

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Undertaken as part of the Heritage Master Plan for the Gooderham & Worts property, this study has created an inventory of archival records located on the site and elsewhere. As a detailed finding aid, it should be useful to anyone interested in the history of the distillery--archaeologists, architects, archivists, exhibit designers, **geneologists** historians of all stripes, journalists, leasing and marketing specialists, members of the Gooderham and Worts families and the general public. By bringing together, on paper at least, the materials available in more than two dozen archives, libraries and private collections it goes well beyond what is usually available for other historic sites and subjects. But also, by providing listings at an item-level this inventory supplements the catalogues in some of these repositories.

Within the limitations of budget and time, every effort has been made to ensure that the result was comprehensive and organized in a way helpful to the user. To those who use the Inventory is left the judgement of whether or not its objectives are met in the main. Generally speaking, chronology was the guiding rule for the order of the sections and items within them. For example, in Part One, the first eight sections establish a general context for the next five, which document the building process; the remaining sections deal with facets of the operating life of the company. Titles have been bolded to make scanning the listings easier; dates have been made to follow as closely after the title as possible. Inevitably, the imposition of standard rules for the listings here has meant some editorial changes in the way items are catalogued by their custodians, for which an apology is made.

Perhaps a word is in order about the references that appear below to the appendices and illustrations. Since it was not possible to reproduce or illustrate everything in the listings, in most cases the only materials appended or illustrated are ones that are hard-to-find, inaccessible, or good examples of a particular record series.

More work remains to be done among the records left on-site when the distillery closed in 1990. Unlike the materials examined in other collections, the on-site records had not been catalogued previously. It was necessary, therefore, to spend many hours compiling lists of the often-unrelated contents of cartons before they could be organized by function, at least on paper. Until the process of listing is completed there can be no final decision on how best to organize the records physically and no assignment of reference codes.

It would not have been possible to prepare this inventory without the timely assistance of the following custodians of the archival record: Dennis **Boulé**, Ed Dahl, Brian Hallett, Patricia Kennedy Patrick **McIntyre** and Stephen Salmon (National Archives of

Canada); Wayne Duford, Dana Johnson and Colin Old (Parks Canada, Ottawa); Eva-Katrin Cooper and Christine Niarchos-Bourlias (Ontario Archives); **Allan** Day (Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources); Victor Russell, Patrick Cummins and Steve **McKinnon** (City of Toronto Archives); Alan Walker (Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library); Michael Moir (Toronto Harbour Commission Archives); Raymond Peringer (Arts & Letters Club Archives, Toronto); Doreen Livingstone (Archives of Little Trinity Church, Toronto); Donna Murphy (Manulife Archives); Mildred Pulleyblank (Toronto-Dominion Bank Archives); and Felicity Pope (Toronto Hospitals Archives).

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Lastly, I wish to thank my colleagues on this project--Chris Andreae, John Carr, David Dennis, Roger du **Toit**, Spencer **Higgins**, David Nasby and Jim White--for their suggestions and assistance.

Stephen A. Otto

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR SOURCES

CTA	City of Toronto Archives, City Hall, Toronto
G&W	The Gooderham & Worts On-site Collection is located in the former distillery, 2 Trinity St., Toronto
HW	The Hiram Walker Archives, Collection and Legal-Secretarial Department are located at the head office of Hiram Walker & Sons, Riverside Drive, Walkerville, Windsor
MTRL	Metro Toronto Reference Library, 789 Yonge St., Toronto
NAC	National Archives of Canada, Wellington St., Ottawa
NMC	National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa
OA	Ontario Archives, 77 Grenville St., Toronto
OMNR	Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, Information Branch, 90 Sheppard Ave. E., North York
THCA	Toronto Harbour Commission Archives, 60 Harbour St., Toronto

INTRODUCTION

Because there is no book-length history of Gooderham & Worts in print at present, it may be helpful to give here a brief outline of the **company's** development as a context for the inventory of records that follows.

