

**Regulating Ontario's Prohibition-Era Standard Hotels:
How the "Needs" and "Demands" of Ontario's Localities
Impacted the Board of License Commissioners and the Liquor
Control Board of Ontario's Decision-Making Process,
1916-1934**

By

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Abstract

This thesis examines the regulatory process associated with Standard Hotels operating throughout Ontario during the provincially enforced ban on the consumption of alcohol, 1916-1934. Due to its position as a publicly available and accessible institution, the Standard Hotel was a highly contested site. The thesis identifies three factors that influenced the State's granting of a "Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit." These include: the distribution and frequency of establishments throughout the province; the ability for individuals to influence the License and Permit process; and the features and areas of a Standard Hotel that were of greatest concern to the authorities, the operators and members of the general public. The thesis argues that the regulation of Ontario's prohibition-era Standard Hotels was a highly contentious topic that was subject to the varying "needs" and "demands" of the community.

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Abbreviations

AO	Archives of Ontario
BLC	Board of License Commissioners
LCA	Liquor Control Act
LCB	Liquor Control Board
LCBO	Liquor Control Board of Ontario
LLBO	Liquor Licence Board of Ontario
OTA	Ontario Temperance Act

Introduction / Historiography

Introduction

As a result of the temperance movements that flourished throughout Canada during the nineteenth century, within the first two decades of the twentieth century every Canadian province had instituted legislation that prohibited the distribution and retail sale of intoxicating beverages.¹ In Ontario, such legislation was introduced in 1916 and was known as the Ontario Temperance Act (OTA).² Administration and enforcement of the OTA was the responsibility of the Board of License Commissioners (BLC.) Introduced in 1915, the BLC oversaw all matters concerning the sale of alcohol, including the issuance of hotel licenses. As prohibition never lived up to its billing as a solution for the vices that plagued society, by the mid 1920's, support for the OTA began to decline. As a result, in 1927 the OTA was replaced with the Liquor Control Act (LCA) -- an act designed to implement a more moderate approach to regulating the retail sale of alcohol.³ With respect to licensing Ontario's public establishments, where the BLC left off, the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) took over. However, the LCBO also assumed the responsibility of managing the provincially operated liquor stores.⁴

¹ Matthew J. Bellamy, "The Canadian Brewing Industry's Response to Prohibition, 1874-1920," *Journal of Brewery History*, no. 132 (2009): 2; Craig Heron, "Taking the Pledge," *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2003) 51-78.

² J.C. McRuer, *The Ontario Liquor Laws, being The Ontario Temperance Act and Amending Acts, 1916 to 1922* (Toronto: Canadian Law Book Company, LTD., 1922).

³ F.P. Brennan, *The Liquor Control Act Ontario, Annotated, also the Regulations of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario* (Toronto: Canada Law Book Company, LTD., 1928).

⁴ By all appearances, instances of patronage were either foreign to the LCBO or individuals were wise enough to not be explicit about its existence. In an attempt to ascertain the extent to which patronage was present within the LCBO, sources I examined included: Commissions for Licence Inspectors, RG 53-31, Archives of Ontario (AO); Appointments to Boards of Licence Commissioners, RG 53-32; various Ontario Legislative Assembly Sessional Papers; as well as newspapers such as *The Globe* and *The Ottawa Citizen*.

Although the public consumption of alcohol was eventually legalized, between the years 1916 and 1934, the OTA and LCA almost entirely prohibited such an activity. The one exception to the restrictions was that provincially regulated hotels were allowed to serve “non-intoxicating” light beer and their patrons were permitted to keep a personal supply of liquor in their “guest rooms.” As a result of this privilege, the regulations governing these establishments were incorporated in the OTA and LCA. This has resulted in alcohol becoming a central theme in the ongoing debates involving the activities and conduct that occurred within Ontario’s Standard Hotels.⁵ Aside from serving light beer, these establishments were also permitted to sell tobacco products or operate an ice cream parlour, restaurant, or café.⁶ In order to differentiate between these establishments and those that lacked such privileges, the OTA and LCA defined these hotels as Standard Hotels.⁷ Nevertheless, as this thesis will demonstrate, Ontario’s Standard Hotels were far more than just public drinking establishments.

This thesis aims to fill a historical gap by looking at the regulation and operation of Ontario’s Standard Hotels between the years 1916 and 1934. It seeks to understand how Ontario’s Standard Hotels functioned as a State sanctioned institution that was responsible for fulfilling the numerous, and often conflicting, “needs” and “demands” of Ontario’s diverse localities. Seemingly innocent, terms such as “need” and “demand” were employed by individuals, including members of the BLC/LCBO, proprietors of establishments and member of the general public, in order to demonstrate how a particular Standard Hotel served and accommodated its guests. As a Standard Hotels central purpose was to serve the public, the ability to fulfill the “needs” and “demands” of a locality became a determining factor in the

⁵ Other studies that discuss the relationship between Ontario’s Standard Hotels and alcohol include: Craig Heron, “The Boys and Their Booze: Masculinities and Public Drinking in Working-class Hamilton, 1890-1946,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (September 2005): 411-452; and Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*.

⁶ McRuer, 146; Brennan, 140.

⁷ Ibid.

Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit application process. Applied in the most general form, the terms “need” and “demand” might indicate a Standard Hotel provided adequate accommodations or a good meal at a fair price. However, the terms were more commonly employed when assessing the legitimacy of the activities, functions and conduct occurring within a given Standard Hotel. This required License Inspectors to determine the “needs” and “demands” of the locality within which a Standard Hotel resided.⁸ As Ontario’s numerous localities possessed differing sets of “needs” and “demands,” License Inspectors and the BLC/LCBO had to incorporate these differences when making their recommendation.

In addition to developing a better understanding the regulatory process that existed, this thesis aims to come to terms with the manner in which Standard Hotels were operated, the activities that occurred within them, the clientele they catered towards or that patronized them, and how they were perceived by individuals in their respective localities. Furthermore, this thesis will demonstrate that the regulations relating to the operation of Ontario’s Standard Hotels are better interpreted as loose guidelines for the License Inspectors. Consequently, approving or denying an establishment’s License and Permit often required License Inspectors as well as other members of the BLC/LCBO to subjectively interpret whether or not the particular Standard Hotel fulfilled the unique “needs” and/or “demands” of a given locality. In order to accomplish these tasks, this thesis will make use of a collection of records, otherwise known as the “Liquor Licence Board of Ontario standard hotel case files,” that were composed by members of the

⁸ The day-to-day life of a License Inspectors is a subject that deserves further examination. However, I was unable to find any accessible documents or resources that could provide us with information about them. Unfortunately, due to restrictions surrounding freedom of information, I was unable to gain access to a collection of diaries and journals that may have contained information regarding these individuals. Should or when these records become available, for those interested in pursuing such a topic, the series in question is the: Ontario Provincial Police members’ diaries and notebooks/journals, RG 23-30, AO.

