a profusion of patronage appointments in the hands of the provincial governing party. The new Liquor Licensing rules required appointment of a board of three commissioners and one inspector in each municipality. How this affected the hotel keeper is less clear. Keepers were already working with licensing boards, boards were already constituted of local personages, and in Guelph rules imposed by the provincial government were, if anything, less stringent than those by the municipality prior to the Crooks Act.

If patronage was prevalent in the granting or denying of licenses, then changes in government or the yearly re-application process should have demonstrated some license turnover. Evidence of persistence demonstrates that this was not the case when the government changed in 1905. Political favoritism was probably practiced, but keepers mastered this skill to keep their license. As well, the government relied on keepers to

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<sup>62</sup> Sir John S. Willison, as cited in Peter Waite, *Arduous Destiny: Canada 1874-1896*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p.90.; Evans, p.110.

<sup>63</sup> Ontario: Sessional Papers, 1882, Report 11 “Report of the Provincial Secretary on the Operation of the Tavern License Laws in the Province of Ontario”. In Ontario, 87% of Reformers who applied were granted licenses, 91% of the Conservatives and 79% of those not belonging to a party. In the Licensing District of Wellington South, there was only one rejected application, that from a Reformer.

maintain some semblance of order and at election time this may be more important to the government in power than demonstrating party loyalty. The practice of patronage was not clearly demonstrated in the sources explored for this study, but then if patronage was done properly it would have been invisible.

As a measure of the effectiveness of the Crooks Act, in Ontario, the Liberals cited the decline in licenses issued by the province from 6,185 in 1874 to 3,970 in 1884.<sup>64</sup> The Crooks Act further required that a hotel demonstrate “...to the satisfaction of the license commissioners, [that it was] a well appointed and sufficient eating house, with the appliances necessary for serving meals to travelers.”<sup>65</sup> Thus, the keeper may have been forced to invest in facilities to provide eating facilities in order to qualify to sell liquor. Although not specifically cited in the inspector’s reports for South Wellington, this food provision requirement may have been the cause of the demise of the marginal Bay Horse Hotel and Pallister’s Commercial Hotel in 1876.<sup>66</sup>

Guelph held its first plebiscite on local prohibition in November of 1877 under the Dunkin Act. In the contest, members of the local liquor trade led by George Sleeman, owner of the largest brewery in the area, held competing public meetings with representatives of the Dominion Temperance Association. While the newspapers were full of stories of meeting

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<sup>64</sup> Evans, p.265.

<sup>65</sup> Ontario: Statutes, 1876, “An Act to Amend the Law Respecting the Sale of Fermented or Spirituous Liquors”, 39 Victoria, ch. 26, pp.121-22.

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix 2. GDH, 19 February 1878. Temperance advocates charged that these two hotels were examples that technically met the licensing regulations, but had not complied in practice. They cited them as examples and petitioned city council to withdraw licenses from three additional hotels.

fracas, the outcome was solidly opposed to prohibition. The anti-prohibitionists argued that enforcement was impossible without legislation that provided additional resources to police prohibition and that licensing control ensured that the authorities regulated consumption.<sup>67</sup>

The passing of the Scott Act by the federal government in 1878 increased the ability of the temperance movement to both demand plebiscites and the likelihood of local prohibition.<sup>68</sup> Once enacted in a municipality, the Scott Act remained in force for at least three years. The City of Guelph held a plebiscite under the Scott Act on January 22, 1885. There were 1,220 votes cast, with 694 in favour of prohibition and 526 against.<sup>69</sup> As a result, on April 23, 1886, new regulations came into effect that forbade the retail sale of intoxicating beverages, except in the case of medical need.<sup>70</sup>

Evidence suggests that hotelkeepers were forced to incur initial expenses because of the Scott Act. On April 26, 1886, the Guelph Daily Mercury reported that, “Mr. J. Soper [proprietor of the European Hotel] for the past week has men employed making alterations in his hotel preparatory to the enforcement of the Scott Act. The partitions in the sitting rooms have been repainted and fitted up with glass windows between each room. The bar has been re-papered and presents an attractive appearance. Mr. Soper says he is bound to give the

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<sup>67</sup> Spence, p.576.

<sup>68</sup> Margaret Evans, Sir Oliver Mowat, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp.263-264. House of Commons Journals, 1874, App. 8. “Third Report of the Select Committee respecting a Prohibitory Liquor Law,” G.W. Ross, Chairman.

<sup>69</sup> GDM, April 3, 1885.

<sup>70</sup> Jarrett Rudy, “Sleeman's: Small Business in the Ontario Brewing Industry, 1847-1916”, Unpublished Master's Memoir, University of Ottawa, 1994, pp. 37-9.

Scott Act a fair trial, and if he does not succeed he will take up his bed and walk to some more congenial clime.”<sup>71</sup>

Outwardly, prohibition resulted in a decline of the number of hotels and saloons in Guelph. At least three hotels ceased operating during this period.<sup>72</sup> There were no licenses officially issued in 1886; however the business directories, still listed a full slate of hotels in operation. The Western Hotel, managed by John McAteer, was one. He began to manage this hotel at a time when the county was legally dry. He realized significant revenue from the sale of beverages containing alcohol, approximately \$9,000 in 1887-88, however, this was substantially less than the \$12,000 realized in 1889-90 following repeal.<sup>73</sup> At the time, the limitation on all drinks was that they contained less than 2.5% alcohol, thus qualifying them as non-intoxicating. Sleeman’s brewery, for example, did substantial business brewing and distributing this near beer according to his testimony to the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada in 1894.<sup>74</sup> Ultimately, evidence suggests that keepers faced a decline in revenues due to restrictions on liquor sales, some of which may have moved into private homes. While producers claimed that prohibition had a positive effect on their revenues, the

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<sup>71</sup> GDM, April 26, 1886, p.1.

<sup>72</sup> The Courthouse Hotel, the European Hotel (reopened a year after repeal) and the Newton House Hotel.

<sup>73</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Western Hotel Ledger 1886-1891. During 1886-89, John McAteer had approximate revenues of over \$9,000 a year from sales in the bar.

<sup>74</sup> Canada: Sessional Papers, “Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, "Evidence Presented to the Royal Commission on the Effects of the Liquor Traffic", (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1894), Report 21, Vol. 15, p.505. Under the Scott Act, brewers were not restricted from producing intoxicating beverages within areas under prohibition.

result for temperance advocates in Guelph was that when licensing was reinstated, the number of available licenses only declined by one.

Although charges were brought against hotelkeepers under the Scott Act, these appear to have been a product of initial enthusiasm. In December 1886, four separate keepers were charged with selling liquor contrary to the Scott Act.<sup>75</sup> The standard fine of \$50 was assessed along with court costs. While specific infractions were not detailed, what is clear is that the liquor licensing rules were policed and keepers attempted to comply with them. Moreover, Thomas Ellis was held responsible for the actions of the barkeeper that he employed. The defense that he was unaware of the offense did not lessen his responsibility.<sup>76</sup> The Scott act did not provide for any additional police resources however, and local evidence suggests that, after initial enthusiasm, enforcement was lax. By 1889, reports of convictions carried in local newspapers all but disappeared.<sup>77</sup> Jacques Paul Couturier contends that temperance could not be enforced without broad popular support in the community, and this seems to have been the case in Guelph as in Moncton during his study period.<sup>78</sup> Even some supporters of prohibition seem to have grown weary of the Scott Act by 1889. Prohibition was repealed when the Act was defeated in a plebiscite by 446 votes out of 1,406 cast.

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<sup>75</sup> Thomas Ellis, twice, December 13 and 22, John Coughlin, December 22, and James Johnson on December 30, 1886.

<sup>76</sup> GDM, December 30, 1886.

<sup>77</sup> Canada: Statutes, 1883, "the Dominion Liquor License Act, 1883", 48-49 Victoria, ch.74.

<sup>78</sup> Jacques Paul Couturier, "Prohibition or Regulation? The Enforcement of the Canada Temperance Act in Moncton, 1881-1896", in Warsh, pp. 161-3.

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**Table 1 – Prohibition Plebiscite Results, City of Guelph, 1885, 1889<sup>79</sup>**

	<b>1885</b>	<b>1889</b>	
In Favour	<b>694</b>	480	Scott Act is brought into force
Opposed	<b>526</b>	<b>926</b>	Scott Act is repealed
Total Votes	1,220	1,406	
Population	11,000	11,000	

The impact on the hotelkeeper of repeal was a return to a strict licensing system, which was in the licensed keeper's best interest. The Mercury forecast that "the trade that has been to some degree driven to the homes will return to the hotels."<sup>80</sup> One of the perils of prohibition, in addition to any enforcement cutting into hotelkeepers sales, was that no licenses created a thriving black market that also cut into the keepers' revenue. Some members of the public, encouraged by the Licensed Victuallers Associations, increasingly accepted that control of liquor consumption through effective licensing of a limited number of outlets was a more practicable solution to the perceived liquor consumption problem. Community members testifying before the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic echoed George Sleeman's claim that he increased sales of alcohol into areas under the Scott Act through proliferation of illegal outlets. F.J. Chadwick, a local judge, claimed that there were more outlets for alcohol available to citizens under Scott than before. Thus, the keepers licensed before prohibition may have suffered from both increased competition, as well as stricter rules during prohibition. Chadwick further charged that enforcement was ineffectual,

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<sup>79</sup> GDM, April 5, 1889.

<sup>80</sup> GDM, April 5, 1889.

not only because the police were lax, but because “nobody cares to give evidence or prosecute,” and “the people did not assist them [the police]”.<sup>81</sup>

In the next two decades, three separate plebiscites were held at national and provincial levels on the question of prohibition.<sup>82</sup> While the majority repeatedly favoured prohibition, governments temporized and consistently avoided enactment. Although the hotelkeeper was subject to the whims of the electorate, clearly, he could reasonably assume that the governments in power seemed unwilling to implement prohibition, even when provided with overwhelming mandates to do so.

With the onset of the First World War, temperance demands for total prohibition adopted a patriotic tone and this finally led to the adoption of the Ontario Temperance Act, 1916. Prohibition was passed as a wartime measure in April of 1916 and came into force on September 16, 1916. A plebiscite on repeal was planned for June 1919.<sup>83</sup> The imposition of prohibition as a byproduct of the First World War likely came as surprise to the hotelkeeper, given their past experience. Despite plebiscites favouring prohibition by significant majorities, provincial and federal politicians had resisted the possibility on at least three

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<sup>81</sup> Canada: Sessional Papers, “Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, “Evidence Presented to the Royal Commission on the Effects of the Liquor Traffic”, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1894), Report 21, Vol. 15, p.180.

<sup>82</sup> Spence, p.585. In Ontario in 1894, 192,489 voted in favour of prohibition with 110,720 opposed. Throughout Canada in 1898, 278,380 voted for prohibition with 264,693 opposed. In Ontario in 1902, 199,719 voted in favour of prohibition with 103,548 opposed.

<sup>83</sup> GDM, 15 September 1916. The following hotels were granted standard hotel licenses on this date: E.B. Clancey at the New Wellington, George Reinhart at the Commercial, Lena F. Reinhart at Fountain House, W.J. Radigan at the Royal, L. Singular at the Western, Jacob Bernhart at the Priory, Harry Lansing at the Queen’s, B.J. Doyle at the City, John McAteer at the American, S. Fagel at the Albion, and Joseph Goetz at the Union. All hotels that applied were granted, with the exception of the King Edward. The Victoria did not apply, as it was the intention of the owners to convert it into business sites.

occasions. The hotelkeeper could have reasonably expected that this attitude would have continued. Moreover, as a temporary wartime measure, even the gloomiest prognosticator might have expected that prohibition would be repealed when the war ended.

The Guelph Mercury identified the peril posed to the hotel “without Bars – What are hotels going to do when the receipts, already much curtailed, from the bar trade, are eliminated entirely...the dining room will not pay its own way, the man who eats, has been doing so largely at the expense of the man who drinks.”<sup>84</sup> The immediate impact on the hotel trade was the definition and licensing of the ‘standard hotel’. This is the first time that additional services of the hotel were licensed exclusive of liquor. Under the terms of the ‘standard hotel’ definition, accommodation, eating and public entertainment were defined in order to provide a standard level of service in the sector. An impact of prohibition in 1916 was the definition of non-alcoholic beverages and the removal of the need for a license to retail them. Robert Campbell asserts that in British Columbia, “since near-beer was not considered liquor, no restrictions existed as to who could sell it.” As a result, numerous unlicensed, unregulated retail establishments opened up in direct competition with the hotel.<sup>85</sup>

Liquor licensing in Ontario could be characterized as riding a moral-political rollercoaster during the period of study. The limited enforcement of local prohibition meant that impact on the hotelkeeper was constrained. Nonetheless, it is clear from the conviction

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<sup>84</sup> GDM, April 4, 1916, p.2.

<sup>85</sup> Campbell, Demon Rum, pp.23-24.

records that authorities did act at times and this unpredictability added complexity to the business decisions facing the hotelkeeper.

Legislation forced the keeper to possess a shrewd business sense to survive. Although never legally possible, simply opening a local watering hole would have been a relatively simple task. Legislation added complexity designed to provide for certain public benefit and these services were not always consistent with the business interests of the keeper. While the community saw accommodation for travelers as a prerequisite for community economic development, for the hotelkeeper, offering accommodation demanded skill in earning a return on his or her investment in regulated services. What was the most economically viable number of rooms to equip for guests? What was the return on investment in providing more rooms than were legally required? Could additional rooms reduce labour costs by offering board as an inducement to employment? Clearly, the keeper had to possess business optimization skills particular to the hotel trade to balance legal requirements with business opportunity. The keeper realized that he made his money from the sale of liquor, yet maintaining his license required the provision of accommodation and meal facilities.

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### **The Licensing Process**

Explicit requirements were set out to obtain a liquor license to operate a hotel. License restrictions sought to ensure that the individual applying for the license was of solid character and the place of business met certain criteria that ostensibly rendered a community service.

If already licensed, a holder was simply required to re-apply by April 1, to be licensed for the coming year. An unlicensed individual, however, was required to make written

application to the local licensing board and provide a ten-dollar administration and inspection fee. The applicant also had to produce a petition signed by one third of the qualified electors of the polling subdivision attesting to the individual's good character and claiming that the hotel provided a service needed by inhabitants of the neighbourhood. This often took the form that the undersigned members of the community had suffered for not being able to attend a respectable house and that it would "provide a public convenience in having the license granted therefore." The local license board then advertised in the local newspaper that the application had been received. If the board received an objecting petition, from as few as ten electors, a public hearing was called. A report by the inspector of licenses for that municipality was required to be presented to this hearing. This process could delay licensed operation of a business while the public hearing process was carried out.<sup>86</sup> The potential keeper further had to provide an amount of money to serve as a bond and two sureties, when applying for a license. These amounts provided for the settlement of infractions of the license law.<sup>87</sup>

If there were no counter-petitions presented, the local inspector visited the premises to be licensed and determined that they met the regulations. The inspector issued a certificate indicating that the regulations had been satisfied and that the municipal clerk could issue a license to the keeper. Once in possession of a certificate, the keeper presented this along with

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<sup>86</sup> Canada: Statutes, 1853, "An Act to Make Better Provision for Granting of Licenses to Keepers of Taverns", 16 Victoria, ch.214.

<sup>87</sup> The amounts of money required varied throughout the period, but were significant, commonly in excess of \$500.

the licensing fee to the local clerk and received a license to operate a tavern for a year on those particular premises. Many keepers, however simply operated with a certificate. Craig Heron has noted that an estimated thirty per cent of the bars in Toronto in 1870 possessed only certificates, when a commission investigated reports of widespread non-observance of the liquor laws. The keepers in question claimed ignorance of the process and stated that they felt that the certificate allowed for legal operation.<sup>88</sup>

The process of obtaining a license was subject to the involvement of a significant number of people, both members of the community and officials involved in the process. Unlike opening a grocery store, and being solely subject to market demands, the trade of hotel keeping was subject to a wide variety of public and private biases and interests. The keeper had to manage relationships with both officialdom and the local community. He or she remained subject to the same constituency to keep the license. Licenses were issued on a yearly basis and keepers had to apply to retain their license. Specific rules governed the day-to-day operation of the hotel and as legislative history demonstrated, these restrictions changed with regularity. The restrictions on operation of the hotel related to hours of operation as well as the age and gender of employees, but also extended to provision of a certain number of rooms for guests, stabling for horses and provision of food service. The following paraphrased requirements provide an appreciation of the various stipulations

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<sup>88</sup> Heron, pp.98-99.

applied from 1851-1916. These represented provincial minimums and municipalities were empowered (through clause 5) to increase the restrictions on the license.

The licensed premises:

1. Shall contain, in addition to what may be needed for the use of the hotelkeeper's family, in cities and towns, not less than four bedrooms; together with, a suitable complement of bedding and furniture. (ch.30.25.1)
2. Shall have attached, proper stabling for at least six horses besides the keeper's own. (ch.30.25.1)
3. Shall not form part of, or communicate by any entrance with any shop or store wherein any goods or merchandise are kept for sale. (ch.30.25.2)
4. Shall be shown, to the satisfaction of the board, to be a well-appointed and sufficient eating-house, with the appliances requisite for daily serving of meals to travelers. (ch.30.26.1)
5. Shall have on hand and provide a sufficient quantity of hay, corn or other provender for the accommodation of travelers. (ch.30.28)
6. Shall display the license itself publicly in the hotel. (ch.30.62)
7. Shall display a sign indicating that the establishment is "Licensed to sell spirituous or fermented liquors". (ch.30.63)
8. Shall keep a lamp affixed over the door of the establishment during the whole night from sunset to sunrise. (ch.30.64.1)
9. Shall contain no more than one bar within the licensed house. (ch.30.65)
10. Shall not conduct sales from Saturday at 7pm until 6am Monday morning; nor from 11pm until 6am each other day. (ch.30.66.1)
11. Shall permit drinks to be served to bona fide guests staying at the hotel with their meals on Sundays between 1pm-3pm and 5pm-7pm. (ch.30.66.1)
12. Shall provide meals and accommodation to all requesting such. (ch.30.67)
13. Shall not permit drunkenness, or any violent, quarrelsome, riotous or disorderly conduct to take place on the premises, or sell or distribute intoxicating liquor to any drunken person. (ch.30.71)
14. Shall not provide liquor to anyone under the age of sixteen, unless they are a bona fide guest, lodger or traveler. (ch.30.74)

15. Any town or city may apply any additional bylaws it sees fit to govern the operation and licensing of hotels and saloons. (ch.30.27.1)<sup>89</sup>

From the keeper's perspective, these rules restricted the latitude of business decisions. A hotelkeeper could not decide, for example, to maintain only a single room available for the occasional tipsy guest. Nor could the keeper choose to be a purveyor of only beverages. Social pressure to combine a public good (the provision of additional services) with a market demand (a place to consume alcohol in public) was a way in which the most profitable saloon could be forced to become a more respectable hotel. Many decisions in response to market demand were simply not available to the keeper.

Nonetheless, strict licensing also was in the keeper's interest. The limited number of licenses available and policing of the regulations limited competition for revenue. While restrictions were comprehensive, when enforced, they favoured those licensed and prosecuted those attempting to sell without a license. As only a limited number of licenses were available, this restriction on entry ensured a ripe market for the licensed hotelkeeper.

Legislation delineated the penalties for failing to abide by these rules. Keepers were subject to inspection by local constabulary, and if found in contravention were brought before the local court. If convicted, the court assessed a fine. If fines assessed exceeded \$500 in a year the liquor license could be revoked immediately. Two convictions against a holder

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<sup>89</sup> Canada: Statutes, 1883, "Liquor License Act, 1883", 46 Victoria, ch. 30. This particular statute was chosen as it represents the product of a comprehensive re-examination of liquor licensing legislation by both federal and provincial statutes until that point. It is also the first reference to a hotel in place of the legislative 'tavern'.

during a license year were grounds for non-renewal of the license the following year, subject to the decision of the local license board. Enforcement was less than consistent, and depended upon the attitude of the local police as well as the availability of resources within the community. As well, the attitude of the local inspector could dictate how rigidly laws were enforced and whether licenses were maintained or withdrawn. The inspection process was ongoing and quarterly inspection reports were demanded by the Provincial Secretary. However, charges could be brought against a keeper by the local police, the inspector, or even a local citizen if infractions were noted. A license could be withdrawn at any time by the inspector if a hotel was found to have fallen out of compliance with the regulations. The onus was then upon the keeper to satisfy the inspector that changes had been made. The keeper could appeal to the license board, but it was clearly in the keeper's interest to maintain an amicable relationship with an inspector.

Regulations did not specify whether the license rested with the establishment or the keeper. Practice demonstrated that licenses could be transferred by the keeper to another establishment, and that an establishment could retain its license while changing keepers. What is suggested is that the license was subject to negotiation, but could function as an asset to either the keeper or the hotel depending on the circumstances. Keepers lived with the political nature of license distribution. The Bronfmans prudently hedged their bets with their prairie hotel operations by having a son support each contending party or candidate.<sup>90</sup> The

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<sup>90</sup> Marrus, p.61.

license represented an asset to the keeper or to the owner, depending on who was able to benefit from it. In 1908, for example, the license was ‘transferred’ between keepers as part of the bankruptcy proceedings against the former hotelkeeper at the Imperial Hotel.<sup>91</sup> In this case, the hotel retained its inspection certificate and a prospective keeper, with the mandated good character, was able to arrange with the local licensing board to retain it. The American Hotel was granted a Standard Hotel License in 1916,<sup>92</sup> but this was inexplicably withdrawn on order of the local inspector in 1918. Jane McAteer was forced to petition the Ontario Liquor License Board, to have it reinstated, presumably so that the hotel could be sold in a licensed state.<sup>93</sup> Nonetheless, the value of the license was precarious. All such transfers were subject to the permission of the license inspector, thus emphasizing the power of this local official over the livelihood of the keeper.<sup>94</sup> Clearly, inspectors did enforce the rules and hotelkeepers were obliged to follow them and indeed negotiate their interpretation.

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### **Political Organization**

According to Leo Johnson, from “1850 on, the temperance issue figured largely in almost every municipal election in Guelph.”<sup>95</sup> Was there a counter to the Temperance pressure? On a community level, during campaigns for prohibition during both 1877 and 1885, citizens of the town took sides. The liquor interests were led in both by George

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<sup>91</sup> GDM, January 9, 1908, p.1.

<sup>92</sup> GDM, September 16, 1916. p.1.

<sup>93</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165, Box 2, Letter from Frank Hughes, solicitor for Jane McAteer to Ontario License Board, dated, 21 January, 1919. In 1916, local licensing boards were disbanded and a single provincial board was established.

<sup>94</sup> Ontario: Statutes, 1868, “An Act Respecting Tavern and Shop Licenses, 1868” 32 Victoria, ch. 32:18-19.

<sup>95</sup> Noel, p.233.; Johnson, p.233.

Sleeman, who served as the spokesman.<sup>96</sup> During elections from 1900-1910, ad hoc business groups were formed in Guelph to combat restrictions on the liquor trade, which were felt to be detrimental to the business development of Guelph.

At a provincial level, by the 1870s local Licensed Victuallers Associations had banded together and established a centralized infrastructure to represent their political and business interests. By 1901, this had evolved into the Dominion Licensed Victuallers Association.<sup>97</sup> A Canadian Hotel Association was formed 1913.<sup>98</sup> These associations provided the keepers with lobbying influence in federal and provincial legislatures. The effectiveness of this lobby was demonstrated through governmental efforts to avoid enacting prohibition following plebiscites in its favour. John McAteer was an early member of the Canadian Hotel Association submitting his \$2.50 remittance on February 2, 1914.<sup>99</sup>

Hotelkeepers were called upon to exercise a skill in political influence, either through personal participation in local government, or by ensuring representation of their concerns. Local politics could have significant impact on their livelihood and maintaining some connection to power as a group can be identified as a necessity.