Thanks largely to E.B. **Shuttleworth's** book, The Windmill and its Times, parts of **G&W's** early story are well known, beginning in April 1831 with the arrival in York [Toronto] of James Worts. By the time in July 1832 that William Gooderham, his brother-in-law and business partner, arrived Worts had completed construction of a brick windmill near the mouth of the Don River and was well along in installing the machinery. For the first two years of the enterprise's existence it was known as Worts & Gooderham. It was renamed William Gooderham, Company, in 1834 following **Worts'** suicide a fortnight after the death of his wife in childbirth. In 1837, Gooderham added a distillery to his milling operations to make use of surplus wheat. As they say, the rest is history.

Shuttleworth noted in 1924 that the **firm's** early account books were in numbered boxes 'in a room over the present offices of Messrs. **Gooderham,**' and drew heavily on these records to write his book. Since they cannot be found today it may be they have been destroyed. Almost the only surviving evidence from the firm's first dozen years, apart from property and assessment records, are a rare survey of the site, a newspaper account noting the manufactures of **mill's** first steam engine, a single invoice and two views, including Thomas Young's splendid 1835 lithograph showing the windmill.

The company was restyled Gooderham & Worts in 1845 after William Gooderham took his nephew James Gooderham Worts, then aged twenty seven, into a junior partnership. Some records survive for the years from 1845 until Gooderham's death in 1881, mostly surveys, architectural drawings, newspaper reports, paintings, property deeds and municipal assessments. They are useful in understanding the physical development of the site but are not representative of the range of correspondence and records the business would have generated. The exceptional survival of a series of letters from Gooderham & Worts to Lanman & Kemp, a customer in New York City, provides a sad measure of what has been lost and destroyed.

Meanwhile, about 1850 William Gooderham's third son, George, joined the business. In August 1856 when he and his cousin James G. Worts became full partners, the company became a tripartite partnership and remained that way for more than twenty-five years. It is far from clear, however, how responsibilities were divided among the partners, notwithstanding George is given credit in contemporary accounts for planning the new distillery of 1859-60 and for superintending production there subsequently.

While William **Gooderham's** other seven sons found employment at the distillery and in other businesses controlled by the firm, they were never full-fledged partners.

Gooderham & Worts' first expansion beyond Toronto occurred in 1845 when it leased a grist mill at Norval on the Credit River. The lease was not renewed when it expired in 1859. In the following year, however, the firm acquired Francis **Silverthorne's** large mill further down the Credit at Meadowvale, which it operated until 1882. Also about 1860 it bought John William Gamble's mill at Pine Grove, on the Humber near Woodbridge, and remained in business there some twenty years before selling out. In some of these places Gooderham & Worts had general stores, sawmills, tanneries and small distilleries too, just like many other country millers.

Meanwhile, in 1865 Gooderham & Worts joined W.D. Perine, Brothers, of **Doon**, to create the Streetsville Linen Manufacturing Company, investing more than \$100,000 in converting a former water-powered grist mill into a steam-driven flax mill making grain bags and rope. After only two years, however, production had to be suspended putting 150 people out of work when no dent could be made on a market dominated by cheap cotton bags. Barely two and a half months later the mill, still idle, burned to the ground and was not rebuilt.

In Toronto, Gooderham & Worts operations were concentrated at Trinity and Mill streets with two notable exceptions. In the **1840s**, a cooperage was established 'at a short distance from the **mills**,' probably because the manufacture of barrels required a lot of space. By 1850 a third of the **firm's** employees worked in the cooperage. It was located then on the north side of Front Street, east of Cherry. During the 1860s there was a second cooperage at the distillery for repairing and cleaning barrels returned from the firm's customers. All new barrels, however, continued to be made on Front Street until 1906, when a new cooperage was built on the east side of Trinity Street north of Mill Street. The land on Front Street was incorporated in 1916 into a yard for the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway.