BLC/LCBO and its License Inspectors in order to monitor the regulatory process regarding Standard Hotels.⁹

Regarding the purposes of and activities occurring within Ontario's Standard Hotels, what is available to historians is a collection of records that were produced from sources that selectively organized information with the intent of promoting or advocating a particular goal. Any association between these goals and Ontario's Standard Hotels was often limited to how the information contained within the source could benefit the producer – financially, socially, and bureaucratically.¹⁰ For instance, travel guides were published with the intent of enticing and attracting tourists.¹¹ Seldom do they provide anything more than a photograph of the exterior of a given Standard Hotel as well as a story or two regarding the establishment or its surrounding area. Omitted from these accounts is information about the types of individuals who actually patronized the establishments and the activities that occurred within them. Other sources, including records of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), were inherently biased against one of the central functions of the establishments – the sale and consumption of

⁹ Liquor Licence Board of Ontario (LLBO) standard hotel case files list, RG 36-1, AO. The most common documents found within a given establishment's case file are the yearly Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit Applications along with a copy of issued Standard Hotel License as well as the License Inspector Reports that were completed roughly once a year. However, additional documents that can be found within any given case file includes: letters or correspondence between members of the BLC/LCBO, License Inspectors, local authoritative figures, the general public, and proprietors; petitions both for and against a Standard Hotel operator or his/her establishment; police reports; newspaper articles; photographs or blueprints of an establishment. While this would appear to make the case files quite sizeable, there are in fact many gaps within the records. Whether this is due to the documents being damaged, lost, improperly filed, or just not completed is not entirely clear.

¹⁰ Many of the references I found in newspapers, where a Standard Hotels was identified, were of this nature. In fact, newspapers articles often contained little more than the place, the individuals name, and the fine or punishment handed out if an infraction was committed. As a result, my use of newspaper as a source was largely limited to those instances where regulations or statements from Provincial authorities were issued. The bulk of these examples are taken from *The Globe* (available through ProQuest Historical Newspapers.) However, I also mined a selection of Ontario newspapers contained at www.ourontario.ca as well as *The Ottawa Citizen* (available through google news archive) and the *Toronto Star* (available through ProQuest Historical Newspapers.)

¹¹ E. Herbert Adams, *Toronto and Adjacent Summer Resorts: Illustrated Souvenir and Guide Book with Maps and Tables of Railway and Steamboat Fares, Hotel Rates, Meteorological Data, etc* (Toronto: F. Smiley, 1894); Frederick Smily, ed., *Canadian Summer Resort Guide : Illustrated Souvenir and Guide Book of Some of the Principal Fishing, Hunting, Health and Pleasure Resorts and Tourist and Excursion Routes of Canada, with Tables of Railway and Steamboat Fares and Connections, Hotel Rates* (Toronto: F. Smily, 1900).

alcohol.¹² As a result of the associations between Standard Hotels and alcohol, temperance groups often directed their attention towards these establishments and openly criticized the activities occurring within.¹³ The belief was that in order to curb the trafficking and consumption of alcohol, one had to root out all the venues wherein the activities took place.

Furthermore, many individuals have constructed their own interpretation of Ontario's Standard Hotels as a result of anecdotal accounts and references passed along by both patrons of the establishments and passersby. However, throughout Ontario's history, different sets of regulations have been instituted in order to govern the province's Standard Hotels as well as their predecessors. Consequently, it is highly unlikely that a Standard Hotel that operated in Owen Sound in 1926 existed and functioned in a similar manner some 10-15 years later, especially if the establishment in question changed ownership. Furthermore, transposing the purpose and activities occurring within a particular Standard Hotel located in Toronto in the mid to late 1940's to one of Ontario's prohibition-era Standard Hotels devalues the impact that the specific "needs" and "demands" of a given locality had on the day-to-day operations of an establishment. In other words, the Standard Hotels that operated throughout Ontario were a product of both the specific "needs" and "demands" of the respective localities in addition to the provincial regulations that governed them. In order to better understand the important roles Ontario's Standard Hotels played in the development of the province, we need to incorporate both the regulatory and societal significance associated with these establishments when discussing them.

Similar to hotels today, Ontario's prohibition era Standard Hotels were responsible for serving individuals from their immediate localities as well as a variety of travelling, transient

¹² Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo, *Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap & Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

¹³ Heron, *Booze*, 157-158.

guests.¹⁴ Although the hostelry trade still serves a wide array of travelers and offers a variety of services to their respective localities, subtle differences distinguish current hotels from Ontario's Standard Hotels. First of all, Standard Hotels in operation throughout Ontario in the early 20th century were significantly smaller, ultimately resulting in a reduced capacity. As this thesis will show, many of Ontario's prohibition-era Standard Hotels were unable to provide a number of conveniences we expect to find when staying at their modern counterparts.¹⁵ It was not uncommon for a prohibition era Standard Hotel in Ontario to have less than 20 guest rooms, be constrained to 2 or 3 floors, possess a single bathroom and have a couple lavatories. Secondly, in contrast to the brand name hotel chains that dominate the late 20th and early 21st century, many of Ontario's prohibition-era Standard Hotels were small-scale, family operated, local businesses, that frequently employed no more than 5 individuals. Third, while it was important for localities to have at least one Standard Hotel, in order to accommodate travelers, it was not uncommon for License Inspectors to recommend permits for other establishments because a specific class or social segment required accommodations. These general differences not only indicate that a much different hostelry trade existed in early 20th century Ontario, they further emphasize that the provinces Standard Hotels served a different purpose, function, and role within their respective localities.

Historiography

Much of the remainder of this chapter is dedicated to examining the European, American, and Canadian sources on public establishments from the Early Modern period up to the present

¹⁴ *The Globe (1844-1936)*, "ALL STANDARD HOTELS MUST FURNISH MEALS," Mar 05, 1917, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1354086844?accountid=9894>.

¹⁵ All three of these factors were observed via my examination of the case files used "LLBO standard hotel case files", RG 36-01-XX, AO.

day. While the topics discussed in these works vary, including examinations on regulations, gender, class, and ethnicity, they highlight the progressive development of public establishments from alehouses to taverns, inns and ultimately hotels. The sources that focus on regions outside of Canada will be discussed first, while those discussing public establishments within Canada will be examined second.