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<sup>96</sup> Rudy, pp.37-9.

<sup>97</sup> Heron, p.189.

<sup>98</sup> Email correspondence with Connie Beatty, Sales and Marketing representative with the Ontario Restaurant, Hotel and Motel Association, October 28, 2003.

<sup>99</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Box 2, Receipt from Canadian Hotel Association made out to John McAteer, American Hotel, Guelph.

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## Conclusion

The fact that Victorian hotelkeepers were subject to strict regulation was a challenge to the financial success of their business. That this legislation regularly changed added uncertainty and complexity to the keeper's life. The successes realized by the keepers identified in this study are testaments to the acquisition and practice of skills, as members of the community, as businessmen working within a regulated industry, as politicians and active constituents and most particularly as risk takers in an uncertain political, social and business environment. Caught up in the machinations of various levels of government, cast about by the strident moral calls of temperance reformers, the keeper managed an orderly house, and generally abided by the rules. In doing so, the keeper addressed a market that demanded services despite the outcry against the consumption of alcohol in late-nineteenth-century Ontario.

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## **Chapter Four**

### **The View from the Street: The Geography of the Hotel**

The hotel was a common component of the late nineteenth-century community. Ian Drummond counted 4,793 licensed taverns, inns and hotels in 1874 Ontario, which equated to one for every 338 citizens.<sup>100</sup> This chapter will begin by examining the physical location of hotels within Guelph during the study period of 1851-1916. Looking at the influence of factors such as transportation, and ethnicity and religious concentrations, this chapter will seek to explore the patterns of spatial and temporal development. The second part of this chapter will then look at the specific physical space of the hotel and its own *internal geography*.

Unlike tourist hotels, which catered primarily to travelers from out of town, commercial hotels catered to both travelers and local patrons. Tourist hotels were less reliant upon local trade and derived a greater proportion of their revenue from accommodation and meals. Commercial hotels provided rooms for rent by the hour, the night and for longer term boarders. Most provided food service and nearly all served liquor. They also functioned as a public meeting space and as a business location for both professionals and after the 1860s, a

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<sup>100</sup> Ian Drummond, Progress Without Planning: The Economic History of Ontario from Confederation to the Second World War, Ontario Historical Studies Series. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p.346

growing number of commercial travellers.<sup>101</sup> Physically, hotels could provide as few as four bedrooms and be run out of the back of a house at a crossroads.<sup>102</sup> They also could be as glamorous as the Queen's or King Edward Hotels in Toronto, offering hundreds of rooms, fine dining and superb service.<sup>103</sup> The middle ground in this spectrum dominated the trade, offering slightly more than the requisite four guest rooms, a restaurant and bar, along with stabling for six or more horses and attached carriages.

This study focuses on hotelkeepers in the City of Guelph. It was founded in 1827, as the administrative centre for the Canada Land Company and its growth was initially tied to the fortunes of the company and the settlement of the Huron Tract. While Guelph's early growth was marked by fits and starts, by 1851, the town's population had reached 1,800. The ethnic composition of the town was largely a mixture of English, Scottish and Irish. Guelph supported the settlement process and provided temporary accommodation for settlers moving to the north, as well as an entrepôt for goods and produce moving in from the surrounding rural areas.<sup>104</sup>

In Guelph and the surrounding area, early taverns often served a variety of community functions. In Fergus for example, Hugh Black's Tavern served as both a saloon

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<sup>101</sup> Harold A. Innis, "The Changing Structure of the Canadian Market" in Mary Q. Innis, ed., Essays in Canadian Economic History by Harold A. Innis, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1956), p. 285.

<sup>102</sup> Margaret McBurney and Mary Byers, Tavern in the Town: Early Inns and Taverns of Ontario, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

<sup>103</sup> Keith Walden, Becoming Modern in Toronto: the Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 80.

<sup>104</sup> Debra L. Nash-Chambers, "Guelph, Canada West in 1861: Family, Residence and Wealth in a Frontier Commercial City." Unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Guelph, 1981, p.43.

during the week and as a place of worship on Sundays, with parishioners seated on the floor as the tavern had little in the way of furniture.<sup>105</sup> These early taverns were generally small establishments and yet catered to a variety of needs, both local and regional. As Julia Roberts has shown, the local tavern was a multi-use facility, providing a communication, transportation and often legal or legislative centre for the community.<sup>106</sup>

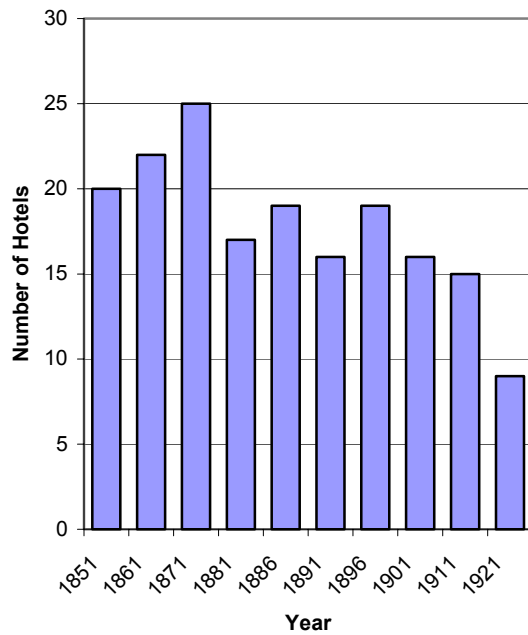
Until 1875, the number of hotel licenses available dictated the number of hotels in Guelph. Municipal control often recommended less than the provincially mandated maximum number. Following 1875, however, the increasing cost of complying with licensing restrictions, and the demands of the market exerted a growing influence. Although the population grew steadily and the city was thus legally entitled to issue an increasing number of licenses, local bylaws restricted growth in the hotel trade. Ironically, this reduction may have been a shared goal of the temperance societies and the licensed keepers. Nonetheless, there were never fewer hotels than licenses available which suggests that there was competition for available licenses. There was a demand for what the hotel offered and profit to be claimed by providing it.

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<sup>105</sup> McBurney and Byers, p.146.

<sup>106</sup> Roberts, "Taverns and Tavern-Goers in Upper Canada, the 1790s to the 1850s", pp. 2-3.

**Figure 6 – Number of Licensed Hotels, Guelph, 1851-1921<sup>107</sup>**



There were four identifiable periods in the Guelph trade. The initial growth reached its peak in the 1870s, which mirrored an increase in population from 1,800 residents in 1851, to nearly 7,000 by 1871. This significant growth in population stimulated the demand for many of the services offered by local hotels, primarily the saloon component of the hotel.

In 1851, there was one hotel for every ninety residents of Guelph (see Table 2 Page 49). Despite the large number of hotels for such a small population, there were only approximately 154 guest rooms and 220 beds available. In 1871, with twenty-five licensed establishments in Guelph serving a population of 6,878, there was one hotel for every 275 residents. A survey by the license inspector in 1869 indicated that there were 417 beds

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<sup>107</sup> Wellington County Business Directories, 1851-1921, see Bibliography for complete list.

available in these hotels and approximately two hundred guest rooms.<sup>108</sup> These relative changes indicated that while there was an overall decline in beds per resident (and bars per resident) there was less of a decline in accommodation when measuring the number of beds offered at each establishment in Guelph.

**Table 2 - Hotels Per Capita, Guelph, 1851-1916<sup>109</sup>**

<b>Year</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>	<b>1901</b>	<b>1911</b>	<b>1916</b>
Total Hotels	20	22	25	17	16	16	15	12
Licenses allowed Provincially	6	14	19	26	23	25	32	
Population (000's)	1.8	5.0	6.9	9.9	10.5	11.5	15.2	17.5
City Residents per Hotel	90	231	275	582	659	719	1,012	1,458

The population of Guelph grew to 10,000 residents by 1881. The building boom in Guelph between 1875 and 1883 saw the construction of three larger new hotels: the Wellington Hotel in 1876, the Western Hotel in 1882 and the Commercial Hotel in 1883 (See Figure 7 Page 50).<sup>110</sup> These hotels represented a new standard in the quality and size of hotels available to residents and travelers through Guelph. The number of rooms contained in these three hotels combined was greater than the number available in all the hotels in Guelph in 1851.<sup>111</sup> Several other hotels renovated or expanded their premises and as a result, although

<sup>108</sup> GPLA, F2-8-1, City of Guelph License [sic] Committee Minutes, 1869-1875.

<sup>109</sup> GPLA, F2-2-1, City of Guelph Assessment Rolls, 1851-1916, Wellington County Business Directories, 1851-1916, Canada Census and Johnson for population figures, Table XXVII, p. 254.

<sup>110</sup> Ruth Pollard and Eber Pollard, "Guelph's Building Boom of 1875-1876." *GHS* 20, April 1981 (1981), p.60, and Johnson, p.200.

<sup>111</sup> See Appendix 2 Durations of Guelph Hotel Operations, 1851-1921, for detail of the consolidation of smaller into larger hotels over this period.

the gross number of hotels decreased, the actual number of rooms and overall quality of hotels increased dramatically between 1871 and 1883.<sup>112</sup>

**Figure 7 - New Hotels in Guelph, 1883<sup>113</sup>**



Prohibition from 1886 to 1889 restricted hotels to the sale of non-intoxicating beverages under the Scott Act.<sup>114</sup> These restrictions likely contributed to the demise, between 1886 and 1889, of a number of hotels in Guelph. The Courthouse and Western Station Hotels both closed their doors during this period. Those primarily affected were the older, smaller establishments, which were perhaps more dependent upon liquor revenues. As a result, by 1891 there were only sixteen hotels left in operation.

Between 1871 and 1921, there was an overall downward trend in the gross number of hotels. However, despite the decline in the number of licensed establishments in Guelph, the process of consolidation and the emergence of newer larger hotels reveal a more complex

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<sup>112</sup> Pollard and Pollard, pp.52-73. Quality was measured subjectively both by the relative age of the hotels as well as reports in the industrial supplements to local newspapers.

<sup>113</sup> GPLA, R.A.M. Stewart Historical Photograph Collection, F38-0-15-0-0-100 (cropped from original), Photo of Wellington Hotel, c.1910; Other photos 2003 by author.

<sup>114</sup> Canada: Statutes, 1878, “An Act Respecting the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors, Intoxicating Liquors Act, cited as the Canada Temperance Act, 1878”, 41 Victoria, ch.16. and also known popularly as the “Scott Act”

picture. The repeal of local prohibition in 1889, combined with the construction of a rail link with the CPR, contributed to a revitalization of the local hotel economy between 1891 and 1896.<sup>115</sup> The increase in population permitted two additional local hotel licenses and the number of local hotels grew by two in 1896. The decline following this point demonstrated a general shift away from hotels as long-term boarding venues as well as a final weeding out of the older hotels in town. The sole new hotel constructed was the King Edward in 1905. This hotel replaced the smaller European Hotel and Dominion Saloon. While the King Edward increased the number of available beds and quality of accommodation available, it also continued the consolidation of older smaller hotels. The number of hotels continued to drop and by 1916, there were only twelve hotels left in Guelph. Of the twelve hotels that received Standard Hotel Licenses under the Ontario Temperance Act in 1916, there were only nine left in business by 1921.<sup>116</sup> Many hotels had been, or were in the process of being, converted into apartments.

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### **Hotels and Transportation**

The hotel was functionally a node within a web of movement. The various forms of transportation that drew patrons past, and often in, the door of the hotel evolved over the study period. Long distance and short distance were relative terms closely tied to the distance that an individual could travel in a day. As the travel time between places shortened, the market served by the hotel changed. The longer distance transportation network dictated the

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<sup>115</sup> Johnson, pp. 270-72.

<sup>116</sup> Ontario: Statutes, 1916, "An Act intituled The Ontario Temperance Act, 1916", 6 George V. ch.50.

volume of the hotel's accommodation revenue. Likewise, within the locality, the location of the hotel along short-distance traffic routes, even as rudimentary as walking routes, was as important for the liquor and food trade of the hotel.

In 1851, the majority of the hotels in Wellington County were located in Guelph. The few rural hotel establishments were located on the major transportation arteries to the north such as Arthur, Fergus or Elora. The nascent settlement of the county was evident in the near absence of hotels in the north of the county. Local traffic likely consisted of private wagons, buggies and other horse-drawn vehicles, often shared between travelers, and in some cases use of the stagecoach. The stagecoach was almost certainly more frequently used for longer distance travel.

Three major roads were closely associated with settlement in Guelph and Wellington County: the old York Road from Toronto, through Georgetown, to Guelph; the Huron Road from Guelph to Goderich; and the Brock Road from Guelph to Dundas.<sup>117</sup> Gerald Bloomfield notes that many local entrepreneurs eagerly sought a post office location as this guaranteed a steady flow of traffic of local residents to the business. However, the more lucrative component of the early postal service, according to Bloomfield, was the private contracting of stagecoach service to transport the mail. Hotels served as the termini for stagecoach lines and the hotelkeepers themselves were quite often financially active in the stage business.<sup>118</sup> Local hotelkeepers such as Robert Coulson in Guelph and his brother in Owen Sound managed to

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<sup>117</sup> Johnson, pp.83-100.

<sup>118</sup> Roberts, "Taverns and Tavern-Goers in Upper Canada, the 1790s to the 1850s", pp.81-83.

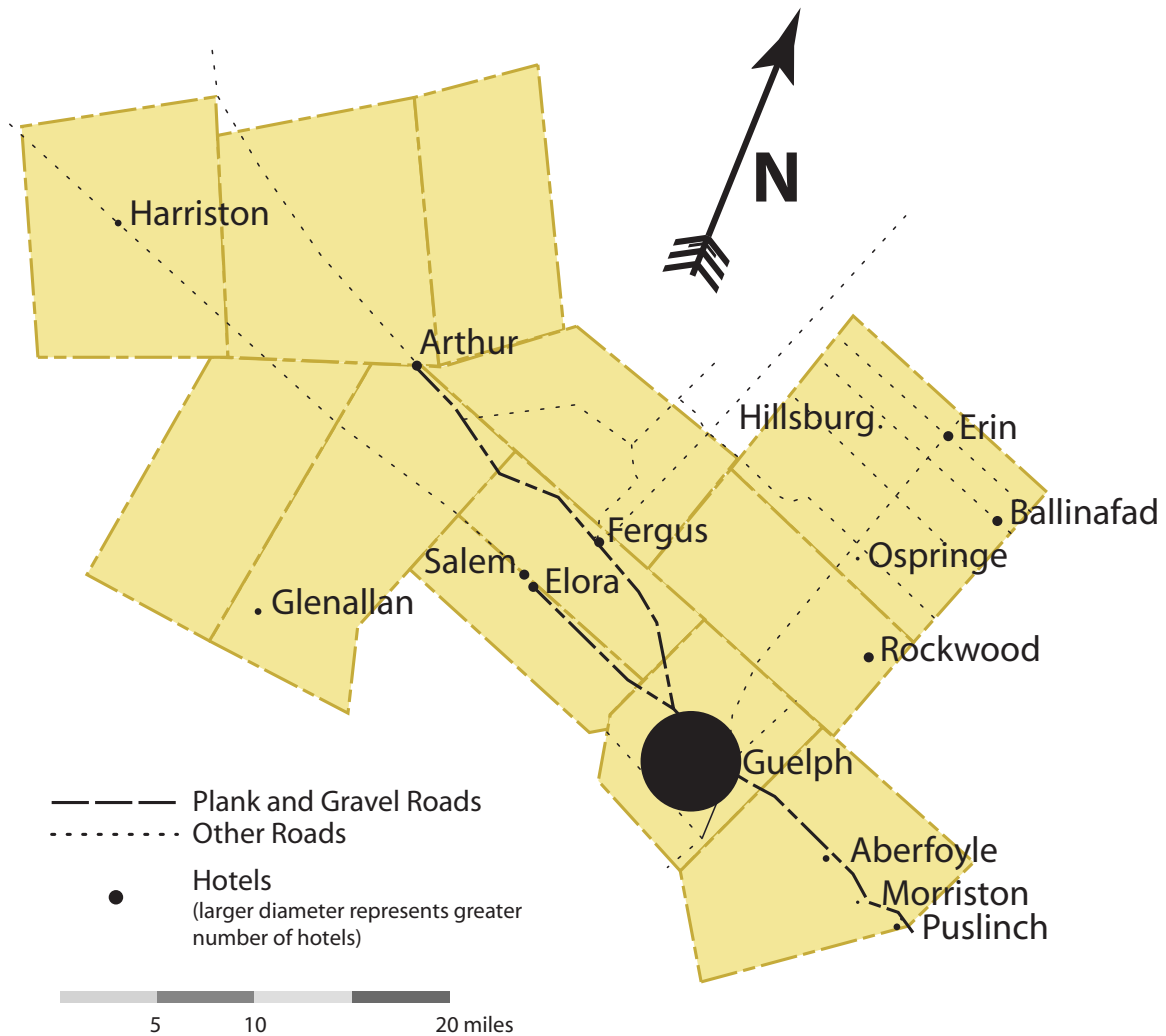
maintain a monopoly on the stage mail trunk routes centering on Guelph. In addition to owning hotels in Guelph, Mount Forest and Owen Sound, they operated nine routes extending from Hamilton through Guelph (where their City Hotel served as a stage office) to Owen Sound, with branches to Southampton, Meaford, Elora and Walkerton.<sup>119</sup> Other Guelph hotelkeepers, such as John Thorp (whose Hotel was the terminus of the Guelph – Hamilton stage), John Jones and James Lindsay, all owned stagecoach lines.<sup>120</sup> These trunk routes thrived as conveyors of mail and passengers during the 1850s and 60s. The combination of stagecoaches carrying passengers, mail and baggage originating and terminating at their own hotels was one method to draw guests. The following map illustrates the position of Guelph at the hub of Wellington County transportation routes.

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<sup>119</sup> Gerald T. Bloomfield, "Moving the Mail: The Postal System in Wellington County, 1849-1917." Wellington County History 10 (1997), p.36.

<sup>120</sup> GDM, Robert Coulson Advertisement and Stage Schedule; GDH, July 1848. John Thorp Advertisement. Coulson owned the stage company in conjunction with Robert Dalby in Elora. While Coulson managed the City Hotel, the stage ran to this hotel. When Coulson bought the Great Western Hotel, it became the terminus for his stagecoach line.

**Figure 8 - Transportation and Hotels, Wellington County, 1851<sup>121</sup>**



From Guelph, stagecoach connections could be made on a daily basis to Berlin to the West, Georgetown to the East, Hamilton to the south and the north of Wellington, Bruce and Huron Counties. The Grand Trunk Railway was the first into Guelph, opening its first

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<sup>121</sup> Ross Cumming, ed., *Illustrated Atlas of the County of Wellington*, Walker & Miles, Toronto, Ont., 1877, (Owen Sound, Ont., Printed by Richardson, Bond & Wright, 1972); J. Lovell, *Canada Directory*, (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1851).

section west of Toronto to Guelph by 14 March 1856.<sup>122</sup> By 1859, this line reached Sarnia and made a ferry connection with the United States. The Great Western Railway connected Guelph to Galt in 1857, where the line continued to Harrisburgh to connect with the GWR main line.

With the arrival of the railway in 1856, a hybrid feeder system gradually evolved with trunk mail service shifting to the rail network in the 1870s and 1880s. However, as Steve Thorning affirms, oversimplification of the transition from stage to train should be avoided; the cost of a rail ticket from Palmerston to Toronto was equivalent to a week's wages of the average labourer during these decades and the stagecoach did not disappear over night and probably continued to serve passenger demand into the twentieth century. However, the railway increased transportation speed. The three-hour stagecoach trip from Fergus or Elora to Guelph was reduced to twenty minutes on the train.<sup>123</sup> It was not until the early 1870s that the railways constructed new lines reaching from Guelph (and other urban centres) north into Wellington County. The construction of railway lines from Guelph to Fergus, Alma and eventually Owen Sound, by 1871, augmented the movement of travelers from Guelph to the north, by stagecoach.<sup>124</sup> The GWR connected to the Wellington, Grey and Bruce Railway from Guelph to Southampton, through Elora, Fergus, Palmerston and Kincardine by 1872.

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<sup>122</sup> That year, the Grand Trunk advertised that two trains a day left the Queen's wharf station in Toronto daily for Guelph and points west.

<sup>123</sup> Steve Thorning, "The Railway Age in Wellington County," *Wellington County History*, 4 (1991), p.13.

<sup>124</sup> Johnson, pp.216-17.

The Great Western and the W, G&BR merged into the Grand Trunk system in August of 1882.<sup>125</sup>

Appendix 6 details the schedules of rail operations into Guelph from 1864-1896. By the late 1850s, there were a substantial number of trains arriving and departing daily. The number of daily arrivals and departures increased to three or four trains in each compass direction by 1876. This frequency continued for the next two decades suggesting the likelihood that travelers stopping in Guelph for business or pleasure would patronize local hotels. The frequency of train connections meant that it was much easier to reach Guelph. Along with an increase in local industrial output and population, this would lead to an expectation that the coming of the railway increased the need for accommodation in Guelph.

However, the improvement in transportation that meant that goods and people could reach Guelph faster also meant they could bypass Guelph and reach even larger urban centres as well. The commercial traveler coming from Toronto, or the Hamilton area was, by the 1880s, able to make a round trip to Guelph and back within the day. Although the existence of railways to Guelph allowed for the easier transport of produce, livestock and manufactured goods to the county seat, it also allowed for the economical transport of those same goods through Guelph and to the larger markets of Toronto and Hamilton. One of the results of this development was less frequent markets in Guelph, which decreased the predictable

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<sup>125</sup> John W. Keleher, "Building Guelph's Railroads," *GHS* 32 (1994), pp.52-58. The Great Western, like the Grand Trunk operated two trains in either direction daily in the late 1850s.

weekly arrival of large number of buyers and sellers.<sup>126</sup> Although Guelph continued to play host to the Ontario Provincial Fair into the twentieth century, increasingly, there were fewer regular events to draw farmers into the City of Guelph. The growth of the railway resulted in a decrease in Guelph's importance as the entrepôt for Wellington County. While Guelph continued to serve as the nearest largest mercantile centre for much of Wellington, increasingly local industrial manufacture became the predominant economic activity and provider of guest traffic for the hotels. After 1882, travelers who had been forced to stay over in Guelph before moving onto Hamilton or Toronto on stagecoach routes could accomplish the trip from north Wellington to cities, such as Toronto and Hamilton, in less than a day.<sup>127</sup> The longer distance market progressively accounted for a greater percentage of guests.

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#### **Hotel Location**

Railway station location, perhaps surprisingly, did not seem to be a principal determinant of hotel location. The only identifiable impact on Guelph hotel location was the closing of the single hotel located at the original GWR station, when the merger with the GTR in 1882 closed the adjacent station. While this suggested that this hotel had some dependency on rail traffic (whether passengers or rail employees), other hotels do not demonstrate any correlation. The sole evident accommodation, to the location of the railway station, was the hotel bus that met the trains coming into town and conveyed passengers to the hotel. The CPR constructed a new station in 1910 in Trafalgar Square, to the north of

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<sup>126</sup> Ross W. Irwin, "Guelph's Market Square," *GHS* 34 (1994), p. 33.

<sup>127</sup> Thorning, "Speed and Service", p.63-64.

downtown, adjacent to the American and Wellington Hotels. In 1916, the guest register indicated that the CPR paid for board for a family unable to proceed north due to heavy snows.<sup>128</sup>

The expectation that trains conveyed the traveling public to Guelph, suggests that proximity to the station could have provided a competitive advantage to a hotel proprietor. One would expect that if hotels catered to a traveling public, they would locate near the railway stations. However, the hotels constructed following the arrival of the railway, were no closer to the stations. Therefore, it is reasonable to presume that hotels probably found local foot traffic or adjacency to other local businesses and factories a more crucial determinant of location and Macdonell Street was within walking distance of both the stations, the larger factories and presumably less noisy.