The second off-site operation was animal-feeding. Shuttleworth records that in 1838 William Gooderham bought pigs to feed on the 'slop' or spent mash from the distillery, and that in 1843 he acquired a herd of 22 cows as well as four heifers and a few calves. By 1850 the British Colonist counted 108 cattle at the distillery, and reckoned more than three hundred cattle could be fattened annually. The byres were located on the east side of Trinity Street until 1866, when they were relocated to the east side of the Don River to make room for expanding the distillery. Although the byres were built by Gooderham & Worts, the land was held under a lease. By 1862, Gooderham & Worts had contracted-out the whole feeding operation. Slop was pumped through a pipeline

to the byres, which were enlarged at intervals until eventually they could hold 1800 cattle and 240 pigs. Milk and butter from the herd were sold in the city. No records have been found to show when the cattle-fattening operations were closed, although as late as 1917 the byres continued to appear in photographs.

Several members of the Gooderham and Worts families had houses in the immediate vicinity of the distillery, which was offered as evidence of the **area's** general healthiness. William Gooderham lived on the south side of Mill Street west of Trinity; his son William on the north side opposite; James Worts on the northeast corner of Trinity and Mill; George Gooderham on the southeast corner of Trinity and Front; and Henry at the southwest corner of the same intersection. Worts later erected on a portion of his front lawn a pair of semi-detached dwellings for his son and a married daughter. In his personal capacity William **Gooderham** owned five small houses along Mill Street, which were rented to employees like his gardener, watchman and miller, but there is only one report in the 1866 newspapers of his acquiring any other houses for rent. Presumably there was no significant number of houses owned by the firm and rented to its employees.

Equally unclear is the involvement of the partnership (apart from that of the partners in their individual capacities) in the Bank of Toronto, the Toronto, Grey & Bruce Railway and the Toronto & **Nipissing** Railway. As Gooderham & Worts was the latter railway's most important customer, it would have wielded great influence in any event but the records are not available to confirm any equity interest.

Within a year of William Gooderham's death in 1881 James G. Worts died too. George, now the sole surviving partner, wasted no time in concluding an agreement with Worts' executors and heirs to incorporate the company. This lengthy document dated 1 August 1882 has been found in photocopied form, giving hope that some key records have escaped destruction. In 1886 George is said to have bought out Worts' heirs for \$1,000,000 plus a bonus in each of the four succeeding years if the company was profitable.

At probate in 1881 about ninety percent of William Gooderham's estate or roughly \$1.4 million was invested in the distillery and its lands. Allowing for the interests of his partners, it seems reasonable that Gooderham & Worts Limited was capitalized at \$2 million in 1882. Yet when George died in 1905, a much wealthier man than his father, only about a third of his estate of \$9.3 million was tied up in the company, which he owned outright. Obviously, he had been very astute in investing the profits from Gooderham & Worts, which were substantial. Also, relative to what he invested in other enterprises, he had put back little into the distillery.

After a burst of physical expansion on the site between 1887 and 1891 the most notable development in the company's history in the period up to the First World War was the establishment of The General Distilling Co. in 1902 as a partnership among Gooderham & Worts, Joseph **Seagram**, Hiram Walker's Sons, Wiser's, **Corby's** and the Hamilton Distilling Co. It was located in newly-erected buildings along the south side of Mill Street west of Trinity. The land was sold to General Distilling by Gooderham & Worts in 1903 and bought back in 1919 when the joint venture was being wound down. Within the Gooderham family it is said that General Distilling was created to compete with Mortimer Davies who was producing cheap alcohol in Montreal. General's first president was George Gooderham; Franklin Walker was vice-president and W.G. Gooderham the managing director.

On George **Gooderham's** death in 1905, his will provided for the management of the distillery by his two eldest sons, William G. and Albert, and gave them the first right to purchase it at the end of ten years. W. G. assumed the presidency; Albert became the managing director. Their father's other offices were divided up and shared with Ross, a younger brother. Albert was president of the Dominion of Canada Guarantee and Accident Insurance Co. Ross made the Manufacturers Life his special interest, although William G. was the president until his death in 1935 when Ross succeeded him. Eventually Ross owned fifty-two percent of the common stock in the Manufacturers Life. After his death in 1951 when the company was mutualized to avoid control of it passing outside Canada his executors were paid over \$20 million for their stock after special legislation was passed enabling them to sell.