1. The International Context: Public Establishments in Europe and America

According to Beat Kümin, historical examinations that attempt to outline the roles and relationships existing between alcohol, public establishments and communities frequently lack critical analysis.¹⁶ As such, when it comes to public establishments, the history often written has been more “colorful anecdotes rather than critical evaluation.”¹⁷ While public establishments have been studied for some time now in European history, lately there has been renewed interest and debate around the subject.¹⁸ This has led to historians such as Beat Kümin, A. Lynn Martin, Bernard Capp and Beverly Ann Tlusty to identify public establishments, within their respective regions, as institutions that were central to the day-to-day lives individuals.¹⁹

¹⁶ Beat Kümin, *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 45.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Thomas E. Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Brennan "Taverns and the Public Sphere in the French Revolution," in *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History*, ed. Mack P. Holt (Oxford - New York: Berg, 2006), 107-120; Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* (London, UK: Longman Group Ltd., 1983); Paul Jennings, "Liquor Licensing and the Local Historian: Inns and Alehouses 1753-1828," *Local Historian* 40, no. 2 (May 2010): 136-150; Jennings, "Liquor Licensing and the Local Historian: The Victorian Public House," *Local Historian* 41, no. 2 (May 2011): 121-137; James Kneale, "'A Problem of Supervision': Moral Geographies of the Nineteenth-Century British Public House," *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, no. 3 (1999): 333-348; Kneale, "The Place of Drink: Temperance and the Public, 1856-1914," *Social & Cultural Geography* 2, no. 1 (2001): 43-59.

¹⁹ Kümin, *Drinking Matters*; A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder in Traditional Europe* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2009); Martin, "Drinking and Alehouses in the Diary of an English Mercer's Apprentice, 1663-1674," in *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History*, by Mack P. Holt (Oxford - New York: Berg, 2006), 93-106; Bernard Capp, "Gender and the Culture of the English Alehouse in Late Stuart England," *COLLEGIUM: Studies Across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences* 2, vol.2 (2007): 103-127,

For historians interested in looking at the social significance of public drinking establishment -- of any kind, at any period in time, and in any region -- the importance of Peter Clark's *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* cannot be overemphasized. Clark not only identifies how the English alehouse developed during the middle ages and late Hanoverian period, he situates this evolution within the greater context of societal development and progression.²⁰ In order to accomplish such a task Clark uses an array of primary sources, including government records, diaries, and probate inventories. By associating political and social developments with changes in the alehouse, Clark makes the reader conscious of the fact that these drinking establishments were sites where large forces intersected, greatly impacting the daily lives of ordinary people. That being said, the alehouse as well as its proprietors and patrons remain his focal point. Although the significance that can be attributed to alehouses, and public houses in general, wane's towards the end of the 18th and start of the 19th century, Clark recognizes "its evolutionary mutability" and ability to "adapt relatively quickly to new conditions" as reasons for its continuity in addition to its "peculiar social identity and attraction."²¹ Ultimately, Clark's identification of these changes and/or developments allows us to conclude that the English alehouse was much more than just a vessel through which history passed. The English Alehouse was a social institution, the quintessential "neighbourhood theatre" as Clark describes it, through which history was lived, made, observed, and experienced.²² In addition to this, Clark's work shows historians how public drinking establishments could be understood as a dynamic, as opposed to static, institution. In doing so,

http://www.helsinki.fi/collegium/e-series/volumes/volume_2/002_07_capp.pdf; Beverly Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); Küminand Tlusty, eds., *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

²⁰ Clark, 4.

²¹ Clark, 340-341.

²² Clark, 341.

Clark reveals how English alehouses constantly adapted and evolved alongside the changing “needs” and “demands” of society.

While Clark’s work represented a new beginning when it came to understanding the role of public establishments throughout history, this particular field of study has continually been expanded upon. More recently, in *Drinking Matters* Beat Kümin thoroughly examines “the contested nature, perennial renegotiation and wider significance of drinking establishments” in early modern Central Europe.²³ Like Clark, Kümin makes use of a diverse range of sources during his examination of public houses in Early Modern Europe. These include diaries, memoirs, letters, travel logs and accounts, woodcuts, and government records. As opposed to being a static or stagnant social institution, Kümin, in a manner similar to Clark, identifies public establishments as a dynamic and versatile institution, inhabited by a clientele base that included men *and* women of various classes, races, ethnicities and nationalities.²⁴ Due to the “bewildering variety of situations” that developed or existed within these spaces, Kümin acknowledges that, aside from their common ability to sell and serve various types of alcoholic beverages, it is difficult to come up with a universal definition of early modern public establishments in Central Europe.²⁵ Furthermore, as opposed to depicting the hospitality trade as one filled with “revolutionary raptures,” wherein new ideas and concepts seemingly sprung from nowhere, Kümin suggests public establishments took a more evolutionary course; adapting, modifying and developing themselves in order to maintain their existence.²⁶ Although Kümin’s research is concentrated on developments in Central Europe, in particular Bern and Bavaria, the methodology he applies throughout his analysis does not restrict itself geographically. His

²³ Kümin, *Drinking Matters*, 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 192.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 191.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 196.

description of public establishments as “micro-laboratories for the study of interactions between individuals and groups with distinct agendas” could lend itself to any study, including this one, attempting to understand the socio-cultural significance of various public institutions.²⁷

Kümin’s approach though is not the only one currently being used by historians of public establishments. In *Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder*, A. Lynn Martin’s applies modern anthropological methods of analysis in order to shed light on the relationship between alcohol and violence in England, France and Italy between the years 1300-1700 or what he calls “traditional Europe.”²⁸ Furthermore, while Clark and Kümin make use of archival sources, Martin indicates that while he “used a wide variety of primary and secondary sources,” he did not consult any “archival sources.”²⁹ As a result of the various outcomes observed in different regions where alcohol consumption is present, Martin maintains that the relationship between alcohol and violence is a “learned behavior.”³⁰ He further argues this learned behaviour is a result of numerous “cultural, social, and psychological” factors as opposed to any sort of inherent tendency or predisposition.³¹ In other words, an individual’s ability to “learn the art of drinking” depends on sociocultural rituals, customs, and traditions developed within one’s own “communities.” According to Martin, once the “art” is learned it is then transmitted among the “community” and outward to others. In addition, the introduction of newcomers to a given “community” or the redistribution of alcohol related tendencies modifies or transforms the aforementioned rituals, customs, and traditions. Ultimately, this makes the learned behaviour of “drinking” a dynamic process. Martin uses his analysis of past associations between violence and

²⁷ Ibid., 4.

²⁸ Martin, *Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder in Traditional Europe*, 2.

²⁹ Ibid., 4.

³⁰ Ibid., 1.