Hotels primarily clustered on the two main streets of Guelph, Macdonell and Wyndham (see Figure 9, Page 59). Locals referred to Macdonell Street as *Whiskey Street* reflecting the number of hotels along its blocks.<sup>129</sup> The adjacency of the hotels to the larger industrial establishments such as the Bell Organ Works or the Raymond Sewing Machine Factory probably provided a significant amount of business traffic routes past the hotels. Bell's Organ Works was located on either side of the Royal Hotel on Macdonell near the GTR train station. The Raymond Sewing Machine factory was located near the American and Wellington Hotels between Baker and Yarmouth Streets.

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<sup>128</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Guest Ledgers from American Hotel, 1914-1916.

<sup>129</sup> Verne McIlwraith, "Hotels Popular in Early Guelph", Column, GDM, November 6, 1972.

**Figure 9 - Hotels, Guelph, 1851-1931<sup>130</sup>**



Boarders employed in local industries looked to the hotels and boarding houses for a place to stay and labourers seeking a social space looked to the hotel barroom. The street railway running between the Sleeman Brewery on Waterloo Avenue and residences located on the east side of the river, also brought traffic to the downtown hotels.

<sup>130</sup> Leona Hinds and Hugh Douglass, *Pioneer Inns and Taverns of Guelph*, (Cheltenham, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1977), Wellington County business directories, 1851-1921 and LROG Land Registers for Plans 8 City of Guelph.

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### Physical Size of Hotel

The only comprehensive surviving survey of Guelph hotels during this period comes from the 1869 tavern inspectors report to Town Council. Hotels during this period varied greatly in size. The smallest licensed hotel offered the bare minimum four bedrooms, attached stable and bar. The largest offered at least thirty-one guest rooms.

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**Table 3 - Guelph Hotel Inspections, 1869<sup>131</sup>**

Proprietor	Hotel Name	Number of Public Rooms	Number of Beds	Horses Accommodated	Estimated Rooms
Murphy, Patrick	Albion Hotel	3	32	50	17
Ellis, Thomas	American Hotel	5	41	90	21
O'Neal, James	Anglo-American Hotel	8	44	80	22
Wald, Valentine	Bay Horse Hotel	3	16	40	8
Hood, James	Bullfrog Inn	1	7	16	4
Palister, Thomas	Commercial Hotel	2	6	14	5
Coulson, Robert B.	Coulson House	4	38	30	20
Nichols, William	Court House Hotel	4	9	20	6
Ward, Thomas	Crown Inn	1	6	30	5
Bunyan, John	Dominion Hotel	2	6	16	5
Deady, Martin	Farmer's Arms Hotel	3	15	30	9
Casey, Michael	Harp of Erin Hotel	2	16	30	8
Platt, Mrs. Betsy	Platt's Hotel	4	30	40	16
Miller, John	Queen's Hotel	4	14	12	10
Newton, Henry	Rail Road Inn	1	7	20	6
Jones, William	Red Lion Hotel	1	7	30	7
Bauer, Joseph A.	Union Hotel	1	6	25	6
Heffernan, Daniel	Victoria Hotel	3	17	90	8
Coffee, Dennis	Wellington Hotel	6	70	70	31
Hewer, John	Western Hotel	4	30	180	16
<b>Total</b>		62	417	913	230

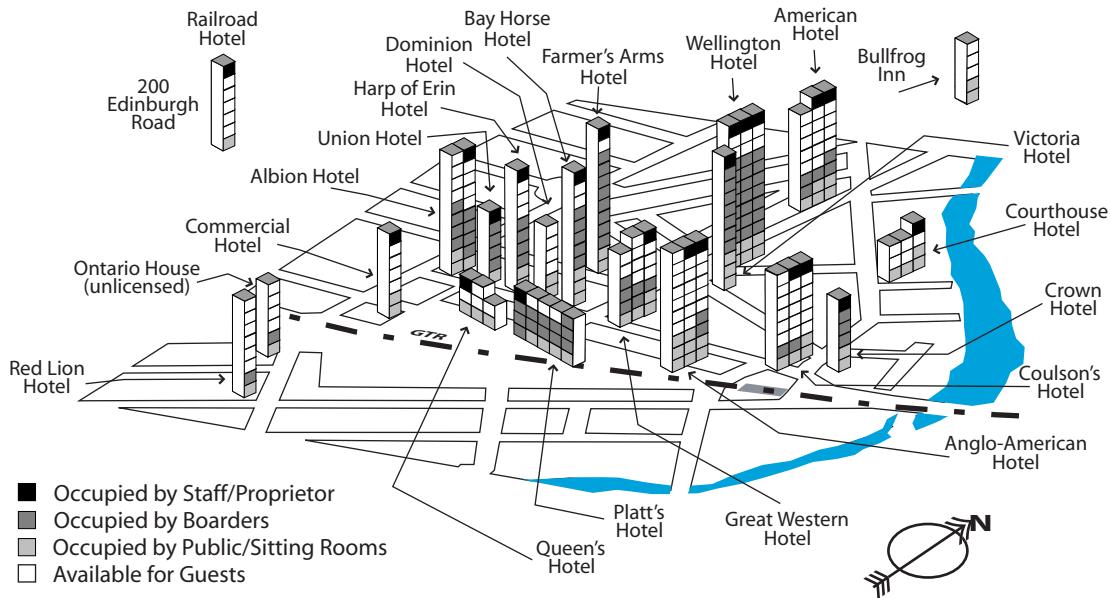
Table 3 allows us to start to construct a comprehensive view of local hotel geography for this period. Although the local bylaw and provincial licensing regulations specified a minimum number of rooms, not beds, the inspector recorded the number of beds, not bedrooms. By

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<sup>131</sup> GPLA, F2-8-1, City of Guelph License [sic] Committee Minutes, 1869-1875. The number of rooms was estimated by physical consideration of the hotel, guest register evidence of multiple unrelated individuals sharing rooms and ratio of public rooms to beds.

applying additional material from business directories, newspapers and the 1871 Census, the following topology emerges.

**Figure 10 - Guelph Hotel Topology, 1869<sup>132</sup>**



The majority of hotels clustered within one block on Macdonell Street, the clear centre of the hotel trade. Those same hotels all provided a bounty of public rooms and had a substantial complement of boarders. This picture provides an indication of the minimum number of boarders and staff, recording only those clearly indicated in records. There were likely more, and the Anglo-American/Royal Hotel in particular probably had more boarders and staff. Although, situated as it was squarely between the Bell Organ factories, two of the largest factories in town, it was probably a more convenient place to indulge in liquid refreshment than at which to find peaceful accommodation.

<sup>132</sup> Business directories, 1871/1881 Census and GPLA, F2-8-1, City of Guelph License [sic] Committee Minutes, 1869-1875. Note: hotel height is neither representative nor symbolic, merely used to present room composition more clearly.

According to this survey, staff occupied few of the available rooms, which suggests that more guest rooms were available. Anecdotal evidence suggest that prior to market days, hotels were flooded with farmers and produce and livestock buyers, but outside of these days, whether these rooms were used or not remains open to conjecture. Sonya Goldberg has noted that accommodation in Guelph was routinely swamped prior to market days and this was a continual source of concern amongst local fair proponents in the early twentieth century, albeit for a few short days each year.<sup>133</sup>

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### **Religious and Ethnic Influences on the Hotel Trade**

Historiography related to the tavern trade in Upper Canada and Ontario has explored the role of ethnicity and religious affiliation amongst the composition of the patrons of the tavern; the close connections between the temperance movement and Methodism; as well as the political antipathy between that same movement and the Orange Order.<sup>134</sup> Bearing these issues in mind, this section of the study interrogated census data and business directories and completed a limited spatial analysis to determine whether these findings held true for the proprietors of the hotel as well.

To examine the potential of geographic clustering based on religious affiliation, the reported religion of hotelkeepers as indicated by census records in both 1871 and 1881 was

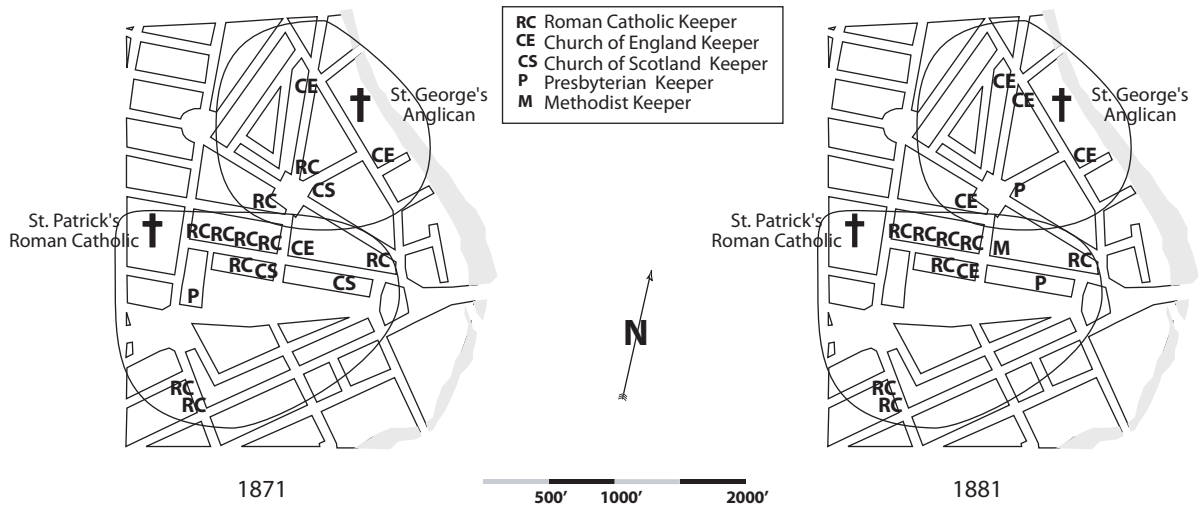
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<sup>133</sup> Sonya Goldberg, "The Meeting of the City and the Country: The Ontario Provincial Winter Fair, 1900-1940". Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Guelph, 2000, pp. 124-26.

<sup>134</sup> Lockwood, "Temperance in Upper Canada as Ethnic Subterfuge", pp. 43-69.

mapped. In the case of multiple keepers of multiple denominations, the proprietor was given precedence over manager.

**Figure 11 - Religious Affiliation of Keeper, Hotels, Guelph, 1871, 1881 Censuses<sup>135</sup>**



A cursory visual examination of spatially represented census data suggests that there was a high correlation between the religious affiliation of keeper, the hotel location, and adjacency to affiliated churches. This was especially evident in 1881. Roman Catholic keepers dominated the cluster of hotels east of the St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church and Anglican keepers were in the majority in the cluster around St. George's Anglican Church. While this may have suggested that hotels satisfied the need for a stiff brace prior to a blistering sermon, this pattern seems more coincidental than causal. Moreover, study of the local

<sup>135</sup> Canada: 1871 and 1881 Census data cross-referenced to locations from land records.

neighbourhoods does not indicate any higher concentration of religious affiliated residents within or adjacent to these hotel clusters which could possibly have accounted for this clustering.<sup>136</sup>

However, the more notable aspect of this distribution was that Roman Catholic and Anglican keepers dominated the hotel trade. Methodism and other evangelical denominations were identified more strongly with temperance societies and maintaining a role as keeper and a member of a congregation may have been a difficult balance. Neither the Roman Catholic Church nor the Church of England were strong proponents of temperance in Ontario. Consequently, keepers who were active members of these denominations may have more easily been able to harmonize their occupation with their religions convictions or congregational membership and respectability.

How did religious affiliation manifest itself in the hotel trade? One was a keeper's membership in the Protestant Orange Order. On July 12, 1870, the annual march originated at the Great Western Hotel in Guelph. John Hewer, a staunch Church of England man, managed the Western at the time. The marchers, after having sustained themselves for the day, proceeded to Elora, stopping at the Dalby House. There the Guelph and Elora Orangemen awaited the arrival of their brethren from Fergus and surrounding area. The march then proceeded further north and culminated with supper at the hotel in Alma,

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<sup>136</sup> Debra Nash-Chambers, "Two Steps Forward or One Step Back: The Impact of Industrialization on Community and Family in a Small Industrial City: Guelph, Ontario, 1861-1881." Unpublished Ph.D. University of Guelph, 1988, pp.183-86.

managed by John C. Steele, the Master of the Orange Order for the area.<sup>137</sup> There is a clear indication of a connection between patronage and religious affiliation and most specifically in the religious and political affiliation of the keeper. Although outside of the scope of this study, examination of keepers' membership in religious organizations or political groups or meetings held at hotels through exploration of directories and club records could shed light on whether these connections were manifest in the ongoing daily operation of the hotel.

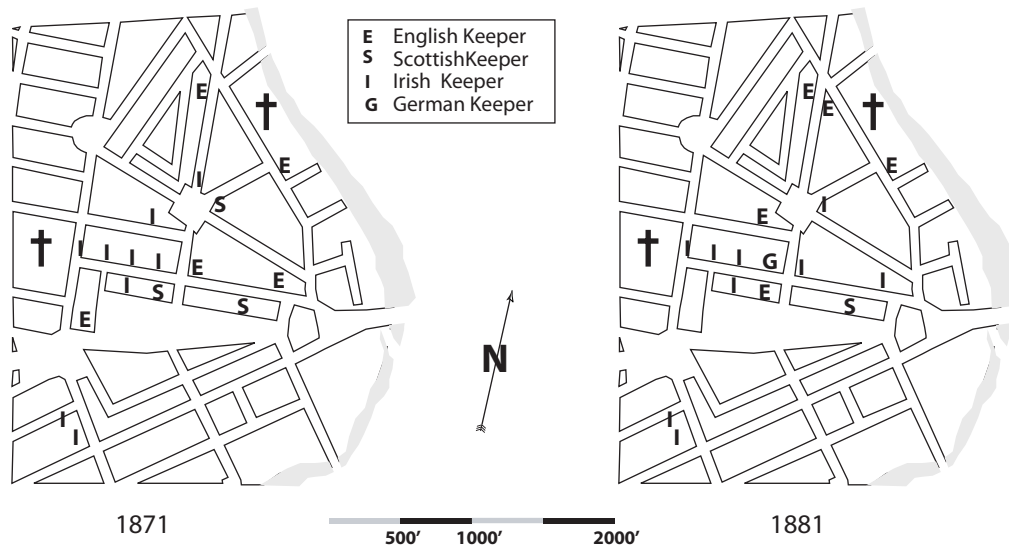
Examining the same period, Debra Nash-Chambers' study of Guelph revealed evidence of a limited ethnic contest for political and public space, but significantly less than the kind found in five other industrial towns. In Guelph, the Irish did not demonstrate the same degree of geographic or financial segregation as in the five other centres.<sup>138</sup> There is little evidence that an Irish Roman Catholic keeper would have any less of an opportunity to succeed in business in Guelph than a Presbyterian Scot or an Anglican Englishman, all of whom were well represented amongst local keepers. Hotelkeepers such as Dennis Coffee, or John McAteer demonstrated not only financial success but through involvement in the local political arena a degree of public respectability that was not tarnished either by involvement in the liquor trade or by being Irish or Roman Catholic.

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<sup>137</sup> Elora Journeyman, July 15, 1870.

<sup>138</sup> Nash-Chambers, "Two Steps Forward or One Step Back", discusses Kingston, NY, Poughkeepsie, NY, Buffalo, NY, Philadelphia, PA and Hamilton, Canada West.

**Figure 12 - Ethnic Origin of Keeper, Hotels, Guelph, 1871, 1881 Censuses**



To examine the potential of geographic clustering based on ethnicity, the ethnic origin of hotelkeepers as indicated by census records in both 1871 and 1881 was mapped. In the case of multiple keepers of multiple ethnic backgrounds, proprietor was given precedence over manager. This did not prove to be a factor. The map shows that there may be grounds to suggest ethnic spatial concentration, especially in 1881. The hotel keepers in the north end of the downtown were uniformly of English extraction, while those in the south were predominantly Irish. The sole Methodist keeper was of Irish origin and was in the direct centre of the Irish area, on Macdonell Street. The sole German keeper shared the Roman Catholic faith with his neighbouring Irish keepers. While there was an apparent ethnic concentration amongst hotelkeepers in Guelph, other explanations can be suggested. The hotels on Macdonell in 1881 were among the oldest in town, suggesting a possible connection

between value of hotel and ethnic origin. However, the actual value of a hotel may not have had a direct bearing on its revenue earning potential. Age of a hotel could suggest that it was more likely to attract overnight guests and therefore, the newer hotel may have been less reliant on the liquor trade, but this study did not find any evidence to suggest that the English-managed hotels were less reliant on the liquor trade. Location seems to be based on business circumstances and timing, and not on affiliation to particular ethnic or community groups.

In the Province of Ontario, in the late nineteenth-century, those of Irish ethnic origin or of Roman Catholic religious affiliation were particularly prevalent in the hotel keeping trade when compared to their proportion in the general population.

**Table 4 - Census Data for Hotelkeepers, 1871, 1881**

<b>Religion</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>
Roman Catholic	41%	32%	Ontario	34%	54%	Irish	35%	37%	Male	91%	92%
Church of England	26%	30%	England	17%	12%	English	24%	22%	Female	9%	8%
Methodist	11%	11%	USA	5%	5%	German	9%	11%			
Presbyterian	11%	17%	Ireland	24%	14%	Scottish	16%	16%			
Lutheran	3%	2%	Germany	4%	2%	French	13%	10%			
Episcopalian	2%	0%	Scotland	7%	3%	American	0%	0%			
Church of Scotland	2%	1%	Quebec	7%	8%	Dutch	1%	1%			
Baptist	0%	1%	Others	3%	2%	Others	2%	3%			
Others	4%	6%									

**City of Guelph**

<b>Religion</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>
Roman Catholic	44%	31%	Ontario	22%	34%	Irish	54%	38%	Male	89%	78%
Church of England	26%	34%	England	22%	34%	English	25%	41%	Female	11%	22%
Methodist	7%	13%	USA	0%	3%	German	4%	13%			
Presbyterian	11%	16%	Ireland	48%	28%	Scottish	14%	9%			
Lutheran	0%	0%	Germany	0%	0%	French	4%	0%			
Episcopalian	0%	0%	Scotland	7%	0%	American	0%	0%			
Church of Scotland	11%	0%	Quebec	0%	0%	Dutch	0%	0%			
Baptist	0%	0%	Others	0%	0%	Others	0%	0%			
Others	0%	6%									

According to the 1871 census, 34.5% of the population of Ontario claimed Irish origin.<sup>139</sup> In Guelph, 25.6% made the same claim.<sup>140</sup> Yet, amongst hotelkeepers in Guelph, 54% came of Irish stock. Additionally, amongst hotelkeepers in Guelph, 44% were Roman Catholic, more than double the 21% per cent claiming adherence amongst heads of households in Guelph.<sup>141</sup>

The accuracy of capturing occupational data seems to have improved significantly in 1881. Of the thirty-three keepers or potential keepers in Guelph identified in 1881, all but one were caught in the net of the census enumerators. Two of the four persons identifying themselves as keepers were identified as having practiced the trade somewhere in Wellington County, leaving only two individuals who may well have practiced the trade outside of Wellington County and either moved to Guelph to pursue another occupation or retired here.<sup>142</sup>

The 1881 census measured Irish ethnic origin at 32.6% in the Province of Ontario.<sup>143</sup> In the City of Guelph, 38% of keepers claimed Irish ethnic origin in 1881 compared to the 28.5% of its residents who did the same.<sup>144</sup> Of the hotelkeepers in Guelph in 1881, 31% represented themselves as Roman Catholic. Amongst the general population, only 19% claimed to be affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church, the same representation as those

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<sup>139</sup> Donald H. Akenson, *Being Had : Historians, Evidence, and the Irish in North America*, (Port Credit: P.D. Meany, 1985), p.88.

<sup>140</sup> Calculated from 1871 Census.

<sup>141</sup> Census figures obtained from Nash-Chambers, "Two Steps Forward or One Step Back".

<sup>142</sup> See Appendix 4. The term potential keepers recognizes the fact that retired keepers who retained ownership of hotels were equally likely to call themselves keepers as were land owners who owned, but did not run a hotel. Those owning hotels during a census year are included in this grouping of potential keepers.

<sup>143</sup> Akenson, *Being Had*, p.88.

<sup>144</sup> Johnson, p.274.

claiming to be Anglicans. In 1881, Presbyterians and Methodist accounted for nearly 60% of the general population of Guelph, yet only half these proportions were represented amongst keepers. In 1881, Roman Catholics and Anglicans accounted for approximately 80% of the hotelkeepers, yet only 40% of the population. However, this measured religious affiliation of individual keepers. As many of the Church of England keepers worked as partners, of the seventeen hotels identified, nearly 60% could be termed exclusively Roman Catholic based on affiliation of the keeper. Twenty-three point five per cent were affiliated with the Church of England, with Presbyterians and a lone Methodist comprising the remainder.

This analysis of the hotel trade illustrates the early prevalence of Irish and Roman Catholics in the hotel trade, far exceeding their representation within the general population. While this was evident at the provincial level, it was even more pronounced within the City of Guelph. By 1901, Peter Baskerville shows that there was a “lack of significant difference between Irish Catholics and the members of the various Protestant denominations” in attainment of wealth.<sup>145</sup> But that need not mean that all routes to wealth were open to all. Although there were both Irish Protestants and Irish Roman Catholics represented in the keeping population, the prominence of Roman Catholics suggests that the combination of ethnicity and religion mattered even more. And if they were discriminated against elsewhere, they found in the hotel trade one path to participate in the nineteenth-century Ontario business community.

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<sup>145</sup> Peter A. Baskerville, “Did Religion Matter? Religion and Wealth in Urban Canada at the Turn of the Twentieth-Century: An Exploratory Tale”, *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 34.67 (2001), p.90.

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## Persistence and Mobility

Persistence in the hotel trade is a useful measurement of the attractiveness of trade as a career. Roberts is one of the first to attempt a systematic exploration of persistence. Based on examination of licensing records within the Niagara peninsula, she discovers that, “most Upper Canadian tavern keepers spent less than five years in the trade,” which substantiated that tavern keeping was a difficult trade.<sup>146</sup>

This study has found that keepers in Guelph were more persistent. Using the 1871 and 1881 censuses alone we find only 21% of the keepers identified in 1871 still resident as keepers in 1881; but this proportion rises to approximately 35% if family members were considered to demonstrate persistence.<sup>147</sup>

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**Table 5 - Guelph Keepers Tracked for Persistence in Hotel Trade and at a Single Hotel, 1851-1916<sup>148</sup>**

Duration of Tenure	Keeper's Persistence in Trade		Keeper's Persistence at a Hotel	
	N	% of Total	N	% of Total
30 Years or Longer	3	2%	1	0.5%
25 to 29 Years	6	4%	2	1%
20 to 24 Years	10	6%	9	4%
15 to 19 Years	9	5%	8	4%
10 to 14 Years	24	15%	22	11%
5 to 9 Years	39	24%	71	34%
Les than 5 Years	73	45%	93	45%
<b>Number of Tenures Enumerated</b>	<b>164</b>		<b>206</b>	

Census figures however, missed individuals that business directories and municipal tax records identified. By tracking names within business directories and municipal tax rolls

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<sup>146</sup> Roberts, "Taverns and Tavern-Goers in Upper Canada, the 1790s to the 1850s," p.61.

<sup>147</sup> These individuals were manually identified and added allowing for inheritance, whether by death or retirement.