W. G. Gooderham, became President of the Bank of Toronto. The Gooderham family held almost eighteen percent of the **Bank's** common stock. Their position was buttressed by the 4.7% interest of **W.G.'s** brother-in-law, Thomas G. Blackstock, and the 7.4% interest of the Beatty family who were also allied to the Gooderhams through marriage. And because the Bank of Toronto at that time was closely associated with the Canada Permanent Mortgage Corp. W.G. Gooderham became its president too following the retirement of W.H. Beatty in 1910.

The shortage of operating records for Gooderham & Worts continues through 1916, when the distillery and that of General Distilling were 'patriotically placed . . . at the disposal of the British Government, free of charge, for the duration of the war.' Under the direction of Col. Albert Gooderham the plants, renamed British Acetones Toronto Limited, were devoted to producing acetone and cordite ketone--both vital components in making explosives. At intervals throughout this period Col. Gooderham had the plants photographed. The result was an unmatched series of 168 views of the exterior and interior that complemented a 692-page book he wrote describing British Acetones' operations. It was published in 1919. Today the photographs are found in the

City of Toronto Archives. Only two copies of the book have been located in public collections, both in Ottawa.

Prohibition had been introduced in 1915 as a special wartime measure but was extended and strengthened after the armistice. It wreaked havoc upon the distilling industry and created an unsavoury environment that weighed heavily in the 1923 decision by George Gooderham's heirs to sell out for \$1.5 million. The buyout was masterminded by Harry C. Hatch and involved a series of manoeuvres involving the establishment of a new company, The Old Windmill Limited, to hold all assets of Gooderham & Worts Limited while a new company with the same name was formed to acquire the trademarks and selected assets. Many agreements related to the sale are among the on-site records, as are some early lists of shareholders.

A measure of how quickly the outlook for distilling changed as prohibition was repealed in province after province is that in 1927, only four years after acquiring Gooderham & Worts for \$1.5 million, Harry Hatch and his associates paid \$14 million for Hiram Walker's Sons. The price reflected also the condition of Walker's distillery, its proximity to the large, bootleg market in the United States and the strength of the Walker trademarks there. In November 1927 a merger of Hiram **Walker's** and Gooderham & Worts was effected through an exchange of shares to create Hiram **Walker-Gooderham** & Worts Ltd., although Gooderham & Worts Limited was continued for operating purposes.

A number of production and marketing records survive in the **on-site** collection from the period 1923-60; personnel and public relations records tend to be stonger after 1950. The real-estate and photographic record is augmented considerably by materials in the archives of the Toronto Harbour Commissioners. There were extensive negotiations with the Commissioners over various works along the waterfront that cut Gooderham & Worts off from the water except for a pipeline leading underground from a short section of dock to the large steel tanks at the west end of the distillery site.

The collection of records on-site documents also some interesting **intiatives** and joint ventures by Gooderham & Worts. The first was the establishment in 1928 of radio station CKGW: it had a history of conflict with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation that in 1944 was carried right to the Privy Council. The second was a joint venture with the Liquid Carbonic company. As early as 1929 Gooderham & Worts had decided to manufacture carbonic acid gas as a by-product of distilling; the gas is used extensively in the making of soft drinks. In 1931 the buildings on the south side of Mill Street occupied formerly by General Distilling were leased to Dominion Carbonic, probably an affiliate, but in 1934 they were sold to Liquid Carbonic Canadian Corp., a subsidiary of an American company. Hiram Walker-Gooderham & Worts had a minority

interest in the latter venture and appointed a representative to its board of directors until after Liquid Carbonic sold the Mill Street property back to **G&W** in 1968 and moved away. The former Liquid Carbonic buildings were then demolished. The third series of records relates to Consolidated Alcohols, formed in 1957 with Corby's to manufacture and market industrial alcohols.

Except for the corporate and financial records held by Hiram Walker's there are relatively few company records covering the last three decades. The thread of **G&W's** story in the 1980's was complicated by acquisitions and takeovers; no summary of those events will be attempted here. Suffice it to say, as the idea of closing the distillery gained momentum after 1980, more honour was accorded Gooderham & Worts, more studies were made and more pictures of the buildings taken than ever before, all of which have been noted below.