³¹ Ibid.

alcohol in order to identify how the “learned behaviors” of the past might have directly or indirectly affected those of the present.³²

Martin also separates the activity of alcohol consumption into two fields, one based on “need” and the other on “demand,” or as he describes it, “recreational drinking.”³³ Citing regulations that aimed at ensuring a constant supply of alcohol to public, Martin claims the day-to-day need or requirement of alcohol in traditional Europe was widely accepted and maintained.³⁴ Conversely, he identifies the latter field, “recreational drinking,” as the one consistently associated with disorder, at least in traditional Europe.³⁵ Continued examination of the leisurely consumption of alcohol and its correlation with violence leads Martin to borrow from Alan Lang’s conclusions surrounding alcohol and violence. Lang’s initial premise rests upon the significance of various “proximal and distal aspects...in which behavior occurs.”³⁶ With respect to alcohol (agent), Lang suggests this means studying the people (host) and situation (environment) in order to understand the relationship between alcohol and violence. Martin adds to Lang by suggesting one must also consider the observer as they were the ones perceiving the actions and events that unfolded. Additionally, Martin indicates how “observers” were capable of influencing the extent to which regulation and law in “traditional Europe” were enacted.³⁷ For instance, while alcohol consumption can lead to insults, threats, and/or violence, it could also repair, mend, and/or solve disputes. As Martin suggests, while capable of fostering anger, rage, and violence, alcohol also retained the ability to cultivate sociability, conviviality,

³² Ibid., 8-13.

³³ Ibid., 2-4 & chapter 4.

³⁴ Ibid., 185-186.

³⁵ Ibid., 2-4.

³⁶ Alan R. Lang, "Alcohol-Related Violence: Psychological Perspectives," In *Alcohol and Interpersonal Violence: Fostering Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Susan E. Martin (Rockville: National Institutes of Health, 1993), 122.

³⁷ Martin, *Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder in Traditional Europe*, 222.

hospitality and companionship.³⁸ Ultimately, these aspects: agent, host, environment, and observer influenced the introduction, establishment, and continuation of various norms, customs, and traditions surrounding alcohol consumption; otherwise expressed in what Martin describes as acts “celebration, jollification, & socialization.”³⁹ While leaving the subject of alcohol consumption to others, my work is influenced by Martin’s emphasis on how “needs” and “demands” are cultural constructed.

Similar to Kūmin and Martin, Peter Thompson’s *Rum Punch & Revolution* identifies the social composition of Philadelphia’s colonial taverns as made up of a diverse clientele while its functionality made it a space capable of hosting a diverse, and often incompatible, range of functions.⁴⁰ Drawing upon the methodologies others have applied, Thompson’s research also demonstrates how Philadelphia’s eighteenth-century taverns contained unwritten codes of conduct which determined the modes, customs, and norms by which individuals, locals and visitors, would interact.⁴¹ In other words, these taverns fostered conviviality, sociability, and association in much the same manner as the various Central European public establishments described by Clark, Kūmin, and Martin. Furthermore, Thompson outlines the significant role Philadelphia’s colonial taverns assumed with respect to politics, in particular their ability to be havens for the dissemination of political belief, ideology, opposition, and dissent.⁴² He recognizes that aside from being aligned with particular political parties or ideologies, Philadelphia’s colonial taverns frequently served as temporary municipal infrastructure, holding rallies for candidates and frequently used as meeting places for clubs, civic associations, and

³⁸ Ibid., 4.

³⁹ Ibid., first phrased on 3.

⁴⁰ Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution*, 17-18.

⁴¹ Ibid., 11-15, 93-103.

⁴² Thompson, “Of Great Presumption,” *Rum Punch and Revolution*, 111-144.

congressional committees.⁴³ Although these functions would have been limited to a particular collection of taverns, they do present a much different picture than that which is commonly associated with public drinking establishments.⁴⁴

In addition to their above stated importance, these works are representative of a more critical approach to examining and understanding public establishments. They operate as examples or guides for future historians who are attempting to ascertain the type and quality of information that may be present within primary sources. As a result of the methodological approaches they apply to otherwise anecdotal accounts of public establishments, they are capable of presenting a more inclusive and accurate history. Acting as a template or guide by which one can navigate a source, their work guides my own as many of the documents or primary sources that reference Ontario's Standard Hotel were a product of government regulation and bureaucratic administration policies. As opposed to informing us of the "needs" and "demands" of individuals who patronized Ontario's Standard Hotels, the records that exist were constructed in order to collect revenue and ensure various laws and acts were upheld.

Aside from proposing new methods to better understand or interpret the events, activities, roles and purposes associated with public establishment, historians have also begun to reexamine whether or not various segments of society were active participants within these drinking spaces.⁴⁵ Increasingly, social and cultural historians have begun to question past analysis and

⁴³ Ibid., 62-63, 84-88, 154.

⁴⁴ For other studies on alcohol and public establishments in America, see: David Brundage, "The Producing Classes and the Saloon: Denver in the 1880s," *Labor History*, Winter 1985: 29-52; Mary Murphy, "Bootlegging Mothers and Drinking Daughters: Gender and Prohibition in Butte, Montana," *American Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (Jun. 1994): 174-194; Timothy Olewniczak, "Giggle Water on the Mighty Niagara: Rum-Runners, Homebrewers, Redistillers, and the Changing Social Fabric of Drinking Culture during Alcohol Prohibition in Buffalo, N.Y., 1920-1933," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 78, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 33-61; Sharon Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2002).

⁴⁵ Capp; Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001); Salinger; Tlusty, "Gender and Alcohol Use in Early Modern Augsburg," in *The Changing Face of*

conclusions surrounding various institutions, including public establishments, on the grounds that they were ahistorical in nature. Consequently, the supplementary role occupied by non-dominant or non-normative individuals and/or groups in many histories has resulted in their actions and activities assuming a role of limited significance. However, while historians have begun to acknowledge the existence and presence of these groups in public establishments, many debate the extent and significance that can be attributed to their involvement.

Frequently used in examinations of public establishments, the term “space” is applied in more than one context. It is used to identify and depict how the area of a public establishment was organized, as Clark does when discussing how English alehouses were outfitted.⁴⁶ Alternatively, it has been used by historians to identify how the “space” of a public establishment could influence the activities occurring within or about it. To employ it in such a manner is, as Kümin suggests, to perceive “space” as a “social construct” as opposed to an “absolute unit.”⁴⁷ According to Capp, conceptualizing “space” in such a way allows one to incorporate a broad array of social factors and inputs into their conclusions regarding a specific type of public establishment as well as the individuals that patronized it.⁴⁸ These include both internal aspects, such as an establishment’s size, organization and layout, as well as external influences involving its location in the community, the size of the community it is situated in, and the various local officials responsible for regulating the establishments in question.⁴⁹

Drink: Substance, Imagery, and Behaviour, eds. Jack S. Blocker Jr and Cheryl Krasnick Warsh (Ottawa, Les Publications Histoire Sociale=Social History Inc., 1997), 21-42.

⁴⁶ Clark, 64-69.

⁴⁷ Kümin, 15.