<sup>148</sup> See Appendices 1 and 4 for complete persistence details. Business directories, 1871/1881 Census and GPLA, F2-8-1, City of Guelph License [sic] Committee Minutes, 1869-1875.

for the period, the completeness of the dataset is improved and a more accurate picture of persistence can be established. In Guelph, over 32% of the keepers during my study period were in the trade longer than ten years. Of those, another 30% were in the trade longer than twenty years. There were ten instances where sons followed their fathers into the trade. There were even two cases of grandsons following grandfathers.<sup>149</sup> Over 56% of keepers remained in the trade for more than five years. Furthermore, these numbers represent the minimum levels of persistence, allowing that this methodology would not include keepers that left the area and pursued the trade elsewhere, or migrated to Guelph after practicing the trade outside the town. These figures do not contest Roberts' contention that the business was difficult. That 45% left the trade within five years attests that it was. However, that over half persisted in the trade longer than five years demonstrates that once established, significant returns to their skills were incentive for good keepers to stay in the trade.

Persistence can also be measured by the tenure of keepers at an individual hotel. In Guelph, 5.5% of the keepers were at the same establishment for more than twenty years within the period 1851-1916. Twenty per cent were at the same hotel for more than ten years and 54% percent were engaged at a single hotel for more than five years. That a majority of those entering the trade stayed in it for an extended period permits us to conclude hotelkeeping offered some attraction. That one third left substantiates the challenge of the

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

trade. Certain locations or physical surroundings were less favourable than others were, but failure confirms the need for skills.

If we examine the 30% of keepers in the trade longer than ten years, those keepers worked at an average of 1.7 hotels, suggesting at least some mobility within the trade. Those keepers in the trade less than ten years conversely had a lesser incidence of shifting positions. What I propose this suggests is twofold. Those who did not belong in the trade for whatever reason tended to leave and those who persisted in the trade possessed a marketable and moveable set of skills. Lack of persistence at a particular hotel did not necessarily indicate that an individual left the hotel trade, or that he or she failed. To the contrary, it was possible that a good keeper sought to better an arrangement if skills were marketable. Given that 12% of the keepers in the study were in the trade longer than twenty years, and yet only 5.5% were at a particular hotel for that long, there was a large group of keepers who must have practiced mobility within the trade. That is, business skills relating to management of the hotel could be transferred between locations. The market responded to these skills, and there may have been a point at which an ineffective keeper's reputation would eliminate the opportunity for employment within a specific locale. This would suggest a mobility, in which bad keepers would leave the trade or area, and good keepers would enjoy the luxury of optimization and could naturally gravitate towards the most lucrative space/opportunity in which to practice their trade.

Mobility was to some extent restricted by liquor licensing regulations. The favour of the local inspectors was necessary to move with a license. However, once licensed, a hotel or

keeper could expect renewal provided the law had been respected. Thus, the license along with the practice of leasing rather than owning the hotel, functioned as a vehicle of mobility, its value contributing to persistence in the trade as well as offering some incentive for seeking the best possible opportunity to practice the trade.

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### **Respectability of the Hotelkeeper**

In his work on classifying occupations within Upper Canada in the earlier part of the nineteenth-century, Peter Russell distinguishes between the tavern keeper and the innkeeper, the latter being at least marginally respectable, the former merely self-employed. The distinction between the two was the perceived degree of reliance on the liquor trade.<sup>150</sup> From a class perspective, Lynne Marks places the late nineteenth-century hotelkeeper squarely in the middle class, along with merchants, gentlemen and professionals.<sup>151</sup> The concept of respectability is challenging in its intangibility. If, as Suzanne Morton contends, the pursuit of privacy reflected concern to control outward judgment, it offers a useful way to measure respectability.<sup>152</sup> Another measure, Joy Parr notes was based on “one’s proven ability to support a family.” Clearly respectability was based upon compliance with community ideals,

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<sup>150</sup> Peter A. Russell, Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada, 1815-1840: "Here We Are Laird Ourselves", (Lewiston, N.Y. ; Queenston, Ont.: E. Mellen Press, 1990), Russell distinguishes the inn from the tavern by function, clientele and capital invested. The inn, he claims “provided better accommodation (not just a place to drink) and so required a substantial investment”. p.76; Table 1, p.9; Table 2, p.81.

<sup>151</sup> Lynne Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late-Nineteenth Century Small-Town Ontario, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), Appendix 2. She based this on the Philadelphia occupational classification developed by Hershberg and Dockhorn for a city in the process of industrialization.

<sup>152</sup> Suzanne Morton, Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s, (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p.37.

customs and beliefs.<sup>153</sup> For the keeper, the accumulation of wealth and the establishment of an upper middle-class lifestyle integrated the family into the community and demonstrated a compliance with community values that provided a measure of respectability.

However, temperance literature portrayed the keeper as a minion of the devil himself. The bar was the root of all social evils, and the keepers themselves were decidedly worse than the victims of the liquor trade were, as they perpetrated and encouraged consumption by people too weak to resist its lure. However, hotelkeepers were members of the community and according to financial returns satisfied the clientele that patronized their establishments. As Roberts has demonstrated, patrons of the hotel came from all strata of nineteenth-century society. Therefore, the black image of the hotelkeepers as Satan's minions must be questioned, as their role satisfied a variety of needs for a broad cross-section of society.

Respectability is defined by approval or acceptance, as judged by the current mores of the society in which an individual is found. It is exhibited through *proper* behaviour or *conventional* conduct. Andrew Holman describes respectability in Victorian society as being decent or correct in character or behaviour.<sup>154</sup> His work expands upon the Victorian perceptions and definitions of this correctness and seeks to explore further class-based differentiation of these ideals. Public expression of support for temperance in particular was

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<sup>153</sup> Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p.188.

<sup>154</sup> Andrew C. Holman, "'Cultivation' and the Middle-Class Self: Manners and Morals in Victorian Ontario." In Edgar-André Montigny and Lori Chambers, Ontario since Confederation: A Reader, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp.105-25.

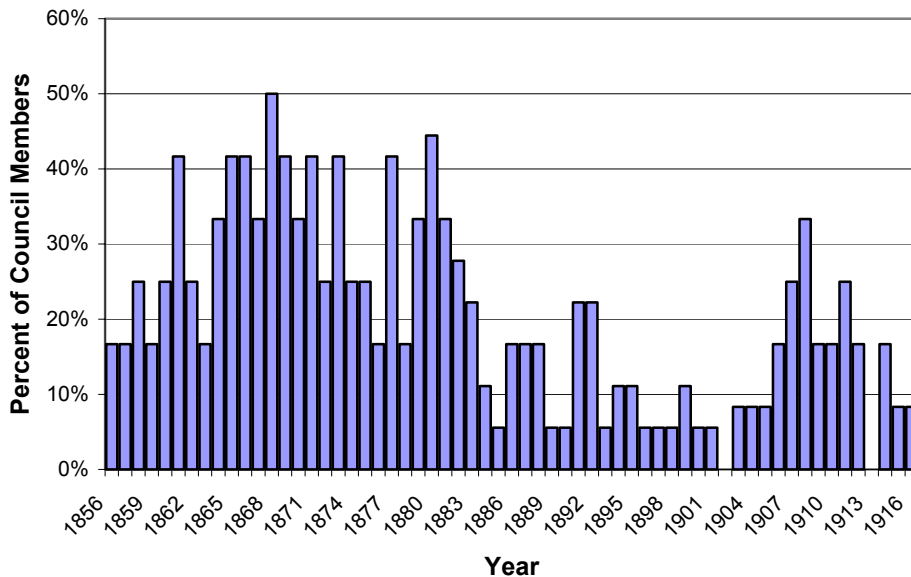
cited by Holman as an example of filling a societal respectability. Although membership in temperance societies evolved from a primarily labouring-class basis, it evolved into a more middle-class enterprise by the 1870s and 80s. The definition of temperance membership as a measure of respectability however, oversimplifies the social aspects that were equated with temperance practice. Industry, direction, morality and personal probity and role as provider for the family, were the ideals that alcohol was cast as threatening. But, how did the role of keeper fulfill these measures of respectability?<sup>155</sup> Was the individual's position on temperance separate from these other ideals? The ambivalence of society with regard to drink likely permitted this to some degree. While the temperance call was strident and apparently publicly popular, as witnessed both by membership in temperance societies and in plebiscite results, the business of the hotel bar was also popular. Were keepers collectively admonished, but individually respected?

Although association with the liquor trade stood against the keeper, the variety of roles of community leadership occupied by those in the trade, particularly in the study area of Guelph, highlights the ambiguity of public attitudes towards the liquor trade.

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<sup>155</sup> Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), pp. 102,131-146.

**Figure 13 – Membership of Liquor Trade on Guelph City Council, 1856-1916<sup>156</sup>**



Participation in local politics was one way in which public approbation of the keepers' position could be measured. As Figure 13 shows, at times, as many as half of the popularly elected members belonged to the liquor trade. While popularity or political effectiveness cannot be directly associated with respectability, examination of media reports on nomination meetings can provide evidence of the way in which individuals were viewed by the community. Some hotelkeeper candidates were seen, even by the pro-prohibition Guelph Daily Mercury, as measured voices, commanding figures or staunch members of the community. Through personal political involvement, hotelkeepers clearly demonstrated business and leadership skills.

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<sup>156</sup> Johnson, Appendix A. Guelph Town and then City Council originally involved twelve members in 1856, growing to eighteen in 1880 as Guelph grew in population and increased the number of wards.

Andrew Holman suggests, somewhat creatively, that aspects of dress and deportment could also be used as measures of visible public respectability. According to Holman, dress was expected to be simple, sincere and reflective of the character of the wearer. Gentlemen were expected to demonstrate taste, reserve, dignity and humility.<sup>157</sup> According to Holman, blacks and grays were the appropriate colours for gentleman's apparel. The gait of a respectable individual was solid, but ultimately, not pronounced. Holman's description of appropriate dress contrasts markedly with surviving visual evidence of local keepers. John McAteer, for example, cut a rather jaunty figure in this photograph circa 1885.

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**Figure 14 - Photograph of John McAteer, c1885<sup>158</sup>**



While McAteer's attire may well have reflected his character, it did not exude respectability. He dressed like a dandy. He parted his hair in the middle, which was apparently indicative of dandyism or *dudism*; he wore a light coloured jacket and a bowler hat, both aspects of dress that made him stand out.<sup>159</sup> He looks as he was – a hotelkeeper. Even his stance suggested confidence, and there was a sense of a thrusting forward, not of Victorian reserve or humility. All about McAteer was

pronounced and exuded a confidence that was not in keeping with the Victorian ideal.

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<sup>157</sup> Andrew C. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, p.160.

<sup>158</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165.

<sup>159</sup> Addenda's Articles, "Signal", 23 March 1884, as cited in Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, p.162.

Additional visual evidence of keepers such as Christian Reinhart at the Commercial and Hugh Malone at the Albion, contrast with appearances of Victorian respectability. Not all keepers belonged to Town council however, and respectability most likely varied along a spectrum of keepers.

Respectability could be judged also in the physical space of the hotel. Both Roberts and Marks have shown that hotels ranged a spectrum from 'rough to respectable'. The measurement of the hotel's respectability was generally dependent upon the nature of its clientele, which was often tied to the reputation of the keeper or the particular attractions or amusements provided at the hotel.<sup>160</sup> While Delottinville described the certainly less than respectable amusements provided at Joe Beef's tavern, visual evidence from Guelph hotels of this period suggests that many attempted to provide a respectable establishment. Advertisements continually reinforce the image of the *respectable house* offering the *finest liquors*, and a staff of *good character*. The dining room and bar room pictured in Figure 16 (page 87) are clean, the employees and patrons seemingly proud to be present in the space in which they were pictured.

Rosenzweig, Campbell and Duis have all noted that hotel bar was a *semi-public space*.<sup>161</sup> The relevance of this to the discussion of respectability is that it perhaps permitted both the keeper and his patrons to occupy different roles within multiple spaces. The

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<sup>160</sup> Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, pp.89-90.

<sup>161</sup> Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*, (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Duis, *Saloon*; Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer*, 2001; Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 1991.

ambivalence of attitude towards drink expressed by Heron suggests that patrons and keepers were boys at play at the bar, but members of the community when outside its confines.<sup>162</sup> Public expressions of condemnation of the keeper's trade at times, went hand in hand with private respect for who they were and the necessity of the social services that they provided.

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### **Conclusion**

The nineteenth-century hotel and the career of the keeper existed within a physical space that was the product of a variety of human patterns of movement and action. Transportation patterns, closely linked to the rapid evolution of industrial and commercial processes, interwove with social patterns to create a multi-layered milieu. Keepers responded to the products of these interactions and serviced community needs. The business institution persisted, even as the number of hotels reflected consolidation. They existed as nodes within webs of communication, movement and contest that defy examination without being able to peel back these onion-skin layers of complexity. Keepers demonstrated persistence and mobility to optimize their opportunity within the hotel trade. Although various religious denominations and ethnicities were represented amongst keepers, there was a disproportionate number of Irish Catholics that found occupation that may have been denied elsewhere. Those same keepers sought respectability through their achievements and pursuit of a livelihood in the community, which was permitted by a public ambivalence towards the services provided by their trade. Nonetheless, when successful, they stood out from

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<sup>162</sup> Heron, p. 11.

definitions of respectability demonstrating confidence and rising above superficial measures that minimized their business accomplishments. In 1916, when writing home to his sister, John McAteer Jr. provided a glimpse of how he perceived his public station. He exclaimed with pride, “how do you think these country boys would feel if they knew we lived in a hotel, they’d probably figure us pretty high and mighty they would.” Obviously, McAteer was not only proud of association with the hotel; he felt others would share this sense of respect.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165, Box 2, Letter from John McAteer Jr. to Genevieve McAteer, dated April 1916.

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## **Chapter Five**

### **The View from Behind the Front Desk: The Business of the Hotel**

The hotel keeper was first and foremost a working entrepreneur who sought to manage a business. Success required specific business skills and decision-making: balancing the books, managing labour, planning for and forecasting demand, managing cash flow and credit, and deciding how to allocate capital – for example, whether to reinvest in the enterprise, acquire real estate or spend on improving the family’s quality of living. To sustain the hotel, the keeper managed relationships with the customers of the hotel and with licensing agents, local politicians, and business leaders. While recent literature has raised awareness of the social role of the hotel in the community, the operational business perspective has been unexplored. This chapter attempts to address this deficiency. Using a detailed investigation of the sources of revenue and the cost of inputs at selected commercial hotels, it asserts that the business of the hotel was very profitable, but relied upon the retail trade in liquor for much of its revenue. Additionally, the involvement of family reinforces that business coexisted within the context of respectable citizen and family member.

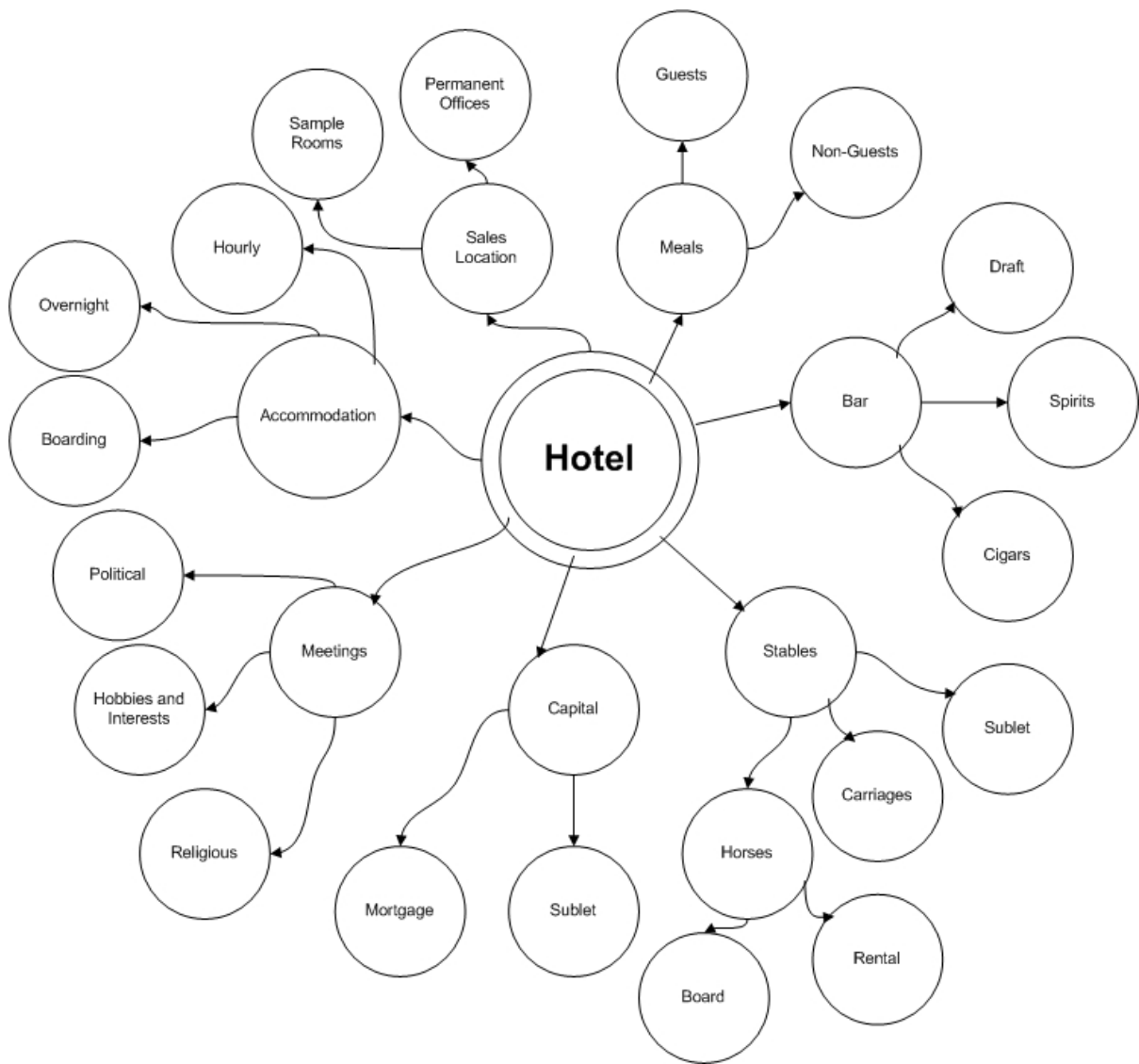
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## Revenues and Expense at the Hotel

The commercial hotel provided a diverse and evolving variety of services during the late nineteenth-century. Figure 15 (Page 81) illustrates the diversity of revenue sources that a hypothetical, but typical commercial hotel drew upon.

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**Figure 15 –Sources of Revenue at the Commercial Hotel**



While license laws mandated services or levels of service relating to accommodation, meals and stabling, other services were contingent upon demand and the keeper's judgment of their likely profitability and varied between hotels. The complexity of this diagram suggests that the conscientious keeper faced complex business decisions that required specialized expertise and intelligence.

**Table 6 – Estimated Income Statements, Western and American Hotels, 1890, 1895, 1914<sup>164</sup>**

	Western Hotel 1890		Western Hotel 1895		American Hotel 1914	
<b>Expenses</b>						
Gross Expenses	\$3,700	64%	\$6,014	77%	\$5,757	89%
Lease	\$600	10%	\$600	8%	\$0	
Wages	\$1,508	26%	\$1,200	15%	\$728	11%
	<u>\$5,808</u>		<u>\$7,814</u>		<u>\$6,485</u>	
<b>Revenues</b>						
Boarders	\$2,383	11%	\$2,000	10%	\$1,250	11%
Meals	\$5,400	25%	\$5,400	26%	\$3,200	29%
<b>Liquor</b>	<b>\$12,000</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>\$12,000</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>\$5,600</b>	<b>50%</b>
Tobacco	\$552	3%	\$500	2%	\$200	2%
Stables					\$250	2%
Daily Guests	\$840	4%	\$700	3%	\$700	6%
Rent by Hostler	\$180	1%	\$200	1%		
	<u>\$21,355</u>		<u>\$20,800</u>		<u>\$11,200</u>	
Gross Income	<u>\$15,547</u>		<u>\$12,986</u>		<u>\$4,715</u>	
Taxes	<u>\$300</u>		<u>\$266</u>		<u>\$543</u>	
Net Income	<u>\$15,247</u>		<u>\$12,720</u>		<u>\$4,172</u>	

The estimated income statements demonstrate the heavy reliance on liquor revenues. The Western and American Hotels, both managed by John McAteer, were commercial hotels operationally dependant upon their liquor and meal revenues. These two categories alone accounted for 80% or more of gross revenues. Despite contemporary perception of hotels

<sup>164</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Western Hotel Ledger, 1886-1891, American Guest Ledgers 1914-1916, and loose invoices and receipts from 1889, 1895 and 1914. See Appendix 8 for detailed estimation process, and appendix 9 for detailed expense tabulation.

earning significant revenue from overnight accommodation, this amounted to a small amount of actual recorded income at both hotels studied.

While we cannot assume that surviving records represent the hotel's complete revenue picture, we can safely presume that proportions would not differ substantially if the lacunae could be eliminated. Some revenue categories, such as meeting rooms, generated revenue that was likely represented within the aggregate bar and meal receipts. Reports of meetings held in Guelph hotels throughout the period occurred with regularity in the local newspapers.<sup>165</sup>

Bar receipts accounted for the largest single revenue source at both hotels. Between 1890 and 1895, draft and spirituous liquor sales amounted to approximately \$12,000 yearly at the Western Hotel, 58% of gross revenue. In 1914 at the American Hotel, sales accounted for \$5,600 or approximately 50% of revenue. The price of individual drinks was not documented within available evidence. However, using data from Jarrett Rudy's study of the Sleeman Brewery, we have both a wholesale and retail approximation of liquor prices at local hotels.<sup>166</sup> This data suggests that the margin realized on the sale of beverages was 75%, a half-pint of beer remaining relatively constant at five cents and a shot of liquor at ten cents. A half pint of beer cost the keeper between 1.25 and 2 cents. Using these figures, in the month of December in 1895, the bar at the Western served approximately 7,760 pints of beer, and 5,145 shots of

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<sup>165</sup> The GDH, February 1878, recorded that the Albion hosted the monthly St. Patrick's Society, the American the weekly meetings of the Guelph Draughts Club, twenty members of the Butcher's Association met at Mitchell's and the Lacrosse Club at Ward's Hotel.

<sup>166</sup> Rudy, pp. 21-25.

liquor. The peak consumption of liquor was on December 24, when approximately 600 pints of beer were served on a single day. On average, patrons consumed 250 pints of beer daily at the Western during 1895. The volume of beverages consumed was approximately three to one in favour of draft beers over spirits. In terms of revenue, this is not the case, with the revenue from spirits outweighing beer with the proportion increasingly weighted towards beer by 1914.

Beer was obtained in Guelph from one of two local breweries, Sleeman's Silver Creek or Holliday's. Beer from the Silver Creek was less expensive than beer from Holliday's, due to Sleeman's economies of scale,<sup>167</sup> and this could explain why the bulk of beer purchased by John McAteer came from Sleeman's. Occasional purchases suggest that McAteer did turn to Holliday's when there was an immediate need that Sleeman's supply could not satisfy. The cost of the beer purchased at both the Western and the American was similar. However, the actual volumes purchased at a time were substantially less at the American. Where it was commonplace for John McAteer to order more than one keg of ale at the Western, when he made purchases at the American, they are often in quantities of as few as a dozen bottles at a time. One explanation for this may have been that draft beverages tended to go bad and were subject to changes in the weather, and McAteer simply did not sell as much beer at the American. Therefore, he tended to rely on purchases of smaller quantities in a just-in-time fashion. Another possibility was the branding of beer and discrimination by the public for

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<sup>167</sup> Tony Shaman, "Guelph's Master Brewers and Maltsters", GHS 33, 1999, p.25.

one type brand over another that took hold amongst consumers in Canada around the turn of the century.<sup>168</sup> While beer was rarely purchased by the bottle at the Western in the late 1880s and early 1890s, McAteer increasingly purchased beer by the bottle at the American.