⁴⁸ Capp, 124.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

2. The Canadian Context: Public Establishments in Canadian History

Within Canada historiography, numerous individuals have begun reexamining past events associated with alcohol in order to further develop our understanding of this highly contentious topic.⁵⁰ Many of these studies have built on the findings of past historians whose work collectively outlined the complicated and somewhat unequal distribution of rights with respect to alcohol regulation in Canada.⁵¹ Although the history of public establishments is less developed in Canada than in Europe or the America, this renewed interest has resulted in historians such as Robert Campbell, Craig Heron, Dan Malleck, and Julia Roberts questioning some of the previously held conclusions regarding the role and purpose of public establishments within their

⁵⁰ Matthew J. Bellamy, "'More Money than Since or Before': How John Labatt's Brewery prospered during the Canada Temperance Act Period, 1878-1889," *Brewery History* 152 (Spring 2013): 20-32; Bellamy, "Steaming into the Age of Rail and Pale Ale: John Labatt and the Transformation of Canadian Brewing, 1855-1877," *Brewery History* 146 (2012): 16-27; Jack S. Blocker Jr. and Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, eds., *The Changing Face of Drink: Substance, Imagery and Behaviour* (Ottawa: Les Publications Histoire Sociale=Social History Inc., 1997); Andrew Lefebvre, "Prohibition and the Smuggling of Intoxicating Liquors between the Two Saults," *The Northern Mariner* 11, no. 3 (July 2001): 33-40; Malleck, "The Meaning of Addiction in the Rubbing Alcohol Habit: The Rise and Fall of the Rubby," *The Social History of Alcohol Review* 25, no. 1 (2011): 130-147; Malleck, "The Same as a Private Home? Social Clubs, Public Drinking, and Liquor Control in Ontario, 1934-1944," *The Canadian Historical Review* 93, no. 4 (December 2012): 555-582; Greg Marquis, "'Brewers and Distillers Paradise': American Views of Canadian Alcohol Policies, 1919 to 1935," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 34, no. 2 (2004): 135-166; Marquis, "'Incriminating Conditions of the Body': The Breathalyzer and the Reframing of Alcohol and Deviance in Late Twentieth-Century Canada," *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 26, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 46-68; Marquis, "Alcohol and the Family in Canada," *Journal of Family History* 29, no. 3 (July 2004): 308-327; Marquis, "Civilized Drinking: Alcohol and Society in New Brunswick, 1945-1975," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 11, no. 1 (2000): 173-203. Marquis, "From Beverage to Drug: Alcohol and Other Drugs in 1960s and 1970s Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 57-79; Scott Thompson and Gary Genosko, *Punched Drunk: Alcohol, Surveillance and the LCBO, 1927-1975* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2009); Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, ed., *Drink in Canada: Historical Essays* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

⁵¹ M.G. Decarie, "Something Old, Something New", in Donald Swainson (ed), *Oliver Mowat's Ontario: Papers Presented to the Oliver Mowat Colloquium* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972); J.H. Gray, *Booze: The Impact of Whiskey on the Prairie West* (Toronto, Macmillan, 1972); G.A. Hallowell, "Prohibition in Ontario, 1919-23", (M.A. Research Essay, Carleton University, 1966); S. Barry, "'Shades of Vice... and Moral Glory': The Temperance Movement in Nova Scotia, 1828-1848" (M.A. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1986); E.J. Dick, "From Temperance to Prohibition in 19th Century Nova Scotia", *Dalhousie Review*, 61 no.3 (Autumn 1981), 530-52; N. Sheehan, "National Pressure Groups and Provincial Curriculum Policy: Temperance in Nova Scotia Schools, 1880-1930", *Canadian Journal of Education*, 9, no. 1 (Winter 1984). 73-88; Dianne Kathryn Stretch, "From Prohibition to Government Control: The Liquor Question in Alberta, 1909-1929" (M.A. University of Alberta, 1979); C. Mark Davis, "I'll Drink to That: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition in the Maritime Provinces, 1900-1930," (Ph.D. Thesis, McMaster University, 1990); John Albert Hiebert, "Prohibition in British Columbia", (M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1969); John Herd Thompson, "The Prohibition Question in Manitoba, 1892-1928" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969).

respective localities.⁵² As a result of the varying purposes of their research, Canadian historians have employed varying methodologies to study public establishments. However, given that the division of power was such in Canada that the provinces had the constitutional authority to regulate the retail sale of intoxicating beverages, many historians have opted for a provincial or regional approach, rather than a having a national focus. Consequently, the work of these historians has identified the important role that taverns, beer parlours, and Standard Hotels played in the social and cultural development of the nation. In particular, they have demonstrated how public establishments provided a range of services to Canadians and thus were much more than dens of immorality or vice as maintained by the temperance organizations.⁵³

For instance, DeLottinville's study makes use of newspapers and government record in order to describe Joe Beef's Canteen -- a working-class tavern in late nineteenth century Montreal -- as well as the conduct of its notorious proprietor, Charles McKiernan. Of particular interest though is the way in which DeLottinville outlines how McKiernan engaged, related, and assisted his many patrons, and a wide array of individuals within Montreal's diverse tavern community. In addition, DeLottinville acknowledges how McKiernan created a dynamic heterogeneous space wherein the unemployed could find work, the hungry could acquire food, the homeless could find a bed, and where working-class residents could associate and/or

⁵² Robert Campbell, *Sit down and drink your beer: regulating Vancouver's beer parlours, 1925-1954* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Peter DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889," *Labour/Le Travail* 8/9 (Autumn 1981 - Spring 1982): 9-40; Dan Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself: The Regulation of Public Drinking in Post-Prohibition Ontario, 1927-1944*. (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2012); Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada*. (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009).

⁵³ Sharon Anne Cook, "Educating for Temperance: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Ontario Children, 1880-1916," *Historical Studies in Education* 5, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 256-257; Heron, *Booze*, 157-158; Lynne Marks, *Revival and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 85-86; Strange and Loo, *Making Good*, 32; Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap & Water*, 58.

socialize among like-minded individuals. Employing such an approach allows DeLottinville to depict and account for the actions and utility associated with Joe Beef's Canteen.

As is the case in Europe and the America, Canadian historians have discovered a range of alcohol cultures that existed with respect to the consumption and regulation of alcohol. These cultures were not transcendental or universal, but rather were a function of time and space. As in the case of Ontario's prohibition era Standard Hotels, the cultures that developed were not historical accidents. Rather, they were constituted, in part, by policies and practices of the State. For instance, both Robert Campbell and Dan Malleck have examined how regulatory authorities in post-prohibition British Columbia and Ontario, respectively, enacted liquor legislation that enabled particular segments of the population, while disabling others.