The hotel's advertising prominently declared the "finest liquors and spirits available," so it should come as no shock to find a variety of types of liquor and spirits purchased by the hotel. The invoices for the year 1895 reveal over \$1,527 spent on rye, malt, gin, scotch, bitters, brandy, wine, fruit wine, claret, sherry under a variety of trade names. Although there was a 'wine clerk' on staff, wine does not feature heavily in the buying habits of either the hotel or its patrons.

Cigars also contributed to bar revenues. McAteer purchased cigars in quantities of either fifty or a hundred directly from the local manufacturer. In 1895, \$276.30 was spent by the hotel on cigars which contributed approximately \$500 in revenue. McAteer's advertisements said that the finest cigars were always kept on hand at the Western Hotel. They accounted for between 3-3.5% of expenses, but the higher margin on their sales meant that the contribution to profits likely exceeded that from accommodation.

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### **The Dining Room**

Both the Western Hotel and the American Hotel offered dining rooms in addition to a bar room and sitting rooms for guests. In 1851, with the exception of the single unlicensed

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<sup>168</sup> Heron, Booze, pp.95-100.

*Eating Saloon*, there were no other function-specific restaurants listed in Guelph.<sup>169</sup>

Presumably, those looking for a place for a meal away from home turned to the hotel. Over the next decades, there was an increase in identifiable public eating establishments in addition to the hotel. Nonetheless, even by 1895, there were fewer than ten in Guelph.<sup>170</sup> The people eating at the hotel were not only those boarding in the hotel itself, but those working nearby or living in boarding houses. Doctors, lawyers, teachers and bachelors were examples of those who patronized the hotel restaurant.<sup>171</sup> The amount of food provided was plentiful, something which was demonstrated in the daily purchases of foodstuffs elaborated upon below.

The fact that the hotelkeeper often charged for meals in conjunction with rooms causes a difficulty in separating the two. Occasionally, the clerk recorded meals in the register, separately from that for accommodation and this allows for some dissection of the meal charges. Lunch was available at both hotels at a flat rate of twenty-five cents, a standard price that did not change between 1895 and 1914. Dinner cost twenty-five cents in 1890, but rose to thirty-five cents by 1914. Breakfast cost fifteen cents when provided in conjunction with a room as a 'board and breakfast'.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> J. Lovell, *Canada Directory*, (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1851).

<sup>170</sup> Henry Vernon, *Vernon's City of Guelph Directory*, 1894.

<sup>171</sup> UGA, Huron County Oral History Project Collection, Violet Beswitherick, and Lenora Beswitherick. "Interview with Violet and Lenora Beswitherick, 1980-1981." 1980-1981. 3 cassettes, transcript.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

Meals accounted for the second most substantial source of revenue at the hotel at approximately twenty-five per cent of gross revenue. Unlike liquor however, they provided less of a margin for the keeper and required greater inputs of labour.

**Figure 16 – Photograph of Restaurant at the American Hotel, 1905 and a Guelph bar room, c1900<sup>173</sup>**



Examination of the groceries procured by hotelkeepers provides insight on the quality and quantity of food provided at the nineteenth-century hotel. Many baked goods were purchased in a finished form as either cakes or loaves of bread. Meats were of great variety, and volumes at times suggest that large groups were eating at the hotel. Nearly \$500 was spent on meat at the Western in 1895. This compared with less than \$80 spent on dairy products. Little or no fish was purchased at the Western Hotel, with the exception of oysters, which were associated with the consumption of beer. The bar offered “An oyster with every draught”. In contrast, at the American, the quantity and variety of fish was vast. Oysters were purchased by the quart, and a typical month saw the purchase of two or more gallons of them. From the late 1880s, fresh fruit was purchased on a daily basis. Oranges, lemons, limes

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<sup>173</sup> Stewart, volume 2, p.35; GPLA, R.A.M Stewart Collection, F38-0-15-0-0-293 (cropped and resized).

and grapes were all on Jane McAteer's grocery lists. The variety of fruits purchased along with spices suggests that they were used in the cooking, thus indicating the potential of a fine table of fare offered at the Western and the American. The variety of goods purchased from single sources was common and no single store appears to have been favoured over another. Thus, it seems likely that Jane McAteer and other hotelkeepers procured goods only as needed and shopped at the establishment that could provide them in a timely fashion.

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### **Stables**

Revenue came from providing stabling for horses and livery service for hotel guests. Under the terms of the tavern license, stabling was required. There was an even mix of stables run by the hotel and those simply attached and operated independently in Guelph.<sup>174</sup> In Guelph in 1867, of the four hostlers noted in the business directory, two of the four resided at the hotels where they were employed. In 1873, two separate hotels had live-in hostlers. The smaller hotels tended to have a small stable and employ their own hostler. The larger hotels seem to have more commonly been associated with attached hostleries.

Although he himself had operated a stable adjoining the Albion Hotel for at least six months in 1886, at the Western Hotel in June and July 1888, John McAteer charged 'Peter the Hostler' \$15/month to run the stable. For August and September, he charged the same rate to Thomas Black. In October 1888, he charged Mr. Kelly only \$9/month to run the stable. The

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<sup>174</sup> Business directories for the period indicated a variety of hostleries. Attachment to hotel was measured by examining the place of residence of the hostler as well as listing in the directory for stables. If operated by the proprietor of hotel, there was no additional name mentioned for hostler.

initial rate that he attempted to obtain from hostlers seems to have been excessive and when adjusted lead to a longer term association.

There were spaces for over 400 horses at the Western in 1888.<sup>175</sup> Stable occupancy rates or quantities of supplies provided are unknown. However, a customer was charged \$144 directly by McAteer, for a year's board at the Western stable beginning in 1889.<sup>176</sup> This suggests that space and supplies retailed at \$12/month. If in fact, the hostlers at the Western moved on because the rent was too high, the occupancy rates must have been extremely low, short-term stabling provided little revenue, was provided gratis to facilitate local commerce, or McAteer kept some of the stalls for himself. Evidence does not indicate the clients using the stables at either hotel, so it is not possible to discover whether hotel stables were used by hotel patrons exclusively or by the wider public. Near the end of the period of study, keepers faced the decision of whether to convert their stables to garages to accommodate motor vehicles. At the American in 1916, the McAteers explored this possibility, but discovered that the cost of insurance for an attached garage was prohibitively expensive and there is no evidence that the conversion was completed.<sup>177</sup>

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### **Accommodation**

Accommodation at Victorian hotels took a variety of forms. Rooms were available by the hour, by the day and on an ongoing board basis. At the American Hotel, for example, the

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<sup>175</sup> Advertisement for Western Hotel, 1888 on flyleaf of Guelph City Directory for 1889, (Ingersoll: Union Publishing Company, 1889).

<sup>176</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Ledger for Western Hotel, 1886-1891.

<sup>177</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Box 1, Letter dated 3 November 1915, between John McAteer and Charles Davidson, Insurance Agent.

guest register contains entries for Joan of Arc, Cleopatra and Helen of Troy, accompanied by unidentified male escorts.<sup>178</sup> Revenues derived from accommodation accounted for approximately fourteen per cent of gross revenue at the Western Hotel in 1895. Boarders accounted for the bulk of this amount. In total, board returned \$2,383 in 1890, compared to only approximately \$840 from overnight guests.

The cost of a room at the Western – “the best \$1/day hotel in town” – was nominally a dollar. However, the amount charged for a room varied based on whether the keeper provided meals with the room, what floor the room was on, its location relative to the street, the number of guests occupying the room and presumably, how many people were actually sleeping in the bed(s). While earlier literature remarks upon multiple strangers sharing a single bed at a country tavern, this practice may have become less common in the urban setting later in the century.<sup>179</sup> Nonetheless, examination of the registers from the American Hotel during 1914-16, indicates that the maximum number of persons in a room was four. Cases of two persons sharing a room were very common.<sup>180</sup> Although in most cases, those sharing the room seemed to have arrived together, there are clearly cases of people arriving at different times and simply wanting to share a room to reduce the cost. In cases of multiple

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<sup>178</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Guest Register for American Hotel, 1914-1915. While these may simply be pranks by the clerk they remain suggestive of the use of rooms for less than respectable rendezvous.

<sup>179</sup> Roberts, "Taverns and Tavern-Goers in Upper Canada, the 1790s to the 1850s", pp.56-7.

<sup>180</sup> Hotels were largely a male domain. While this has been documented from a liquor perspective (Heron, Roberts), from the guest registers at the American (July 1914-July 1916), of the 1,183 recorded guests, only one is an unescorted female. There are only two cases of apparently unrelated females sharing a room and of the approximately, ten other females recorded all were identified as the wife of a male guest. The bulk of guest patronage of the study hotels is by males.

occupants, the keeper did not split the cost of a room proportionally. A single person in a single room eating no meals was charged a dollar. Two persons sharing that same room would each be charged seventy-five cents. In the cases where four persons shared a room, the charge was fifty cents per person at the American in 1914.<sup>181</sup>

Recorded room numbers at the American ranged from one to forty-nine, although visual analysis suggests the actual number of rooms was no more than thirty-six. There were twenty-nine distinct room numbers recorded as assigned to guests, which is probably a closer estimate of the number of bedrooms that were available at this hotel. In 1869, prior to the addition of an expanded stable facility that also provided additional rooms, there were approximately twenty-one rooms available. Of the 1,789 entries in the register, 771 were of guests with recorded room numbers. Of this dataset, fourteen rooms were assigned only once or twice. Of the fifteen remaining rooms, the most frequently assigned room was occupied on at least 134 separate occasions. The average room was assigned fifteen times during the year. However, there is nothing to ensure that a fixed room number system was employed. While we might expect that room numerals were fixed to doors, room seven may in fact have been “the one two doors down on the second floor.” The larger room numbers were used to imply a greater grandeur to a modest hotel.

Analysis of the guest register at the American demonstrated a pattern of room allotment. While there is no indication of the room numbering pattern at the hotel and no

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<sup>181</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Guest Register for American Hotel, 1914-1915.

floor plans appear to have survived, certain rooms were used more often than others. This could indicate that some rooms were better located, quieter, or possibly better warmed, furnished or generally more desirable. There is evidence that the McAteers practiced a certain room rotation. Once a room had been assigned in the register, the likelihood of that room being assigned to a subsequent guest following the first guest's departure was extremely high. The reason for assigning a recently occupied room rather than making a new room available could have been that constant use reduced cleaning costs. Changing of sheets was easier than cleaning a room that had been left idle. With a very low occupancy rate at the American, with no more than four boarders and rarely more than five guests on any given day, many of the rooms probably sat vacant. Visual evidence suggests that furnishings at the American were piecemeal. Figure 16 (page 87) shows the restaurant of the hotel in 1905, and we can see three different styles of chairs at the six tables in the dining room. Oral transcripts of recollections about contemporary hotels relate that the typical bedroom featured a wooden bed, dresser, and chair and was sparsely furnished.<sup>182</sup>

Substantial costs resulted from maintenance of the hotel's physical plant. These involved routine repairs to machinery and systems such as the furnace, heating systems, plumbing, boilers or even the cesspool, which was cleaned out at least twice a year. The additional expenditure at the American was probably because it was older, although the proprietor may have lavished greater care on a hotel that was owned rather than leased by the

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<sup>182</sup> UGA, Huron County Oral History Project Collection, "Interview with Violet and Lenora Beswitherick, 1980-1981".

proprietor. Insurance on the hotel premises was stipulated in all recorded mortgages. Insurance was also mandated in leases and the costs were borne by the lessee. In 1914 at the American Hotel, the \$5000 policy on the boiler cost \$55 per annum and was more than the \$52.00 cost of the policy on the contents of the hotel itself. There does not appear to have been any sort of liability insurance, and the total value of the policy on the physical premises was for \$10,000 at both the American and the Western. Municipal taxes were a minimal expenditure for the hotelkeeper. It is worth noting that the lessee paid the taxes on the hotel as part of the lease.<sup>183</sup>

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### **Employment at the Hotel**

Labour costs represented between ten and fifteen percent of the expense of the hotel operation. There was a substantial variability in the proportion of costs resulting from employment of familial labour. Certain core positions did not vary throughout the period or appear to be related to the scale of the operation. These include the hostler and bartender/wine clerk. The number of domestics, clerks and laundresses varied more, depending on the scale of the operation and the number of guests or boarders accommodated. The Business Directory for 1889 provided a particularly good survey of hotel employment.

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<sup>183</sup> GPLA, City of Guelph: "Municipal Assessment Roll, 1913"; GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Box 2, Letters between Provincial Secretary and John McAteer from 1912-1916.

**Table 7 - Occupational Data from the Business Directory for the City of Guelph, 1889<sup>184</sup>**

Hotel	Managers	Proprietors	Hostlers	Bartenders	Domestics	Bookkeeper	Clerks	Porters	Laundress	Cooks	Total Employees	Boarders	Employees/Boarder
Albion Hotel		1	1	1	2						5	4	1.25
American Hotel		1	1		6	1	1				10	12	0.83
Central Hotel		1					1				2	4	0.50
City Hotel		1	1		1		1				4	4	1.00
Commercial Hotel	1	1	1		6						9	20	0.45
European Hotel		1		1	3			1			6	0	
Fountain House		1		1							2	4	0.50
Garbutt House		1	1	1	3						6	12	0.50
Heffernan House		1				1					2		
New Western Hotel		1	1	1	5				1		9	11	0.82
Ontario Hotel		1									1	3	0.33
Priory Hotel		1	1		2		1			1	6	6	1.00
Queen's Hotel		1	1		4						6	6	1.00
Royal Hotel		1		1	7		2	1			12	6	2.00
Union Hotel		1	1		2	1					5	4	1.25
Victoria Hotel		1	1		6			1			9	18	0.50
Wellington Hotel	1	1			13		2	3			20	7	2.86
17 Hotels Listed	2	17	10	6	60	3	8	6	1	1	114	121	

The position of **bartender** was central to the successful operation of the hotel. The keeper himself often filled this role. Evidence indicates that the bartender often lived on the premises. At the Western, there were two bartenders employed prior to 1886. However, by 1890, John McAteer assumed the role of bartender, alternating with a second bartender who lived off premises. The latter was paid a flat rate of \$9/week.<sup>185</sup> The American and the Western only employed single wine stewards, between 1901 and 1916, the Commercial, Queen's and Royal Hotels employed as many as three individuals in this role. The larger

<sup>184</sup> Guelph City Directory for 1889. (Ingersoll: Union Publishing Company, 1889). Consistency of occupational representation in business directories varied over the period. The records for 1889 appear to be the most complete and representative of employment at local hotels.

<sup>185</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Western Hotel Ledger 1886-1891 and loose invoices and receipts, 1886-1896.

Commercial Hotel had a staff of eight to ten employees, which included a full time manager. The proprietor lived at the hotel, yet employed a manager, thus demonstrating the need for a supervisory position.

Although hotelkeepers occasionally employed a **hostler** directly, in most cases, this self-employed individual leased the right to run a livery service in connection with the hotel stable. As we have seen, McAteer leased out stable operations, but by 1892, he was charging guests directly for livery services. Whether the stable operations were included in the actual business of the hotel was a question of financial viability.

In 1889, there were at least eight **clerks** in Guelph's 17 identified hotels. Only the larger hotels employed more than one clerk; this often involved a night clerk and a day clerk. All the clerks were residents of the hotel and their compensation included board at the hotel. At the Western in 1895, the clerk received a weekly wage of \$4. As with bartenders and hostlers, this occupation was uniformly male and frequently filled by a younger son in the family of the hotelkeeper as at the American in 1914.<sup>186</sup>

**Domestics** were the most numerous employees at nineteenth-century hotels. They consistently represented more than half the employees of Guelph hotels. At the Western Hotel, domestics functioned as both chambermaids and as servers in the restaurant. Given evident gaps in information about staffing positions at hotels, it would seem probable that employment at a nineteenth-century hotel involved fulfilling a variety of diverse labour roles

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<sup>186</sup> Business directories and GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Western Hotel Ledger 1886-1891 and loose invoices and receipts, 1886-1896.

throughout the day. Some resided at the hotel, others in a local home. Amongst domestics, a significant percentage had another family member filling the same role at a local hotel. The domestic received a wage of \$3/week plus board in 1896. In addition to wives and daughters, a cursory survey suggests that unmarried Irish women fulfilled the majority of positions as hotel domestics. At hotels where this was the case, they also tended to do so exclusively. There was also a strong correlation between the ethnicity of the keeper and the ethnicity of the domestic staff.<sup>187</sup> When the keeper was Irish, he tended to employ Irish domestics. At the Western Hotel in 1889 there were five domestics employed: Lizzie Cameron, Julia Mahoney, Jane O’Leary, Cassie Sullivan, and Bridget Whelan. All five lived at the hotel run by John McAteer, an Irish Roman Catholic keeper.

Few hotel **cooks** showed up in business directories or census records. This may be because a person filling multiple roles handled the task, or because it typically fell to the wife of the keeper. At the Western in 1889, Jane McAteer carried out this role in addition to her child-rearing responsibilities. At the American in 1914, she again fulfilled this role. As husband and wife, the McAteers likely faced a decision of whether to hire a domestic to assist with family responsibilities, as Jane’s skills may have been more valuable to the operation of the hotel.

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<sup>187</sup> This data is drawn from assorted Guelph Business Directories from 1871-1916 and manuscript census records from 1871 and 1881. Domestics were manually matched by name and address with other family members. Ethnicity was deduced by both last name and census record. Whether these employees were new arrivals in the town or even the county is not noted.

Guelph hotels during the study period relied on family members for many of the staff roles in the hotel. The family was indispensable in reducing labour costs as well as contributing to livelihood, training for future employment, or earning extra money for the family within the hotel. The Gay family demonstrated this same family employment. James Gay, the father, managed the Farmer's Arms on Cork Street, while his wife Elizabeth, managed Gay's Hotel on Woolwich, which they also owned. James moved on to manage the Bullfrog on Eramosa Road, while his son, James Jr., was clerk at the Royal Hotel and other son, William, was bartender at Gay's.<sup>188</sup> Sons were frequently employed as either barkeeper or clerk. This was the case in the Ellis family at the American, the Bunyans at the Dominion, the Booklesses at the Royal and the Singulars at the Western, to cite a few examples.

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### **Leaseholds and Ownership**

During the period of this study, hotels demonstrated a range of ownership patterns. Leasing a hotel premises was prevalent and profitable for many keepers. In the case of the Western, the lease was \$1,200/annum. However, the keeper held a \$13,000 mortgage on the property, which generated \$600 in yearly interest. This theoretically reduced his net rent to \$600/year, which was a small fraction of the revenues actually generated from hotel operations. In Guelph during the study period, leasing records at the Land Registry Office reveal yearly rental rates ranging from \$500-\$1,500. Recording of a lease was in the interest of the lessee as it protected him in the event the owner sold the hotel property during the term

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<sup>188</sup> Hinds, p.15.

of the lease. Additionally, the Ontario Registrars Act required any lease over seven years to be registered.<sup>189</sup>

The conditions placed upon lessees varied little among hotels. However, some hotel specific clauses did arise in the leases in Guelph. Keepers renting hotels were required to maintain the premises as they were at time of rental. This resulted in significant expenditure (higher than a yearly average) on maintenance and furnishings at the Western during the final year of the lease in 1896. Hotel owners also stipulated that should the liquor license held for that particular location be revoked or not renewed at any point during the lease, the lease itself would become null and void. It is not certain whether this was to protect the keeper who would have little use carrying on at an unlicensed hotel, or the owner who likely wanted to ensure that the keeper kept the hotel in compliance with licensing rules, that rent would be forthcoming and could that could be leased to another keeper as a going concern. This reaffirms the importance placed upon being able to sell alcohol at the hotel.<sup>190</sup>

A unique clause was included in the lease for the Queen's Hotel in 1905. George and Sarah Sleeman, owners of the Silver Creek Brewery, also owned the hotel. In a lease between the Sleemans and L.H. Collingridge it was stipulated that all draft beverages served at the hotel must be purchased from the Silver Creek Brewery. This is the sole documented example

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<sup>189</sup> Ontario: Statutes, 1868, "Ontario Registrars Act, 1868", 31 Victoria, ch.20.69. "This Act shall extend to every lease for a longer term than seven years".

<sup>190</sup> LROG, Lease E1573 between Robert Coulson and John Hewer, which appears to be typical.

of a *tied house*<sup>191</sup> in Guelph for this period. Jarrett Rudy's study of the Sleeman Brewery indicates that the Sleeman family owned a number of hotels during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The examination of cashbooks from the Sleeman Collection indicates rental payments from local keepers. However, there are no leases, beyond this single case, to indicate the direct financial connection between hotelkeepers and brewers.<sup>192</sup>

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### **Barriers to Entry**

Taking into account the turnover in the trade, as well as the changes in the number of hotels in Guelph, barriers to entry into the hotel trade deserve examination. Licensing, access to capital, and business ability all contributed to limiting the number of hotelkeepers practicing their trade in Guelph. The availability and qualifications for a liquor license stood in the way of practicing the hotel trade in Guelph. As liquor licensing legislation states, licenses could be transferred between people as well as hotels, and therefore were saleable commodities. Transfer was permitted if there were no legal grounds for revocation *and* the local inspector approved.<sup>193</sup> An existing hotelkeeper could therefore choose to leave the trade selling either the hotel or lease, along with the license. Thus, regulation either compelled a potential hotelkeeper to find a licensed house willing to employ him or to find a previously licensed hotel to lease.

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<sup>191</sup> *Tied House* refers to a hotel, saloon, or tavern in which a contractual supplier held a financial stake in the establishment.

<sup>192</sup> Rudy, p.16.

<sup>193</sup> Ontario: Statutes, 1869, "An Act Respecting Tavern and Shop Licenses", 32 Victoria, ch. 32:18-19.

Availability of capital would also present a barrier to entry for someone hoping to lease a going concern as a proprietor. In most written leases filed at the registry office, there was acknowledgement that the chattel goods and furniture necessary for the operation of the hotel were included in the rental.<sup>194</sup> However, indication that seizure of chattel goods within the hotel had occurred under the bankruptcy proceedings at the Imperial in 1908 suggests that the creditors of a proprietor had grounds to seize goods within the hotel.<sup>195</sup> It was also clearly the responsibility of the proprietor to maintain the furnishings and the functional apparatus of the hotel, which required, if not capital itself, at least access to it.

Gender was not an insurmountable barrier to hotel ownership. Mary Thompson, who purchased the Albion hotel in 1921, was one of the most successful hotelkeepers in Guelph. She was in the trade for thirty-one years.<sup>196</sup> Widows also demonstrated a community amongst themselves. Elizabeth Wagner, Maria Hirsch and Mary Buchie all married Guelph hotelkeepers during this period and figured prominently amongst the complex transactions involving hotel property.<sup>197</sup> All inherited hotel properties as widows and transferred portions to each other.<sup>198</sup> Maria, from her husband, Joseph Hirsch, Mary from her husband John Buchie and Elizabeth, the youngest, who pursued hotel ownership with her husband Joseph Wagner and on her own behalf .

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<sup>194</sup> LROG Leases, e.g. E1573 between Robert Coulson and John Hewer or E6271 between Mary Doran and John Hesson.

<sup>195</sup> GDM, 9 January 1908, p.1.

<sup>196</sup> Ducharme, pp. 63-4.

<sup>197</sup> See transaction Plan 8, Lot 110, January 1900, Maria Hirsch transferred property to Elizabeth Wagner and Mary Buchie, for \$1 in love and affection.

<sup>198</sup> LROG. Ledger for Plan 8, Lots 109-112.

Finally, the ability to run a hotel profitably cannot be overlooked. This is a difficult quality to quantify and one which this paper attempts to address. The examples of business failure in the cases of John Thorp, Simon Frederick or the twenty keepers that departed the trade within a year of entering the trade, suggest that the hotel demanded business proficiency and this clearly stood in the way of many potential keepers.

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### **Credit and Hotel Ownership**

A number of notable facts regarding the hotel trade in Guelph emerged from consideration of the R.G. Dun and Company Credit records for Guelph. These records demonstrated that bad business practices often led to failure; that capital demands were increasingly satisfied through property encumbrance; and ultimately that most hotelkeepers were rated as good trade risks. That R.G. Dun and Company compiled records on local hotel keepers suggests that hotels were not marginal operations and that information about operations was requested by merchants outside of the locality. There were enough keepers evidently doing business outside of the locality to warrant this attention.

In at least one case, aggressive business expansion led to business failure. John Thorp owned and operated the British Hotel, which eventually became the Royal. The Thorps were stalwart members of the Guelph business community, with James (father of John) serving as mayor of Guelph.<sup>199</sup> In the rather candid reportage of the Dun reporter, health issues initially threatened Thorp's ongoing business in November 1859. However, as the concerns over his

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<sup>199</sup> Hinds, p.10.

health abated, the reporter notes that his ‘mania’ for building had resulted in a hotel that was severely overbuilt for his potential in the business.<sup>200</sup> Thorp’s business was characterized as marginal and often ill-advised. While he had acquired substantial land holdings and constructed the small International Hotel on one of these, when Thorp bought the adjoining hotel and combined buildings to open ‘the big hotel’, his overextension resulted in a default on the mortgage by 1864.<sup>201</sup> The subsequent buyers, Robert and John Coulson immediately downsized the hotel operation and ironically sold a portion of the building to a local temperance society.<sup>202</sup> This failure reaffirmed the fact that while the hotel trade may have been lucrative, it took a keen sense of the trade to actually succeed in it and failure was always a possibility.

Business at this time, reliant on credit, was characterized by the ability to borrow against property held. As David Burley asserts, the financial collapse of 1857 adversely affected the “self-employed tradesman who had relied upon skill, maturity and community support for collateral.” One impact on the hotel trade was shown in a shift from almost exclusively self-employed proprietors in leased premises, towards some keepers being employed as skilled managers by hotel owners. Such was the case at the Wellington, Queen’s, Royal and Commercial Hotels by 1900. Additionally, many hotelkeepers and hotel owners encumbered their properties with multiple mortgages. There appears to have been an

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<sup>200</sup> NAC, R. G. Dun and Company, File 218B, Town of Guelph.

<sup>201</sup> LROG, Instruments detailing mortgages by John Thorp on Plan 8, Lot8.

<sup>202</sup> Hinds, p.38.

overwhelmingly aggressive stance amongst those reported pursuing opportunity. The ownership of the hotel property itself was not the only source of mortgage funds however, and the possession of a long-term lease was equally useful as collateral for obtaining credit.<sup>203</sup> The land registers indicate mortgages against both leases and hotel property by individual speculators presumably finding a secure short-term investment. Money secured by keepers in this manner appears to have been for short term projects such as renovation or acquisition of furniture. Mortgages were discharged rapidly in most cases. Hotel owners also required temporary business improvement loans, as was the case of Thomas Ward at the Victoria Hotel in 1878. Having purchased the hotel, he made a decision to expand and renovate it prior to commencing operations.<sup>204</sup>

Success did not come to all keepers in Guelph. Measurement of persistence demonstrated that keepers made money and persisted or made a significant investment that required a longer time to capitalize on in marginal circumstances. A number also left the trade. In the case of William Nichol, noted in the Dun reports as conducting business in the Town of Garafraxa (later Bellwood) in 1861, the R.G. Dun reporter recorded that he was carrying out business in a particularly “hard place.” Prophetically, the reporter questioned

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<sup>203</sup> David G. Burley, “‘Good for all he would ask’: Credit and Debt in the Transition to Industrial Capitalism – The Case of Mid-nineteenth Century Brantford, Ontario”, *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 1987 20(39), p.80.; LROG, Instruments, detailing mortgages, between Robert Coulson, Mary Ann Coulson, Lillie Coulson and John McAteer. E4437, E4708, E4867, E5196, E5191, GE6391.

<sup>204</sup> *GDH*, 7 March 1878. “Nice Job - Henry Grinilston has just completed a nice job of Graining at Ward's Victoria Hotel. The hall and staircase is done in oak, and the woodwork of the parlours, sitting rooms, dining room and sleeping apartments of every room in the house shines forth in beautifully worked curly and birdseye maple. The work is a credit to the skill of Mr. Grinilston and to the taste of Mr. Ward and makes the Victoria one of the neatest hotels in town.”

whether he could go on in business in Garafraxa. As records indicate, he did not. Shortly thereafter, he established the Court House Hotel in Guelph, and was both the owner and proprietor until his death in 1872.<sup>205</sup> His widow, Sarah, assumed the hotel and persisted until she was able to sell the property eight years later. While she continued to operate the hotel, her circumstances were strained and in 1878, she petitioned city council to have her license fee lowered as “she had not so good a stand as others”.<sup>206</sup> These keepers did not realize the healthy returns of others, but persisted nonetheless.

Another hotelkeeper of note was Dennis Coffee, an Irish Catholic immigrant who succeeded in business in Guelph. Coffee came to Guelph with very little and initially entered the carpentry trade. He simultaneously managed a hotel and was a blacksmith. His pursuit of multiple trades was likely testament to his ambition. He spent over ten years in the hotel trade, during which time; he acquired property throughout Guelph and continued his sideline occupations. As the Dun reporter stated, he worked very hard as witnessed by his business trajectory. Even within the three-year span of the Dun reports, he graduated from obscurity to a safe credit risk who, “will pay for all he buys.” Coffee built significant real estate holdings in Guelph and subsequently was rated a “very fine risk and a sound investment”.

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<sup>205</sup> NAC, R. G. Dun and Company, File 2020, Town of Garafraxa.

<sup>206</sup> GDH, 5 February 1878.

The Dun records and Coffee's business history substantiate that the hotel trade could be extremely lucrative for a hard worker with business acumen.<sup>207</sup>

Although there were a limited number of keepers tracked in the Dun reporters' records, keepers appeared in the Dun Rating books throughout the period.<sup>208</sup> They generally were given a safe pecuniary recommendation of, "good for small amounts of credit". The reporter's notes provide more details about business operations. What were the business trajectories of the recorded keepers? In most cases, the solid businessperson did establish a strong rating after a few years. In only a couple of cases did business traits or the locational circumstances get the better of them and lead to business failure according to R.G. Dun and Company. Given the frank nature of the reports provided throughout the Dun ledgers, one can conclude that keepers were largely of good character. There were references to drinking and gambling, but these were rare and the Dun reporters generally considered local keepers good for supplies necessary for operation of the business and in many cases good for "all he would ask" – the Dun term for those businesses and persons that demonstrated exemplary pecuniary strength.

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<sup>207</sup> Dennis O'Keefe, "The Disclosure of Obscurity: Dennis Coffee an Irish Catholic of Nineteenth Century Guelph." *GHS* 32 (1993), pp.63-69; NAC, R. G. Dun and Company, File 210K, Town of Guelph.

<sup>208</sup> In the course of this study, 31 persons in the liquor trade, as owners, keepers or brewers were identified in the R.G. Dun Credit Advisory Ledgers for Wellington County. There were nine individual keepers appearing in the City of Guelph. These records spanned the period 1858 to 1871. The Dun and Company Mercantile Credit Rating Books identified a more significant number of hotelkeepers for Guelph, but recorded only pecuniary strength.

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## Leaving the Hotel Trade

Although the nineteenth-century hotel trade could be profitable for the keeper, one third left it after five years, and two-thirds within twenty years. Death, insolvency, lack of capital to complete necessary renovations, business dissolution, capital gains and catastrophe all presented explanations for departure from the trade.

Death is an obvious explanation for exit from the trade, and indeed, many hotelkeepers died at their post. In many cases, their widows succeeded them in the trade. There were fourteen widows during the course of our study, who inherited their husband's hotel property or lease. The widow, Mary Thompson, for example, moved into the trade following the death of a husband. In other cases, sons took over for fathers, some in advance of actual death, when ill health incapacitated a parent. This happened to John McAteer, whose health failed shortly after buying the American Hotel in 1910. By 1912, the *McAteer Brothers* were running the American. However, they did not demonstrate either an aptitude or desire to continue to do so and their mother, Jane McAteer, figured increasingly in the running of the hotel. When John McAteer died in 1917, he left his assets, including the hotel, to his wife.<sup>209</sup>

Insolvency was also a frequent cause of exit from the trade. In 1908, Simon Frederick declared bankruptcy after nine-months at the Imperial Hotel on Cork Street. An

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<sup>209</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165, Box 2, Letter dated, May 1917, from Frank Hughes to Jane McAteer.

advertisement appeared in the Guelph Daily Mercury offering the contents for sale to pay the creditors.<sup>210</sup>

During the first two decades of the study period, unrealizable economies of scale seem to be the more frequent cause of departure from the trade. When the Licensing Committee for the City of Guelph required hotels to contain eight bedrooms (four more than previously), six experienced keepers immediately left the trade. Raising the minimum number of rooms disqualified seven of the twenty establishments licensed in 1869 (see Figure 17). Renovation to comply with the new requirements was either impossible or too expensive to justify. In 1875, nine hotels either closed permanently, temporarily or changed owners or proprietors, suggesting the impact that changing licensing requirements could have on the businesses of local hotelkeepers.<sup>211</sup>

Surprisingly, although fire and other catastrophes could have lead to departure from the trade, evidence suggests that rebuilding following a fire was more common. When the Castle Garden Tavern burned down in 1858, Patrick Moran, who had inherited the hotel from his father, used insurance proceeds to construct the Queen's Hotel, which survived to become a modern apartment in the 1920s. When the Great Western Hotel burned down in 1880, John Hewer, who leased it from George Tatham, used his share of the insurance money

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<sup>210</sup> GDM, 9 January 1908, p.1.

<sup>211</sup> GPLA, F2-8-1, City of Guelph License [sic] Committee Minutes, 1869-1875.; The Bay Horse, Pallister's, the Crown, the original Wellington Hotel and Bullfrog Inn closed permanently. Parker's (formerly Platt's) Hotel closed temporarily and reopened as Mitchell's. The Farmer's Inn had changed hands and did so again, closed temporarily and re-opened as the Haugh House (or Haugh's Hotel). Anderson's and the Dominion Hotel both closed for renovation and eventually re-opened. See Appendix 1 Durations of Guelph Hotel Operations, 1851-1921, for more detailed information.

to build his own hotel. Even the severe fire which all but destroyed the City Hotel in 1910, resulted in reconstruction of the hotel as an apartment complex.

Partnerships were an occasional business practice in the Guelph hotel trade. Partners Thomas Galer and George Bookless both left the trade, and the contents of the Royal Hotel were sold at auction after their business association ended in court litigation. A similar fate resulted from litigation between James Lindsay and George Black, partners in both the American Hotel and associated stagecoach lines.<sup>212</sup>

Less evident, but nonetheless probable, was the sale of businesses as going concerns. While the sale of the American Hotel to John and Jane McAteer by Joseph and Elizabeth Wagner in 1910 marked the re-entry of the McAteers and the exit of the Wagners, the sale of going concerns by active hotelkeepers to other hotelkeepers is rarely encountered in records. Purchase of hotels was less frequent by actual keepers, and when it occurred, the sales were generally by descendants of practicing keepers rather than keeper to keeper. Additional factors such as economic downturns leading to business failure, the advent of prohibition and voluntary retirement were also reasons for exit from the trade. These factors are discussed elsewhere.

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### **Boarders and Guests**

Boarding at a hotel was common in the late nineteenth-century. The profusion of boardinghouses specifically suggested that boarding was a predominant form of rental

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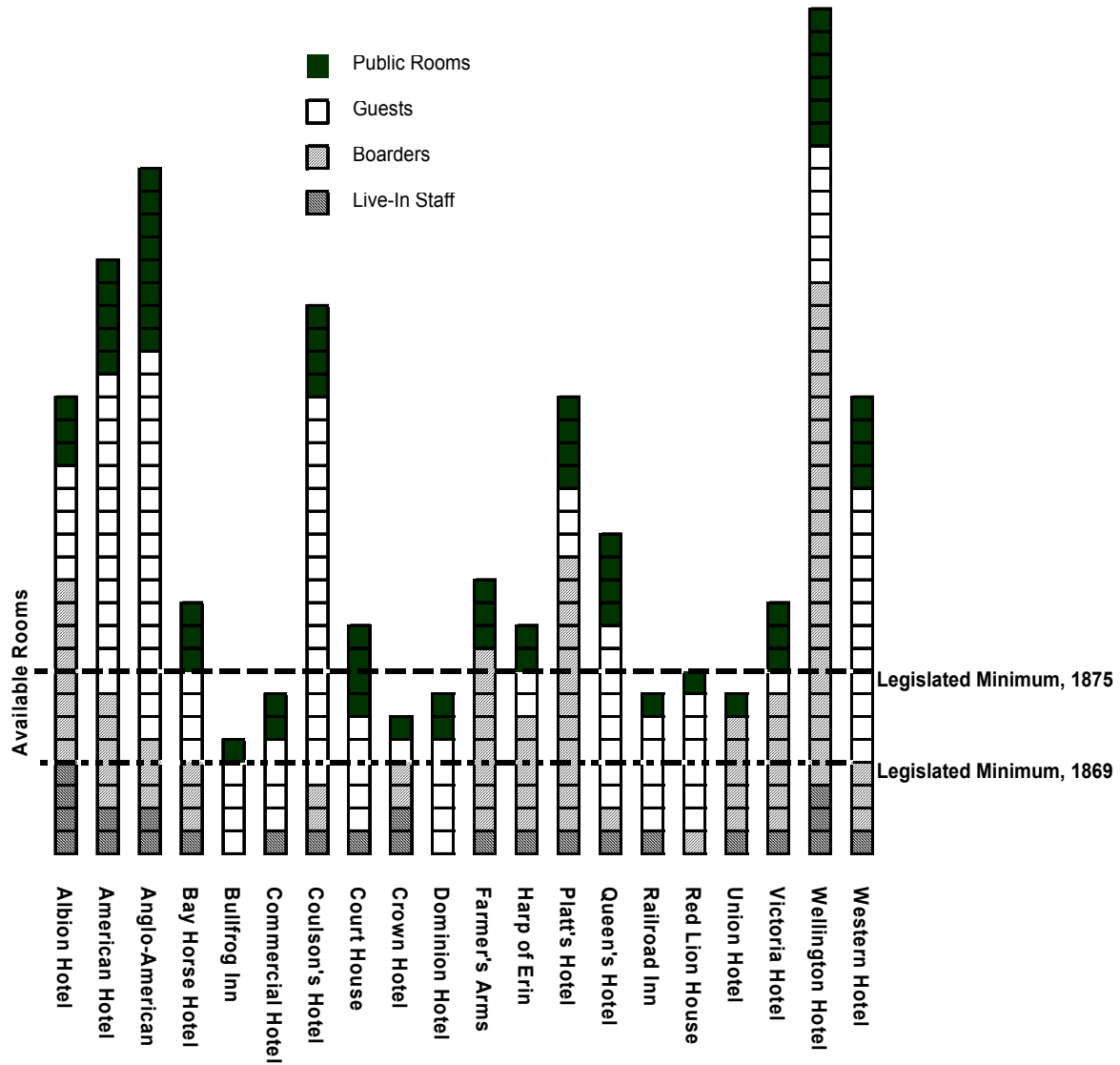
<sup>212</sup> GDM, April 1886.

accommodation.<sup>213</sup> The choice to board at a hotel over a private house offered the advantages of a less restrictive lifestyle and access to additional services such as an attached bar and dining room. In addition to long-term boarders, the family and staff also lived in the hotel. The following chart provides a graphic cross-section of the accommodation capacities of Guelph hotels in 1869. It details by hotel, the total rooms available, the portions occupied by live-in staff, boarders and public rooms. The remaining rooms are an estimate of available overnight guest rooms available. This illustration suggests that many hotels were primarily, if not entirely, occupied by boarders and may well be termed as boarding houses with liquor licenses.

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<sup>213</sup> Boarders at Guelph hotels were tracked and enumerated using the business directories for the period as well as references to boarders in guest registers from the Western and American Hotels.

**Figure 17 - Hotel Room Composition, Town of Guelph, 1869**



This chart approximates a virtual tour of the hotels in Guelph in 1869. A physical inventory was conducted by the ironically named Francis Marriott that year, when he was appointed License Inspector for South Wellington. Many of the hotels had the majority of their rooms occupied by boarders rather than overnight guests. Nonetheless, Platt's or the

Farmer's Arms, which were filled with boarders, also provided a substantial number of public rooms, which included the bar, dining room or sitting rooms.

The Guelph hotel market involved a heavy traffic in farmers. By 1850, produce was sold in the Guelph market every Wednesday and Sunday. Accommodation in Guelph was at a premium the first Monday in May and November when semi-annual livestock markets took place. The frequency of these livestock markets increased in 1858, with the introduction of farm stock and fat cattle markets on the first Wednesday of every month.<sup>214</sup> Guelph markets were the centre of Wellington County trade and drew a substantial number of hotel guests on a regular basis. Although the frequency of agricultural markets in Guelph decreased in the late nineteenth-century, there was still evidence of rural guests arriving for local agricultural fairs, such as the Ontario Provincial Winter Fair well into the twentieth century.<sup>215</sup> Increasingly, the larger proportions of patrons were commercial travelers in town on local business. Thus, the *Farmer's Arms* or the *Farmer's Inn*, which were named to reflected their clientele were renamed *Commercial Hotel* to reflect the new group of patrons.

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**Table 8 - Distance of Guest Residence from Guelph, American Hotel, 1914-1916<sup>216</sup>**

	City of Guelph	Within 100 Miles	Beyond 100 Miles	Total
Number	152	690	136	978
Percent	16%	71%	14%	

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<sup>214</sup> Ross W. Irwin, "Guelph's Market Square." *GHS* 34 (1994): pp. 33-5.

<sup>215</sup> Sonya Goldberg, "The Meeting of the City and the Country: The Ontario Provincial Winter Fair, 1900-1940", Unpublished M.A. University of Guelph, 2000, p.124.

<sup>216</sup> This information was calculated by mapping the place of residence when supplied in the guest registers cited previously and using Guelph as centre of a 100-mile radius circle.

The guests at the American came from as far away as Chicago, New York and Ireland. Those from Ireland may well have been associated with the McAteer family and do not seem to have been in Guelph on business. Those from New York and Chicago however, appear to have been commercial travelers who showed up on a repeating basis and on two occasions stated their business, as well as their place of origin. The majority, 71% of the guests, indicated a place of residence within a 100-mile radius of the town. Fourteen per cent came from further than 100 miles away and the remainder – 16% – indicated Guelph as place of residence. In 1915-16, an increasing number of soldiers were quartered at the American prior to moving onto training camps. These were classified as guests from the city.

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### **Conclusion**

This study contends that the nineteenth-century hotel business was a complex one and that the successful hotelkeeper was a skilled business owner who acquired and practiced skills particular to the trade. While bad financing and staffing decisions could ruin bad keepers, it does not necessarily follow that a competent keeper who made few mistakes, but demonstrated little ingenuity, would prosper beyond subsistence. Examination of the revenue from the hotel during this period indicates that it was dependent upon the sale of liquor. Expenses related to the sale of liquor required the acquisition and compliance with strict liquor licensing laws. Nonetheless, the margin on this commodity allowed an astute keeper the opportunity to realize very healthy margins on its sale and ultimately to profit handily from involvement in the hotel trade. As Jarrett Rudy states in his work on the Sleeman Brewery, Ontario “was a thirsty population, [and] one that could easily obtain alcohol.” The

liquor trade had more retail outlets than any other industry in the province.<sup>217</sup> While licensing regulations increased expenses, forcing the keeper to maintain rooms contributed little additional revenue. Nonetheless, profits from the sale of alcohol far outweighed the cost of maintaining these rooms. Boarders occupied a large proportion of the available guest rooms in local hotels. When transient guests were tracked, they primarily came from within 100 miles of Guelph.

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<sup>217</sup> Rudy, p.3.; Drummond, p.294.

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## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

This study has sought to explore the operation of the nineteenth and early twentieth century hotel trade from the perspective of the keeper. In order to complete a microstudy of the trade, the area of study was constrained to the City of Guelph. The period of study was also limited to begin in 1851, with the transfer of licensing power to municipalities and the expansion of rail transport in Canada West, and end with Prohibition in Ontario in 1916. Consequently, this study is largely suggestive as opposed to conclusive. It gives rise to at least as many questions as it answered. Further study of the keeper, both in more detail and from a broader societal and geographic context would likely prove fruitful. For example, examination of membership and interaction of the keeper with community groups would contribute to better understanding of how the hotelkeeper was perceived socially. Studying the period following 1916 would likewise prove to be rewarding. The experience of the hotelkeeper facing prohibition and the new definition of the standard hotel raises several questions. With so much revenue suddenly eliminated, how did the enterprising keeper cope? Did the hotel re-invent itself and flourish or did it become a marginal operation? After prohibition, did customers return to the hotel, or did the length of separation lead to the development of new social drinking habits? With changes in transportation and the individual family's increased leisure mobility, where does the motor hotel fit into the schema?

Exploration of existing historiography has indicated a similar gap in the study of hotels during this period in other regions of Canada. Did local prohibition in other provinces have the same impact upon the hotel as in Ontario? Conversely, were hotelkeepers subject to the same changing licensing regulations outside of Ontario? How did these changes affect the keepers? Were there distinct regional attitudes towards drink and if so, what impact did these have on the evolution of the hotel?

We began this study with a narrative that attempted to establish a real-world perspective on the Victorian hotelkeeper's world. The story of the McAteers allowed for the examination of a variety of facets of the trade and raised a variety of questions. These included the nature of entry into the business, the profit that could be realized, the impact of legislation and enforcement, the importance of specialized skills and the role of family in realizing success. As well, we addressed social aspects of the hotelkeepers' world, such as respectability, the moral spirit of the times and ethnicity.

Existing work on the nineteenth-century hotelkeeper has focused largely on the patrons and not the proprietor, and has perpetuated, until recently, a culture originally constructed by opponents of drink and the liquor trade. Investigation has demonstrated that the nineteenth-century hotel fulfilled a variety of roles that the community considered both essential and respectable and this has given rise to a reappraisal of its role. Works by Roberts, Heron and Campbell have broadened our understanding of this fascinating area. Moderation in re-evaluation, as with drink itself, is a prescription for proper perspective. This study has

attempted to build on this evidence and has balanced it with a new perspective from the viewpoint of the operator of the business of the hotel.

Ultimately, this study reinforces that the hotel business was a heavily regulated trade. While enforcement of regulation may have been inconsistent, this uncertainty led to the need for the successful hotelkeeper to be flexible, adaptable and able to deal with rules that changed regularly and on occasion threatened his profitability. A spatial and physical examination of Guelph hotels explored the social geography of the trade and located them as nodes within the changing transportation network and evolving trade patterns. It established the prevalence of Irish keepers in the hotel trade.

From a business perspective, this study concluded that liquor sales dominated the hotel's revenue. While this justified the attention of the temperance societies that targeted the hotel, the additional services that were provided to comply with licensing demonstrated that business was complex in nature. While accommodation was legally required, it accounted for very little actual revenue and involved significant expenses. Study of accommodation at the hotel concluded that local customers accounted for the bulk of business at Guelph hotels. Boarders, who contributed a large proportion of the accommodation revenue during the earlier part of the study period, had moved out of the hotel by 1916. The keeper required a specialized set of skills to balance market demands, services and the running of a profitable business with social and legislative pressure that represented community interests, sometimes in direct conflict with the keeper's business considerations. To be successful the keeper had to possess all the qualities of the nineteenth-century businessman and balance these with

additional inter-personal skills to manage political relationships, optimization skills to account for radical shifts in regulation of the trade and simultaneously maintain public respectability. Most importantly, the keeper harmonized being a good host and offering customers a convivial atmosphere, with maintaining order and avoiding personal overindulgence which could threaten business operation.