In addition to other the work's he has published in the field of alcohol studies, Robert Campbell's *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer* demonstrates how British Columbia's post-prohibition liquor regulations attempted to dictate the experience of Vancouver's beer parlour patrons.⁵⁴ His work illustrates how a particular mindset regarding alcohol consumption came to be institutionalized in British Columbia. According to Campbell, British Columbia Liquor Control Board (LCB) determined the types of activities and conduct that were permissible within the province's beer parlours. In addition, he demonstrates how the LCB regulated the types of people who were allowed to enter into Vancouver's beer parlours.⁵⁵ As such, many individuals and ethnicities were excluded from British Columbia's supposed "public" drinking establishments. Therefore, in addition to regulating the alcohol trade, Campbell demonstrates

⁵⁴ Robert A. Campbell, *Demon Rum or Easy Money: Governmental Control of Liquor in British Columbia From Prohibition to Privatization* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991); Campbell, "Making Sober Citizens: The Legacy of Indigenous Alcohol Regulation in Canada, 1777-1985," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 42, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 105-126; Campbell, "Managing the Marginal: Regulating and Negotiating Decency in Vancouver's Beer Parlours," *Labour / Le Travail* 44 (Fall 1999): 109-127; Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer*, 11-13.

⁵⁵ Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer*, 11-13.

how British Columbia's post-prohibition liquor regime enacted a policy which allowed it to restrict the habits or customs it perceived to be detrimental to its own existence and the good of society.⁵⁶ With respect to furthering our knowledge of Ontario's prohibition-era Standard Hotels, the most significant aspect of Campbell's work would be in the similarities between the regulations imposed by the LCB, regarding public drinking establishments, and those of the LCBO, as identified by Malleck.

Regarding post-prohibition Standard Hotels in Ontario, Dan Malleck's *Try to Control Yourself* provides us with answers to questions such as how "the public consumption of alcoholic beverages was regulated in post-prohibition Ontario, how government control placed constraints and expectations on the population, and how the regulatory process created a dynamic interaction between the government agency and the general public."⁵⁷ Drawing largely from a collection of case files that documented public drinking establishments during the 1927-1944 period, Malleck concludes that the province's Standard Hotels were places that were constantly subject to negotiation and change.⁵⁸ Each of the groups participating in this negotiation possessed their own interpretation regarding the sort of "needs" and "demands" the province's Standard Hotels should fulfill.⁵⁹ Malleck argues that the most important group in the "negotiations" was the newly formed Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO).⁶⁰ Throughout his work, Malleck highlights the efforts of the LCBO as it sought to organize and regulate the province's public drinking establishments as well as their patrons. Wanting to avoid a return to the excesses of the pre-prohibition period, the LCBO sought to develop a public drinking environment that fostered a culture of moderation. In order to accomplish this, Malleck argues that the LCBO attempted to

⁵⁶ Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer*, 127-135.

⁵⁷ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 3-4.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 242-243.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 66-69, 87-88.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 36-39.

enforce a “specific value system in a way that shaped people’s activities to a certain vision of proper citizenship.”⁶¹ Aside from attempting to mold an archetypal consumer, the LCBO also sought to dispel “preconceived ideas” commonly associated with public drinking establishments.⁶² Furthermore, Malleck argues that the LCBO enacted various regulations with the intent to manage the space, its existence and utilization, within Ontario’s Standard Hotels.⁶³ Drawing upon the works of Valverde, Foucault, Huxley, and Bentham, Malleck asserts that the LCBO sought to create and enforce a level of conformity within Ontario’s Standard Hotels.⁶⁴ Consequently, Malleck’s work provides invaluable insights for any student seeking to understand the nature of public drinking in Ontario. This thesis, builds on that work by demonstrating that while the BLC/LCBO had their own vision regarding Ontario’s Standard Hotels, so too did the proprietors of these establishments as well as members of the general public. The result was the development of an institution that, while under the authority of the BLC/LCBO, was guided and maintained by the unique “needs” and “demands” that existed in the province’s diverse localities.

Taking a different approach, Julia Roberts wonderful study, *In Mixed Company*, examines the social composition, structure and function of Upper Canada’s colonial taverns -- an institution that was the forerunner to Ontario’s Standard Hotels.⁶⁵ Roberts identifies these taverns as public establishments that catered to the “needs” and “demands” of individuals inhabiting or travelling through the colony.⁶⁶ She notes how taverns, including their proprietors and patrons, are represented throughout the historical record and can be found in correspondence, Legislative Assembly Journals, letters, judges bench notes, wills, diaries,

⁶¹ Ibid., 37.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 64.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 64-66.

⁶⁵ Roberts, 2.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

travelogues, newspapers, tavern keepers account books and artwork.⁶⁷ Her conclusion that Upper Canada's taverns contained a heterogeneous clientele can be attributed to the statistical data she examines.⁶⁸ Roberts indicates that while taverns rapidly developed, numbering 2723 by 1852, the first official count in 1808 recognized only 108 taverns.⁶⁹ This meant that in a population of 34 600, there would be "one tavern per 320 people."⁷⁰ This high average, in combination with an ethnically, racially, religiously, and politically diverse population meant people were forced to relinquish previous conceptions of socialization if they chose to enter a tavern.⁷¹ Many of the questions Roberts addresses with respect to Upper Canada's taverns would become applicable to Ontario's prohibition era Standard Hotels. Like her work, this thesis is interested in shedding light on the social makeup of Ontario's drinking establishments. It also seeks to understand where these drinking establishments were located. Finally, like Roberts, I am interested in knowing how the owners and patrons of these drinking places were viewed by on-lookers at the time.

The Structure of Things to Come

Although the last decade has witnessed a renewed interest in the study of alcohol regulation and public establishments, many historiographical gaps remain. One of these gaps relates to the process by which Ontario's Standard Hotels were regulated during the province's prohibition on the public consumption of alcohol, 1916-1934. In order to demonstrate that Ontario's prohibition-era Standard Hotels formed an institution whose principal role was to facilitate the

⁶⁷ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 8.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 9.

⁷¹ Ibid., 5.

various “needs” and “demands” of the provinces diverse localities, this thesis examines three factors that influenced an establishment’s ability to receive a Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit: (1) the distribution and frequency with which Ontario’s Standard Hotels existed throughout the province and within its localities; (2) the ability of various individuals involved in the regulation of Ontario’s Standard Hotels to influence, positively and negatively, the decision making process; (3) the real or imagined concerns that existed among the authorities, the general public, and proprietors with respect to how a Standard Hotel should be operated and conducted.