The keeper knew that the public wanted a place to socialize, to drink and occasionally to find overnight accommodation. To provide the most profitable of these, the liquor trade, he was forced to accommodate guests and provide meals and sought to balance the business operation. The keeper was also aware that there were forces conspiring to limit his ability to practice his trade. Temperance groups were very public in their statements, which declared that they wanted to eliminate the keeper's business. Governments responded to the wishes of their constituents and yet maintained their own balance between those that elected them and those that funded their campaigns and contributed to party coffers.

The fluid nature of the social and legislative landscape challenged the keeper to accept an amount of risk and base decisions on experience. Experience suggested that prohibition was a bygone social experiment that communities had tried and rejected, and was unlikely to be re-imposed. A series of plebiscites had demonstrated a popular appeal for prohibition, but all had been skillfully deflected at a governmental level. Looking at the world in 1912 for example, no keeper could have expected to be embroiled within a global conflict, let alone surmise that that conflict would lead to temporary and, in 1919, apparently perpetual prohibition. Just as the magnitude, duration and warfare of the First World War caught most

people unprepared, so did the combination of timing that saw prohibition implemented as a patriotic and nationalistic *sacrifice*.

The hotel trade in the late nineteenth-century was composed of individual keepers who made independent decisions based on the best information available to them and utilizing the skills and judgment that each possessed. This study was informed by the lives lived by the McAteers as well as other individual keepers and their families in the Guelph area. By approaching the study on a local scale, we were able to see the individual stories, the individual decisions, and the inner workings of a series of small independent businesses. This study is able to identify commonalities between the independent operations and experiences as well as differences that would probably have been invisible had we been dealing with aggregate numbers. We are not forced to speak of nameless, faceless aggregates of an occupational designation. We are not faced by a typical hotelkeeper. We meet John and Jane McAteer, Dennis Coffee, Mary Thompson and John Thorp on a more personal level. In fact, we can even appreciate the dynamics of the family itself and realize that between John and Jane McAteer, each practiced a subtly different understanding of the hotel trade. The hotelkeeping trade had yet to be parceled into chains. It was composed of individuals, each of whom made his and her own decisions, and ran a unique small business.

Furthermore, the close study of a single place such as Guelph presents an opportunity to follow the intricate details of a particular trade and address a variety of issues with clarity simply because of smaller scale. Details are plentiful, but not overwhelming and allow for construction of a comprehensive model of a place and time. It was possible to separate the

conflicting currents and address multiple layers that would be difficult in a larger population. The liquor trade, often clouded by complexity of regulations, attitudes and practises, can through a detailed microstudy, prismatically reveal the nuances of the social, political, moral and economic currents.

Ultimately, the late Victorian hotelkeeper inhabited a specialized business niche. The keeper responded to market forces and focused on business decisions. These were often tempered personal decisions relating to family and a role in the community beyond that of the trade of keeper. The decision making process was complex and, as this study contends, business failure and varying aptitudes for the trade indicate that keepers had to possess certain acumen. To succeed and realize the returns that many keepers of this period did, demanded ingenuity, a diverse set of skills in human relations, business principles, and a willingness to accept the risks inherent in operating a nineteenth-century commercial hotel. Indeed, the occupation called for balance of personal life with public practice. Although not a guarantee of success, if mastered, the keeper's trade returned wealth and respectability to many of the exemplary individuals noted in this study.

# Appendix 1

## Guelph Hotel Keeper

### Summary Data, 1851-1916

The number of years that a keeper was in the trade was measured by totaling the number of years of their tenure at each hotel. Although John McAteer entered the trade in 1880, he was at the Albion for 7 years, the Western Hotel for 10 years, the Victoria Hotel for 4 years and the American for 8 years for a total of 29 years in the trade. The years where he indicated he was retired are not included in the years in the trade. This data was compiled from local business directories, municipal tax rolls, licensing records and land registry office records. Data was entered into a database, where obvious inconsistencies in names could be immediately determined. Land records allowed for determination of property based on owner, where street address changed over the duration of the study. The keepers included in the dataset operated a hotel in Guelph during the study period 1851-1916 and are sorted by total number of years in the trade. When their careers extended beyond 1916, these years were also included in the dataset. R.G. Dun and Company data is drawn from actual company report registry source for the period 1859-1871.

Full Name	Max Years at Single Hotel	Years in Trade	Number of Hotels	Hotels	Referred to in R.G. Dun
Thompson, Mary P.	31	31	1	Albion Hotel	
Johnson, James A.	15	30	2	European Hotel, King Edward Hotel	
Singular, Lot	21	30	2	New Western Hotel, Victoria Hotel	
McAteer, John	10	29	4	Albion Hotel, Western Hotel, Victoria Hotel, American Hotel	
Merlihan, Thomas	29	29	1	Ontario House	
Ellis, Thomas	13	27	2	Great Western Hotel, American Hotel	239 (1863)
Reinhart, George	27	27	1	Commercial Hotel	
Bunyan, John	14	26	3	City Hotel, Dominion Hotel, Temperance House	
Hewer, John	11	26	5	Crown Hotel, Great Western Hotel, Hewer's Hotel, GTR Hotel, Priory Hotel	
Gay, Elizabeth	23	23	1	Gay's Inn	
Nichols, William	23	23	1	Courthouse Hotel	202H (1861)
Reinhart, Christian	23	23	1	Commercial Hotel	
Clancey, E.B.	22	22	1	Wellington Hotel	
Doran, John	9	22	4	Union Hotel, Central Hotel, Imperial Hotel, City Hotel	
Reinhart, Rudolph	21	21	1	Fountain House Hotel	
Singular, Wellington	21	21	1	New Western Hotel	
Deady, Martin	6	20	4	American Hotel, Queen's Hotel, Farmer's Arms Hotel, Wellington Hotel	
Heffernan, Daniel J.	14	20	3	Board of Trade Hotel, Victoria Hotel, Albion Hotel	
Pallister, Thomas	20	20	1	Commercial Hotel	241H (1862-63)
Bernhart, Jacob	19	19	1	Priory Hotel	
Platt, John	18	18	1	Platt's Hotel	
Ward, Thomas	14	18	2	Victoria Hotel, Crown Hotel	
Martin, David	17	17	1	Wellington Hotel	
O'Neil, James	17	17	1	Anglo-American Hotel	
Thompson, James	17	17	1	Royal Hotel	
Newton, Henry	16	16	1	Western Station Hotel	
Saunders, William H.	9	15	3	Central Hotel, Royal Hotel, Queen's Hotel	
Wagner, Joseph	12	15	2	American Hotel, Union Hotel	
Doyle, Bernard J.	14	14	1	City Hotel	
Farrell, Patrick	14	14	1	Harp of Erin Hotel	

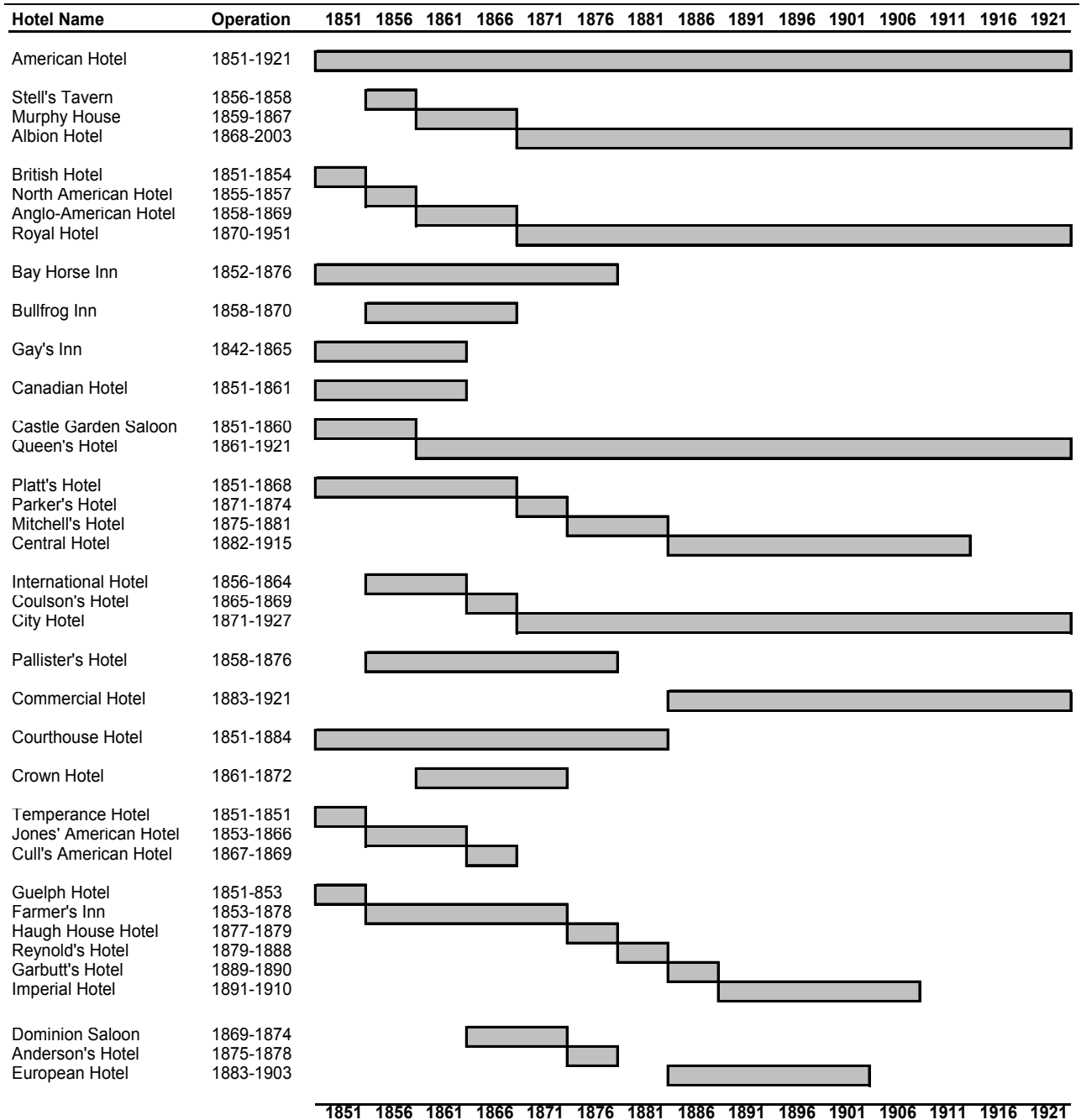
Full Name	Max	Years	Number	Hotels	Referred in R.G. Dun
	Years at Single Hotel	in Trade	of Hotels		
French, Matthew	6	13	3	Queen's Hotel, Priory Hotel, French's Hotel	
Fuhrey, Jacob	10	13	2	Farmer's Inn, Bay Horse Inn	
Hughes, Henry	7	13	2	Ontario House, Farmer's Arms Hotel	
Malone, Hugh	9	13	1	Albion Hotel	
Bookless, George	12	12	1	Royal Hotel	
Coffee, Dennis	8	12	2	Victoria Hotel, Wellington Hotel	210K (1860-63)
Galer, Thomas	12	12	1	Royal Hotel	
Haskell, Louis R.	8	12	2	Victoria Hotel, Wellington Hotel	
Hogan, James	7	12	2	Union Hotel, Victoria Hotel	
Murphy, Patrick	12	12	1	Murphy House	
Watts, Thomas	6	12	3	Wellington Hotel, Royal Hotel, American Hotel	
Hesson, John	9	11	2	Victoria Hotel, Imperial Hotel	
Jones, William	11	11	1	Red Lion Hotel	
Shyne, Timothy	11	11	1	Canadian Hotel	
Singular, John A.	11	11	1	New Western Hotel	
Bookless, William A.	5	10	2	Queen's Hotel, Royal Hotel	
Coughlin, John	8	10	2	Queen's Hotel, Union Hotel	
Dyson, William	10	10	1	Red Lion Hotel	
Haugh, John	5	10	3	Central Hotel, Haugh House, Wellington Hotel	
Hood, James	10	10	1	Bullfrog Inn	
Lansing, Henry	10	10	1	Queen's Hotel	
Oakes, Robert	6	10	2	Bay Horse Hotel, Great Western Hotel	
Reynolds, Thomas	10	10	1	Reynold's Hotel	
Schmuck, J. Charles	9	10	2	City Hotel, Albion Hotel	
Kelly, John	5	9	2	City Hotel, Harp of Erin Hotel	
Lindsay, James	7	9	2	Lindsay's Hotel, Wellington Hotel	202B (1863)
Moran, Patrick	9	9	1	Castle Garden Hotel	210C (1861-62)
Nichols, Sarah	9	9	1	Courthouse Hotel	
Thorp, John	5	9	2	International Hotel, British Hotel	218B (1859-63)
Brown, Bernard Jr.	8	8	1	Farmer's Inn	
Casey, Michael	8	8	1	Harp of Erin Hotel	
Collingridge, L.H.	8	8	1	Queen's Hotel	
Fagel, Samuel	8	8	1	Albion Hotel	
Jones, John	8	8	1	Jones' American Hotel	
Jotham, Frederick	8	8	1	Red Lion Hotel	
Sider, L.N.	8	8	1	King Edward Hotel	
Beitz, W.W.	7	7	1	Imperial Hotel	
Black, George John	4	7	2	International Hotel, Cull's American Hotel	
Bookless, John	7	7	1	Royal Hotel	
Chace, Mrs.	7	7	1	Imperial Hotel	
Kenny, D.J.	7	7	1	Royal Hotel	
Mitchell, Archibald	7	7	1	Mitchell's Hotel	
Neagle, Richard	7	7	1	Union Hotel	
Newton, Melinda	7	7	1	Western Station Hotel	
Pipe, John	7	7	1	Farmer's Arms Hotel	202H (1861-63)
Radigan, W.J.	7	7	1	Royal Hotel	
Thorp, James A.	7	7	1	City Hotel	
Becker, Christian	5	6	2	Union Hotel, Victoria Hotel	
Bunyan, Dennis	6	6	1	Dominion Saloon	
Callahan, James	6	6	1	Royal Hotel	
Gay, James	3	6	2	Bullfrog Inn, Guelph Hotel	
Soper, J.H.	6	6	1	European Hotel	

Full Name	Max	Years	Number	Hotels	Referred in R.G. Dun
	Years at Single	in Trade	of Hotels		
Stewart, John	6	6	1	Fountain House Hotel	
Underhill, William	6	6	1	Farmer's Arms Hotel	
Wait, James	6	6	1	Albion Hotel	
Bolger, James	5	5	1	City Hotel	
Coulson, Robert B.	5	5	1	Coulson's Hotel	
Dietrich, Simon F.	5	5	1	American Hotel	
Goetz, Joseph	5	5	1	Union Hotel	
Kohl, J.J.	5	5	1	Imperial Hotel	
Reinhart, Norman	5	5	1	Fountain House Hotel	
Shattuck, W.D.	3	5	1	New Western Hotel, American Hotel	
Williams, J.W.	5	5	1	Central Hotel	
Anderson, Hiram M.	4	4	1	Anderson's Hotel	
Bauer, Joseph A.	4	4	1	Farmer's Inn	
Buchie, John	4	4	1	Union Hotel	
Buchie, Mrs. J.W.	4	4	1	Union Hotel	
Fielding, John	3	4	2	Great Western Hotel, New Western Hotel	
Hayes, John	4	4	1	Harp of Erin Hotel	
Henderson, John	4	4	1	Royal Hotel	
Lavan, James	4	4	1	Bay Horse Hotel	
Malone, John	4	4	1	Albion Hotel	
McAteer, Jane	4	4	1	American Hotel	
O'Connor, Joseph	4	4	1	Wellington Hotel	
Parker, James	4	4	1	Parker's Hotel	
Perry, W.H.	4	4	1	Wellington Hotel	
Reinhart, Frank	4	4	1	Priory Hotel	
Reinhart, Lena	4	4	1	Fountain House Hotel	
Wagner, Oscar	4	4	1	Union Hotel	
Wayper, Joseph	4	4	1	Western Station Hotel	
Benn, Henry	3	3	1	Bay Horse Hotel	
Comer, G.H.	3	3	1	Wellington Hotel	
Cull, Henry H.	3	3	1	Cull's American Hotel	
Flowers, Frank	3	3	1	Priory Hotel	
Jones, Robert	3	3	1	American Hotel	239 (1859-63)
Lyons, John	3	3	1	Central Hotel	
Miller, George W.	3	3	1	Albion Hotel	
Miller, John	3	3	1	Queen's Hotel	
Reynolds, James B.	3	3	1	King Edward Hotel	
Rutter, C.J.	3	3	1	Wellington Hotel	
Scriven, William J.J.	3	3	1	Courthouse Hotel	
Seelvos, E.V.	3	3	1	Heffernan's Hotel	
Sodden, Robert H.	2	3	2	GTR Hotel, Bay Horse Inn	
Weavers, J.H.	3	3	1	Queen's Hotel	
Wendling, John	3	3	1	New Western Hotel	
Alquire, L.H.	2	2	1	King Edward Hotel	
Borsch, F.C.	2	2	1	Imperial Hotel	
Crandell, Amos	2	2	1	Central Hotel	
Deady, Mrs. Martin	2	2	1	Queen's Hotel	
Emslie, Alexander	2	2	1	Temperance House	
Fuhrey, Fanny	2	2	1	Farmer's Inn	
Hall, John	2	2	1	Wellington Hotel	

<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Max Years at Single Hotel</b>	<b>Years in Trade</b>	<b>Number of Hotels</b>	<b>Hotels</b>	<b>Referred in R.G. Dun</b>
Hamilton, Rockwood	2	2	1	Harp of Erin Hotel	
Matthews, Robert	2	2	1	Great Western Hotel	
McQuinn, Thomas	2	2	1	Harp of Erin Hotel	
Murphy, Mrs. Patrick	2	2	1	Albion Hotel	
Radigan, Mary	2	2	1	Royal Hotel	
Reinhart, Joseph	2	2	1	Imperial Hotel	
Sauvey, John	2	2	1	North American Hotel	
Sodden, Mary	2	2	1	Bay Horse Inn	
Stell, John	2	2	1	Albion Hotel	
Wald, Thomas	2	2	1	Bay Horse Inn	
Wald, Valentine	2	2	1	Bay Horse Inn	
Welsh, Patrick	1	2	2	Central Hotel, Albion Hotel	
Boyle, Michael	1	1	1	Western Station Hotel	
Carey, William	1	1	1	Red Lion Hotel	
Clark, J.C.	1	1	1	King Edward Hotel	
Cooper, J.	1	1	1	Royal Hotel	
Foltz, Charles	1	1	1	Albion Hotel	
Garbutt, Robert H.	1	1	1	Garbutt's Hotel	
Gerrard, George	1	1	1	Temperance Saloon	
Hanlon, M.	1	1	1	Wellington Hotel	
Heffernan, John	1	1	1	Board of Trade Hotel	
Hirsch, Joseph	1	1	1	Union Hotel	
May, Joseph	1	1	1	Albion Hotel	
Merlihan, J.	1	1	1	Ontario House	
Mitchell, Mrs. L.M.	1	1	1	Central Hotel	
Park, George E.	1	1	1	Royal Hotel	
Reinhart, A.	1	1	1	Fountain House Hotel	
Richards, H.N.	1	1	1	Temperance House	
Roat, John	1	1	1	Wellington Hotel	
Singular, Thomas	1	1	1	City Hotel	
Singular, Joseph	1	1	1	City Hotel	
Waycott, C.J.	1	1	1	Imperial Hotel	

## Appendix 2

### Business Duration of Guelph Hotels, 1851-1921



Hotel Name	Operation	1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	1891	1896	1901	1906	1911	1916	1921
Western Station Hotel	1858-1885		█	█	█	█	█	█								
Farmer's Arms Hotel	1851-1854	█	█													
Great Western Hotel	1855-1881		█	█	█	█	█	█								
Harp of Erin Hotel	1861-1894		█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█					
Dominion Hotel	1868-1876				█	█	█	█								
Board of Trade Hotel	1882-896								█	█	█					
King Edward Hotel	1905-1980												█	█	█	█
Lindsay's Hotel	1867-1868				█	█										
New Wellington Hotel	1878-1975							█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
New Western Hotel	1881-951							█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Guelph Hotel	1861-1870		█	█	█	█										
Ontario House Hotel	1871-1897					█	█	█	█	█	█	█				
French's Hotel	1893-1896										█	█				
Hewer's Hotel	1882-1884								█	█						
Priory Hotel	1885-1920								█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Red Lion Hotel	1841-1880	█	█	█	█	█	█	█								
Fountain House Hotel	1881-1915							█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Royal Saloon	1867-1873				█	█	█									
Shade's Saloon	1867-1867				█	█										
Temperance House	1851-1853	█	█		█	█										
Temperance Saloon	1871-1871					█	█									
Union Hotel	1867-1920					█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Victoria Hotel	1861-1916		█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█
Wellington Hotel	1848-1876	█	█	█	█	█	█	█								
Total		14	18	22	25	23	20	18	18	18	18	15	15	14	12	9
		1851	1856	1861	1866	1871	1876	1881	1886	1891	1896	1901	1906	1911	1916	1921

This data was compiled from local business directories, municipal tax rolls, licensing records and land registry office records. Data was entered into a database, where obvious inconsistencies in names could be immediately determined. Land records allowed for determination of property based on owner, where street address changed over the duration of the study.

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## Appendix 3

# Canadian Liquor Licensing Legislative History

Year	Bill or Statute	Enactment
1849	The Municipal Corporations Act, 1849 – Municipalities Act	Canada. 12 Victoria, 1849, Ch. 81.
1853	An act To explain and amend the act intituled [sic] "An Act to make better provision for granting of licenses to keepers of taverns"	Canada. 16 Victoria, 1853 Ch.214.
1857	To amend the Act of 14, 15 Vic. Making provision for granting Tavern Licenses	Canada. 20 Victoria, 1857 Ch.46.
1857	An act to amend the law relative to the inspectors of Licenses (U. Canada) of Houses of Public Entertainment	Canada. 20 Victoria, 1857 Ch.70.
1859	To avoid doubts as to certain provisions of the Act respecting Municipal Institutions of U. Canada, as regards the sums payable for Tavern Licenses	Canada. 22 Victoria (2nd), 1859 Ch.37.
1862	To amend the Act respecting the Provincial Duty on Tavern Licenses	Canada. 25 Victoria, 1862 Ch.6.
1862	To amend the Upper Canada Municipal Act as to the issue of Shop and Tavern Licenses in Cities	Canada. 25 Victoria, 1862 Ch.23.
1864	An Act Respecting the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors	
	The Canada Temperance Act, 1864 – Dunkin Act	Canada. 27-28 Victoria, 1864, Ch. 18.
1867	An Act to Repeal Ch. 20 of the Consolidated Statutes of the late Province of Canada, entitled an Act respecting the Provincial Duty on Tavern Keepers, and to make further provision respecting the same	Ontario. 31 Victoria. Ch.5
1868	An Act Respecting Tavern and Shop Licenses	Ontario. 32 Victoria. Ch.32
1869	An Act to Amend the Act intituled "An Act Respecting Tavern and Shop Licenses"	Ontario. 33 Victoria. Ch.28
1873	An Act to Amend the Acts Respecting Tavern and Shop Licenses	Ontario. 36 Victoria. Ch.34
1874	An Act to Amend the Acts Respecting Tavern and Shop Licenses	Ontario. 37 Victoria. Ch.32
1875	An Act to Amend the Law Respecting the Sale of Fermented or Spirituous Liquors – Crooks Act	Ontario. 39 Victoria. Ch. 26
1877	An Act to Amend the Acts Respecting the Sale of Fermented or Spirituous Liquors	Ontario. 40 Victoria. Ch.18
1878	An Act Respecting the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors	
	Canada Temperance Act, 1878 – Scott Act	Canada. 41 Victoria, 1878, Ch.16.
1878	An Act to Amend the License Act, and for other purposes	Ontario. 41 Victoria. Ch.14
1881	An Act to Give Increased Efficiency to the Laws against Illicit Liquor Selling	Ontario. 44 Victoria. Ch.27
1883	The Liquor License Act, 1883 – McCarthy Act	Canada. 46 Victoria, Ch.30
1884	An Act Respecting Liquor Licenses	Ontario. 47 Victoria. Ch.34
1884	An Act Respecting Licensing Duties	Ontario. 47 Victoria. Ch.35
1885	Suspension of Portions of Dominion Liquor License Act, 1883	Canada. 48-49 Victoria, Ch.74
1885	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 48 Victoria. Ch.43
1886	An Act Respecting Liquor Licenses	Ontario. 49 Victoria. Ch.39
1887	An Act to Provide for the Enforcement of Temperance Laws	Ontario. 50 Victoria. Ch.33
1888	An Amendment to the Canada Temperance Act	Canada. 51 Victoria. Ch.34.
1888	An Amendment to the Canada Temperance Act	Canada. 51 Victoria. Ch.35.
1888	The Liquor License Act, 1888	Ontario. 51 Victoria. Ch.30
1889	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 52 Victoria. Ch. 41
1890	An Act to Improve the Liquor License Laws	Ontario. 53 Victoria. Ch.56
1891	An Act Respecting Local Option in the Matter of Liquor Selling	Ontario. 54 Victoria. Ch.46
1892	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 55 Victoria. Ch. 51
1893	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 56 Victoria. Ch. 40
1893	The Prohibition Plebiscites Act	Ontario. 56 Victoria. Ch. 41
1898	An Act to Further Improve the License Laws	Ontario. 60 Victoria. Ch. 50
1899	An Act Respecting Brewers' and Distillers' and other Licenses	Ontario. 62 Victoria. Ch. 31
1900	An Act to Amend the Act Respecting Brewers' and Distillers' and other Licenses	Ontario. 63 Victoria. Ch. 42
1902	An Act Respecting the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in the Province of Ontario	Ontario. 2 Edward VII. Ch.33
1905	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 5 Edward VII. Ch.30
1906	The Canada Temperance Act, 1906	Canada. 3 Edward VII. Ch. 152.
1906	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 6 Edward VII. Ch. 47
1907	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 7 Edward VII. Ch.46
1908	An Act to Amend the Canada Temperance Act	Canada. 5 Edward VII. Ch.71
1908	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 8 Edward VII. Ch.54
1909	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 9 Edward VII. Ch.82

1910	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 10 Edward VII. Ch.94
1910	An Act to Amend the Canada Temperance Act	Canada. 1 George V. Ch.58.
1911	An Act to Further Regulate the Sale of Alcohol by Chemists	Ontario. 1 George V. Ch.65
1911	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 1 George V. Ch.64
1912	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 2 George V. Ch. 55
1913	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 3 George V. Ch. 54
1914	An Act to Amend the Canada Temperance Act	Canada. 4 George V. Ch. 53.
1914	An Act to Amend the Liquor License Act	Ontario. 4 George V. Ch. 37
1915	An Act to Improve the Administration of the Liquor License Laws	Ontario. 5 George V. Ch.39
1916	An Act to Amend the Canada Temperance Act	Canada. 6-7 George V. Ch. 14
1916	An Act Intituled The Ontario Temperance Act	Ontario. 6 George V. Ch.50

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## Appendix 4

### Census Analysis & Methodology

Census data material was made available through the National Archives of Canada online searchable database for 1871 and by Dr. Lisa Dillon in Microsoft Access format for 1881. To identify hotel keepers within the data for Ontario, searches were conducted for the terms, 'keeper', kepper, keepr, as well as hotel, inn, tavern, saloon, and stage (with wildcards) to try to capture as many of those individuals associated with the trade as possible. These were examined on an individual basis to determine whether they fit into the general cross-section of hotelkeepers that we were aiming to capture. Boarding house keeper, storekeeper, lighthouse keeper and toll keeper are some of the more obvious occupational descriptions that were discarded.

Data for keepers was compiled for the County of Wellington and Guelph as well as fifteen additional counties<sup>218</sup> to obtain a representative sample for Ontario for these two censuses.

To measure the effectiveness of the use of census data to identify individuals in the hotel trade, we compare the master lists of keepers against the actual census data for 1871. For example, there are 37 individuals who can be identified as keeper, proprietor or owner of a hotel from all sources. The census locates and correctly identifies twenty-one of the thirty-seven names as hotel/inn/tavern/saloon keepers. Of the twenty-three persons in the census set that did identify themselves as keepers, we can determine that the two unidentified keepers may well have been hotel keepers, but did not actually ply their trade in either Wellington County or in Guelph during the period 1851-1921. Of the nine other individuals whom we identify as keepers, but who do not do so themselves when enumerated, we can locate three classified under other occupational titles. Five of the nine will eventually identify themselves as keepers in the 1881 census. Of these nine, all are owners of hotels or the property on which the hotel rests. There are however, seven hotel keepers identified through directories, who do not appear anywhere in the online version of the 1871 census.

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<sup>218</sup> Frontenac, Glengarry, Lanark, Victoria, Peel, Welland, Essex, Kent, Halton, Bruce, Norfolk, Durham, Waterloo and Elgin.

1871 Census Analysis for the Town of Guelph

<b>Individual Does Not Appear in Census</b>	<b>Individual Appears in Census as Keeper</b>	<b>Individual Appears in Census other Occupation</b>	<b>Individual Does Not Appear But is an Owner</b>	<b>Individual Identified, but not In Guelph</b>
Fuhrey, Jacob	Bookless, John	Carrol, Edward	Coulson, John P.	McEllagatt, Richard
Gerrard, George	Bookless, William A.	Chadwick, Edward M.	McClenichan, Catherine A.	Richie, Andrew
Hughes, Thomas	Bunyan, Dennis	Day, William	Thorp, James A.	
Jones, William	Bunyan, John	Massie, James	Underhill, William	
Jotham, Frederick	Casey, Michael		Greet, Mary	
O'Neil, James	Coffee, Dennis			
Wells, Frederick	Conghlin, John			
	Coulson, Robert B.			
	Deady, Martin			
	Ellis, Thomas			
	Heffernan, Daniel J.			
	Hewer, John			
	Hirsch, Joseph			
	Merlihan, Thomas			
	Murphy, Mrs. Patrick			
	Newton, Henry			
	Nichols, William			
	Pallister, Thomas			
	Parker, James			
	Tatham, George			
	Ward, Thomas			

1881 Census Analysis for the Town of Guelph

<b>Individual Does Not Appear in Census</b>	<b>Individual Appears in Census as Keeper</b>	<b>Individual Appears in Census other Occupation</b>	<b>Individual Identified, but not In Guelph</b>
Newton, Henry	Bookless, George	Carrol, Edward	Burns, James
	Bookless, William	Coulson, John P.	Keough, James
	Bunyan, John	Coulson, Mary Ann	Mathews, William H.
	Coughlin, John	Day, William	McArthur, John
	Ellis, Thomas	Devlin, Felix	
	Fielding, John	Lyon, James	
	Galer, Thomas	Pellatt, Henry	
	Heffernan, Daniel J.	Rogers, Edward	
	Hewer, John	Sleeman, George	
	Hogan, James	Tatham, George Parks	
	Hood, James	Wells, Frederick	
	Merlihan, Thomas	Williams, William A.	
	Mitchell, Archibald		
	Reinhart, Christian		
	Reynolds, Thomas		
	Scriven, William J.J.		
	Stewart, John		
	Ward, Thomas		
	Watts, Thomas		
	Wayper, Joseph Sr.		
	Wayper, Joseph Jr.		

## Appendix 5

### Analysis of Guests, American Hotel, 1914-16

Month	Guests	Dinner	Lunch	Breakfast	Total	Revenue	Total	Revenue	Meals
					Revenue	/Guest	Meals	/Meal	/Guest
July 1914	47	4	9	7	\$20.75	\$0.44	20	\$1.04	0.43
August 1914	50	8	16	20	\$63.10	\$1.26	44	\$1.43	0.88
September 1914	41	13	5	7	\$13.95	\$0.34	25	\$0.56	0.61
October 1914	44	14	4	6	\$18.75	\$0.43	24	\$0.78	0.55
November 1914	28	1	2	4	\$23.75	\$0.85	7	\$3.39	0.25
December 1914	79	7	44	11	\$65.65	\$0.83	62	\$1.06	0.78
January 1915	27	1	6	6	\$15.60	\$0.58	13	\$1.20	0.48
February 1915	33	7	12	17	\$6.10	\$0.18	36	\$0.17	1.09
March 1915	35	11	7	9	\$9.10	\$0.26	27	\$0.34	0.77
April 1915	25	1	11	3	\$19.25	\$0.77	15	\$1.28	0.60
May 1915	41	9	4	9	\$31.25	\$0.76	22	\$1.42	0.54
June 1915	35	5	6	9	\$27.50	\$0.79	20	\$1.38	0.57
July 1915	30	3	3	5	\$21.45	\$0.72	11	\$1.95	0.37
August 1915	39	8	13	12	\$38.50	\$0.99	33	\$1.17	0.85
September 1915	39	5	10	6	\$41.49	\$1.06	21	\$1.98	0.54
October 1915	44	23	8	8	\$65.80	\$1.50	39	\$1.69	0.89
November 1915	30	9	6	10	\$32.75	\$1.09	25	\$1.31	0.83
December 1915	167	23	41	44	\$196.58	\$1.18	108	\$1.82	0.65
January 1916	23	5	5	5	\$11.90	\$0.52	15	\$0.79	0.65
February 1916	25	8	6	8	\$15.43	\$0.62	22	\$0.70	0.88
March 1916	40	1	4	13	\$13.75	\$0.34	18	\$0.76	0.45
April 1916	18	8	3	3	\$20.50	\$1.14	14	\$1.46	0.78
May 1916	19	2	5	6	\$16.65	\$0.88	13	\$1.28	0.68
June 1916	31	1	3	6	\$7.75	\$0.25	10	\$0.78	0.32
July 1916	9	0	2	3	\$5.00	\$0.56	5	\$1.00	0.56
August 1916	26	0	5	3	\$11.50	\$0.44	8	\$1.44	0.31
September 1916	29	5	7	2	\$17.00	\$0.59	14	\$1.21	0.48
October 1916	24	2	13	5	\$17.60	\$0.73	20	\$0.88	0.83
November 1916	30	7	10	7	\$25.25	\$0.84	24	\$1.05	0.80
December 1916	75	15	11	53	\$82.00	\$1.09	79	\$1.04	1.05
<b>Total</b>	<b>1183</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>\$955.65</b>		<b>794</b>		
Average	39.43	6.87	9.37	10.23	\$31.85	0.73	51.23	1.21	0.65

Source: GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Guest Registers for American Hotel, 1914-1916.

Note: this dataset contains only guests that had a dollar value indicated in the guest register. This is a subset of the dataset of 1,789 guests used in Chapter 5.

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## Appendix 6

### Guelph Railway Service, 1864-1896

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	1864	1876	1880	1896
Southbound (GWR until 1882)			6:35am	6:25am
	7:40am	9:25am	9:58am	9:55am
	1:49pm	1:40pm	2:25pm	2:45pm
	4:50pm	7:10pm	4:38pm	4:20pm
Northbound (GWR until 1882)		12:05pm	11:30am	9:45am
		5:55pm	6:05pm	1:50pm
		8:40pm	8:00pm	6:38pm
Westbound	2:45am	1:20am	1:30am	11:42pm
	9:45am	9:45am	9:47am	9:50am
	3:33pm	2:35pm	2:10pm	2:50pm
	5:50pm	5:56pm	5:52pm	6:34pm
		7:55pm	7:13pm	8:22pm
Eastbound	2:45am	6:08am	3:40am	6:35am
	9:45am	8:25am	9:10am	8:52am
		11:00am	11:00am	10:10am
	2:55pm	1:50pm	4:05pm	5:44pm
	6:45pm	7:55pm	8:57pm	9:42pm
Departs for North Wellington via CPR				8:15am
				4:40pm
				6:25pm
Arrives from North Wellington via CPR				9:40am
				6:00pm
				7:45pm

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Schedules were obtained from the published tables in the GDM for July 1, 1864, July 24, 1864, January 8, 1876, July 2, 1880, and July 4, 1896.

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## **Appendix 7**

# **Methodology Employed to Analyze Manuscript Financial Records**

The business records from the Western and the American Hotels included everything from formal invoices and receipts to handwritten scribbles that represented the hotelkeeper's daily cash flow records. Additional data was deduced from dunning correspondence and from R.G. Dun Credit Advisory Reports.

Raw data was entered into a database which was constructed to track: type of financial instrument, date on instrument, date paid, name of firm, name on instrument, line items on instrument, amount charged as well as amount paid, date paid. This information was categorized using a normalized set of standard accounting categories. A trial income statement was then prepared for the two principal case study hotels.

Further research provided information about the nature of supplier firms and, where instruments did not provide it, what might have been involved in the transaction. Services were separated from goods and variable expenses from fixed.

The largest challenge when dealing with this information was the lacunae. In the case of the American Hotel in Guelph, while the survivors of the family retained a huge quantity of receipts and invoices we could not assume that we have all of them. Conversely, much information was unusable due to illegibility. So we were faced with the task of trying to construct reasonable interpolation, and to determine when interpolation was necessary. We were fortunate to get significant sequences of data from which we could deduce consistency in revenue and expense patterns. Patterns of purchasing were established through monthly categorized detailing of expenses with related percentages of the yearly total. This provided a rapid way of immediately noting potentially incomplete runs of data. Through extrapolation, it was possible to estimate annual expenditures, sources for goods or services, and approximate quantities. Food purchases allowed estimation of restaurant traffic, just as restaurant traffic allowed for approximation of food purchases, depending on which set of data was judged most complete.

**Table 9 – Draft Beer Purchases, Western Hotel, 1895; American Hotel, 1914<sup>219</sup>**

<b>Western Hotel 1895</b>				
Liquor - Draft Beer and Lager	\$1,370.10	January	\$100.00	7%
		February	\$103.70	8%
		March	\$109.70	8%
		April	\$114.00	8%
		May	\$113.60	8%
		June	\$94.80	7%
		July	\$259.30	19%
		August	\$108.60	8%
		September	\$58.50	4%
		October	\$164.20	12%
		November	\$15.20	1%
		December	\$128.50	9%
<b>American Hotel, 1914</b>				
Liquor - Draft Beer and Lager	\$1,383.65	January	\$141.90	10%
		February	\$100.60	7%
		March	\$150.10	11%
		April	\$93.00	7%
		May	\$140.60	10%
		June	\$154.20	11%
		July	\$119.20	9%
		August	\$162.35	12%
		September	\$90.00	7%
		October	\$128.60	9%
		November	\$25.00	2%
		December	\$78.10	6%

As an example, for 1914 at the American Hotel, we were fortunate to have a complete set of invoices and receipts indicating amounts spent by the keeper to purchase beer. While these did not detail how much was spent on an individual drink, it did allow for tracking the rate of consumption.<sup>220</sup> When compared with available monthly expenses, this provided a rough guide to relative consumption volumes of liquor that could be expected. When a differential was noted between the expected amount and that actually accounted for, an amount was added to maintain a consistent pattern.

Here, the purchases of draft during November were substantially lower than any other recorded month. Variance of a few percentage points could be expected, but as the draft beverages had a tendency to spoil, there should have been some consistency in buying. As well, given the time of year, we could expect that more people may have indulged in a good-natured beer during the approaching festive season. It may conversely have been the case that demand dropped due to a desire to shepherd money to purchase family Christmas gifts. How can a judgment be rendered? In this case, comparison to another consistent run of liquor receipts for another year could help. Comparison between the 1914 figure and the amount of

<sup>219</sup> GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Boxes 1 and 2, Loose invoices and receipts from Silver Creek Brewery and Holliday's Brewery for the years of 1895 and 1914.

<sup>220</sup> One can assume that the price for particular drinks did not change appreciably over the year.

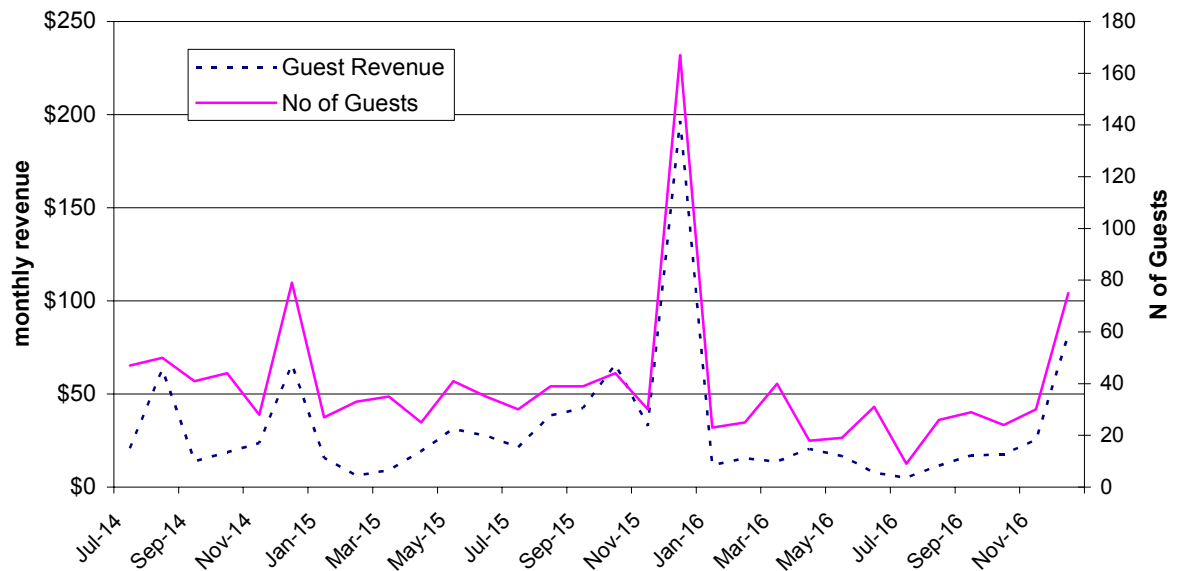
beer purchased by the keeper during November 1895, demonstrated a similar proportionally lower value, so a decision was made to leave the value as documented.

To explore further the expenses related to consumption of beer, it proved useful to examine the guest revenues for the same periods. In the case of the American Hotel, we were fortunate in having surviving guest registers for the period July 1914-December 1916. See the table in Appendix 5 which summarizes the data provided by the ledger, charting the number of overnight registered guests (excluding boarders) as well as whether guests consumed breakfast, lunch or dinner at the hotel. Meal consumption for the month of November was substantially less during 1914 and 1915, which leads us to reasonably conclude that November was, in fact, a low month for consumption at the hotel.

Additionally, missing expenses were identified based on conjecture. Missing costs were interpolated based upon further research using reports in sessional papers, such as the Report of the evidence presented to the Commission on Liquor Traffic, which conducted extensive interviews in Guelph in 1894. For example, while there was no receipt for the liquor license amongst surviving evidence, reports from municipal sources indicated that one was purchased, so the known cost was applied to the pro forma expense statement.

The categorization of the dataset also provided a challenge. In many cases, a single instrument contained entries that had to be broken out between multiple categories, such as varieties of groceries or produce. In some cases, this involved return to the original sources of information. It also required additional research to determine the classification of line items entered using only brand names.

**Figure 18 - Guest Numbers versus Revenue, American Hotel, 1914-16<sup>221</sup>**



The number of guests varied seasonally. Guests shared rooms and possibly beds. The number of guests in December was significantly greater than any other month of the year. This is also reflected in gross revenues from accommodation as shown in Figure 18. The months of October 1914, February 1915 and April 1916, also demonstrate counter-intuitive behaviour. In the first two examples, although guest numbers increased, actual revenues derived from these guests decreased. In April 1916, although guest numbers decreased, guest revenues increased. This may be explained in the first two cases, by an increase in the number of guests sharing a room. In these early cases, there were markets and in both cases, large groups of individuals from the same place of residence or sharing the same name stayed at the American and were sometimes accommodated four to a room. In April 1916, very few people shared rooms and as a result, the amounts per guest were larger. The other factor that affected revenues per guest was the amount of food which was charged as part of board. In the earlier two cases, few people seem to have eaten at the hotel, and they were charged only for use of the room, whereas in April 1916, nearly all patrons consumed at least one meal, with an average of 0.78 meals per guest.<sup>222</sup>

Reasoned conjecture and aggregation helped to bring some level of confidence to the constructed financial statements for these two Guelph area hotels. The challenge of using manuscript financial records was offset by the insight that they offered to the researcher attempting to get inside the business operation of the hotel.

<sup>221</sup> Information compiled from register database described previously.

<sup>222</sup> Please refer to Appendix 5 –Analysis of Guests, American Hotel, 1914-16 for full results.

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## Appendix 8

### Estimated Expenses at Western Hotel, 1895, American Hotel, 1914

	Western Hotel 1895		American Hotel 1914	
Advertising	\$53.05	0.7%	\$29.74	0.4%
Family Incidental	\$24.20	0.3%	\$22.50	0.3%
General and Administrative	\$53.05	0.7%	\$64.55	0.9%
Grocery - Dairy Products	\$80.25	1.0%	\$42.60	0.6%
Grocery - Meats	\$409.01	5.1%	\$361.90	5.1%
Grocery - Mixed	\$1,178.04	14.6%	\$1,095.72	15.6%
Labour - Wages	\$1,200.00	14.9%	\$728.00	10.4%
Licenses and Fees	\$275.00	3.4%	\$571.19	8.1%
Liquor - Draft Beer and Lager	\$1,370.10	17.0%	\$1,383.65	19.7%
Liquor - Spirits	\$1,527.02	18.9%	\$1,207.50	17.2%
Maintenance and Furnishings	\$295.47	3.7%	\$467.68	6.7%
Rent (Net)	\$600.00	7.4%		
Taxes	\$265.60	3.3%	\$542.50	7.7%
Tobacco	\$276.30	3.4%	\$204.85	2.9%
Utility - Coal,Wood,Oil	\$145.65	1.8%	\$29.00	0.4%
Utility - Electricity	\$63.20	0.8%	\$18.96	0.3%
Utility - Gas	\$221.40	2.7%	\$79.63	1.1%
Utility - Telephone	\$26.25	0.3%	\$44.46	0.6%
Utility - Water	\$16.25	0.2%	\$134.52	1.9%
<b>Total Expenses (inc. Taxes)</b>	<b>\$8,079.84</b>		<b>\$7,028.94</b>	

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GCM, McAteer Papers, AN 978.165 Flat, Western Hotel Ledger, 1886-1891, and Boxes 1 and 2, loose invoices and receipts for Western Hotel, 1886-1896, and loose invoices and receipts for American Hotel, 1909-1921.

Note: 1889 was included as it provided very complete revenue figures, but less complete expense records. It also was under prohibition for a half year and was less representative of a typical year of operation. As it was not a full year of prohibition, it unfortunately could not give us a conclusive indication of what business conditions might have been under prohibition.

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### List of Abbreviations Used

<b>Abbr.</b>	<b>Full Name</b>
GPLA	Guelph Public Library Archives
GDM	Guelph Daily Mercury
GH	Guelph Herald
GHS	Guelph Historical Society
GCM	Guelph Civic Museum
LROG	Land Registry Office for the County of Wellington
NAC	National Archives of Canada
UGA	University of Guelph McLaughlin Archives

### Manuscript Material

#### Guelph Public Library Archives

Photograph Collection.  
F2-2-1, City of Guelph Assessment Rolls, 1851-1951.  
F2-8-1, City of Guelph License [sic] Committee Minutes, 1869-1875.

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