Chapter 1 aims to identify how the distribution and frequency with which Ontario’s Standard Hotels existed throughout the province affected the regulatory process associated with issuing a License and Permit to a given Standard Hotel. It attempts to answer the following questions: (1) How common were Ontario’s Standard Hotels? (2) How many Standard Hotels were there in a given locality? (3) Did Ontario’s Standard Hotels cater to particular segments of the population. It argues that the BLC/LCBO’s decision-making process was influenced by both physical and social factors relating to the establishments as well as the locality it resided in. This included such factors as the number of alternate Standard Hotels that existed in a locality, the physical location occupied by a potential Standard Hotel in its locality, and the type of patrons it was expected to serve. An examination of the “LLBO standard hotel case files” reveals that License Inspectors frequently based their recommendations on a Standard Hotel’s ability to adequately fulfill the “needs” and “demands” of its locality. Chapter 1 concludes, therefore, that as a result of the unique “needs” and “demands” of localities throughout Ontario, there existed an equally uneven distribution of Standard Hotels.

Complicating the BLC/LCBO decision’s when it came to issuing License and Permits were the divergent and often conflicting assessments of what exactly were the “needs” and “demands”

of a given locality. Chapter 2 thus examines the ability of various individuals involved in the regulation of Ontario's Standard Hotels to influence, positively and negatively, the decision-making process. While the BLC/LCBO possessed its own idea regarding what "needs" and "demands" a Standard Hotel should fulfill, so too did the proprietors of the establishments as well as members of the general public. This resulted in Ontario's Standard Hotels becoming continual sites of contestation. Consequently, the regulation process associated with Standard Hotels had more to do with negotiating the suitability of a given establishment than how it met any sort of idealized form. In order to demonstrate that such a process existed, Chapter 2 examines the relationships that developed between the BLC/LCBO, its License Inspectors, proprietors and member of the general public. In so doing, it attempts to come to terms with how the activities, functions, and conduct that were found in the province's Standard Hotels were perceived by the different parties. The chapter argues that while the BLC/LCBO ultimately retained the final say in which Standard Hotels received a License and Permit, the relationships that were developed between the various parties were equally influential when it came to "standardizing" Ontario's Standard Hotels.

In order to facilitate the particular "needs" and "demands" of their respective localities, proprietors constructed and outfitted their Standard Hotels in unique ways. This meant that the features and internal areas of Ontario's Standard Hotels were not universal. Similar to the debates that were waged when it came to what "needs" and "demands" a Standard Hotel should be fulfilling, the BLC/LCBO, proprietors, and members of the general public were often in disagreement as to the purpose and role specific areas of a Standard Hotel should play. Consequently, Chapter 3 will examine how concerns that were associated with specific features and areas of a Standard Hotel influenced an owner's ability to receive or renew a License and

Permit. As the chapter seeks to demonstrate, many of these concerns can be separated into one of two groups, those associated with “public” space and those connected to “private” space. Although both public and private spaces were part of any Standard Hotel, they were subject to separate sets of regulations. As the case files indicate, many of the concerns individuals raised revolved around the activities and conduct of proprietors and patrons occurring within these specific spaces. However, an examination of Standard Hotels that were caught violating certain regulations provides us with examples of how the BLC/LCBO dealt differently with “public” and “private” issues.

Chapter 1

The Distribution of Ontario's Standard Hotels and their Compartmentalized

Clientele

Public establishments throughout history, some of which contained spaces dedicated to the consumption of alcohol, have continuously played a central role in facilitating the “needs” and “demands” of the respective localities they served.⁷² With respect to Standard Hotels operating throughout the province of Ontario during the legislated ban on the public consumption of alcohol, 1916-1934, not only were their services reduced but their purpose, role, and functions were severely critiqued. During this period, particular emphasis or discussion was directed towards various physical spaces, in particular beverage rooms and bars, where individuals could consume so called temperance or light beers. In Ontario, this included beer that retained an alcohol by volume of less than 2.2%. Debates regarding the suitability and acceptability of spaces associated with questionable activities often permeated into the licensing process of Ontario's Standard Hotels.

However, the presence and use of these spaces were not the sole factors in determining whether or not an establishment received its Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit.

⁷² Notable works involving public establishments at different time periods throughout Western Europe, America, and Canada include: Thomas E. Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Brennan, *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World: Voices from the Tavern, 1500-1800*, 4 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1983); Beat Kümin, *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Dan Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself: The Regulation of Public Drinking in Post-Prohibition Ontario, 1927-1944*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2012; A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder in Traditional Europe* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2009); Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009); Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2002); and Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing & Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

Frequently, the physical and social landscape within which an establishment existed played an important role in determining whether or not a License Inspector recommended a License and Permit be issued. Of particular importance were factors such as the prevalence and frequency with which Standard Hotels existed in given localities; the physical location within a locality where a Standard Hotel resided; and the type of clientele a Standard Hotel was perceived as serving. An examination of the “Liquor Licence Board of Ontario standard hotel case files” reveals the inherent diversity within these factors and further demonstrates the diverse range of Standard Hotels serving the provinces constituents and visitors.⁷³ In order to reveal the inherent diversity of these factors, I propose a range of questions regarding the establishments themselves: including how common were Ontario’s Standard Hotels? How many Standard Hotels were in a given locality? Where might one expect to find a Standard Hotel in a particular locality? And did Ontario’s Standard Hotels cater to particular segments of the population?

In addition to accounting for the wide array of establishments available to individuals throughout the province, the answers to these questions provide insight into the numerous purposes, functions, and roles of Ontario’s Standard Hotels. Furthermore, they assist our ability to develop an understanding of the complexities surrounding the regulation of Standard Hotels in operation throughout Ontario between the years 1916 and 1934. Consequently, in this chapter I will argue that the “LLBO standard hotel case files” depict and reaffirm the notion that Ontario’s Standard Hotels composed an accepted and legitimate institution whose principal goal was fulfilling the “needs” and “demands” of the provinces residents and visitors. Such a conclusion differs greatly from the more traditional accounts that often described Ontario’s Standard Hotel’s as illegal drinking establishments, dens of vice and/or blind pigs.

⁷³ Liquor Licence Board of Ontario (LLBO) standard hotel case files list, RG 36-1, Archives of Ontario (AO).

How Common were Ontario's Standard Hotels?

As previously noted, Julia Roberts states that while at the beginning of the 19th century Upper Canada was served by 108 taverns, or 1 tavern for every 350 inhabitants, by 1852 there existed 2723 establishments.⁷⁴ The net result of the steep rise in taverns throughout the colony would be the overall reduction in the ratio of establishments to inhabitants. However, Ontario's "Provincial Legislature Sessional Paper" of 1917 reveals that towards the end of the 19th century, throughout Ontario, the number of taverns licensees issued reduced year after year.⁷⁵ Information contained within the "Ontario Provincial Legislature Sessional Papers" for the years that coincide with Federal censuses allow us to identify 1 Standard Hotel for every 2152 residents in 1921 whereas by 1931 there existed 1 Standard Hotel for every 3407 residents.⁷⁶ Although Ontario's Standard Hotels were a successor of Roberts' Taverns, these numbers indicate that the hostelry trade that existed in early 20th century Ontario differed greatly from its 19th century predecessor.

However, the above numbers tell us more about the number of Standard Hotels in Ontario as a whole and do little to assist in determining the prevalence of establishments in the province's many localities. As numerous historians have demonstrated, a wide array of factors

⁷⁴ Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada*, (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009), 8-9.

⁷⁵ Canada, Ontario, "Liquor License Acts, Report," *Sessional Papers*, 1917, no.28. Accessed April 11, 2014. <https://archive.org/details/n06ontariosessional49ontauoft>.

⁷⁶ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, General Statistics Branch, *Canada Year Book 1932: The Official Statistical Annual of the Resources, History, Institutions and Social and Economic Conditions of the Dominion* (Ottawa, F. A. Acland, 1932). Accessed April 11, 2014. http://www66.statcan.gc.ca/eng/acyb_c1932-eng.aspx?opt=/eng/1932/193200050000_Title%20Page.pdf; Canada, Ontario, "Ontario Temperance Act, Report," *Sessional Papers*, 1922, no.28. Accessed April 11, 2014. <https://archive.org/details/n05ontariosession54ontauoft>; Canada, Ontario, "Liquor Control Board Report," *Sessional Papers*, 1932, no.20. Accessed April 11, 2014. <https://archive.org/details/n04ontariosession64ontauoft>.

must be considered when attempting to understand and discuss the different needs and/or demands of Ontario's numerous localities, be they urban or rural.⁷⁷ Although specific criteria such as demography and population density were listed and no doubt considered when determining whether or not a locality required a Standard Hotel, they were but two factors License Inspectors incorporated into their recommendation either for or against the issuance of a License and Permit.

Identifying other criteria used in the decision making process can be discerned through an examination of the *Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit* applications as well as the License Inspector's reports stored in the "LLBO Standard Hotel case files." Although brief and concise pieces of paperwork, both sources included information outlining or defining the type of class or trade that an establishment catered itself towards as well as the quality and extent to which it could accommodate lodgers and diners. However, regardless of the factors that differentiated the many small communities across Ontario, the acts that governed the province's Standard Hotels recognized the need for at least one functioning Standard Hotel in any locality. The first of these two acts was the Ontario Temperance Act (OTA) and was administered by the Board of License Commissioners (BLC) from 1915 until 1927.⁷⁸ Upon repeal of the OTA in 1927, the province's Standard Hotels fell under the purview of Liquor Control Act (LCA) and

⁷⁷ The works of these individuals include but are in no way limited to: Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999); Amanda Glasbeek, ed. *Moral Regulation and Governance in Canada: History, Context, and Critical Issues* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006); Peter G. Goheen, "The Assertion of Middle-Class Claims to Public Space in Late Victorian Toronto," *Journal of Historical Geography* 29, no. 1 (2003): 73-92. doi:10.1006/jhge.2002.0448; Goheen, "Negotiating Access to Public Space in Mid-Nineteenth Century Toronto," *Journal of Historical Geography* 20, no. 4 (1994): 430-449; Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2003); Margaret Little, *No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit: The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998); Lynne Marks, *Revival and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap & Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

⁷⁸ J.C. McRuer, *The Ontario Liquor Laws, being The Ontario Temperance Act and Amending Acts, 1916 to 1922*. Toronto: Canadian Law Book Company, LTD., 1922.

the BLC's successor agency, the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO).⁷⁹ Ultimately, when it came to recommending a Standard Hotel for a License and Permit, both agencies had to consider whether an establishment met the "needs" and "demands" of a given locality, in addition to its ability to supply adequate lodging or accommodation for the general public, tourists or any other type of transient guest. For example, in Alton, Ontario the lodging and accommodations available at the locality's sole Standard Hotel, the Palmer House, was acknowledged as a "good service to public" and as a result retained its License and Permit as well as the privilege to sell light beer.⁸⁰ The North Bruce Hotel retained its License and Permit as a result of the lodging it provided even though the license inspector reported that "the place is not as good as I would like."⁸¹ In addition to such negatively descriptive language, the license inspector also admitted that "it is good enough for where it is" and that "this is a house that we are better with then without."⁸² In fact, it was not uncommon for license inspectors to recommend an establishment for a License and Permit or its renewal based solely on the fact that the establishment in question was the only one in town. This was the case in Corbetton, where a license inspector, reporting on the Corbetton House, remarked that the locality was "only a small place and an hotel is needed here in winter especially."⁸³ Another example indicating the importance of lodging as a central criteria when issuing a License and Permit can be observed in a license inspectors comments, taken from the Leonard House's application of 1927, wherein he identifies the establishment as "the only hotel in Warkworth and is much needed."⁸⁴ This was a bold statement for the inspector to make as the file contains numerous instances where authorities believed the proprietor was

⁷⁹ F.P. Brennan, *The Liquor Control Act Ontario, Annotated, also the Regulations of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario*. Toronto: Canada Law Book Company, LTD., 1928.

⁸⁰ Palmer House, Alton, between 1920 and 1946, Liquor Licence Board of Ontario (LLBO) standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-882, Archives of Ontario (AO).

⁸¹ North Bruce Hotel, North Bruce, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-43, AO.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Corbetton House, Corbetton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-202, AO.

⁸⁴ Leonard House, Warkworth, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-795, AO.

illicitly selling full strength beer and alcohol to children.⁸⁵ Other reports that indicated their existed a “need” and “demand” for a Standard Hotel in the provinces smaller localities include the Connelly House, Commercial Hotel, and Mansion House which were located in Wales, St.George, and Tiverton respectively.⁸⁶

While the above examples attest to the fact that many localities had and required at least one Standard Hotel, capable of offering lodging and food, they do not account for or give reason(s) as to why additional establishments would and did exist in a particular locality. Examining just how prevalent Ontario’s Standard Hotels may have been in any given locality assists us in determining their primary functions and provides us with further insight into just who may have ventured into the establishment along with their reason for doing so. Unfortunately, although there exists a total of 1918 Standard Hotel case files, produced by Ontario’s License Inspectors between the years 1920 and 1946, many are incomplete, damaged and/or full of gaps. In addition, a simple on-line search reveals many other Standard Hotels operated during the given time frame and yet no file documenting their License and Permit applications or subsequent License Inspectors’ reports exist. Consequently, the fragmentary composition of files under examination make it difficult to determine both the exact number of establishments in operation throughout the province of Ontario or within a particular locality at any given time as well as any sort of complete history for the majority of them.

Making the historian’s task even more difficult is the fact that other discrepancies regarding whether or not an establishment was assessed as a Standard Hotel exist. For instance, a common occurrence License Inspectors faced when visiting a Standard Hotel was the

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Connelly House, Wales, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-213, AO; Commercial Hotel, St.George, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-28, AO; Mansion House, Tiverton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-42, AO.

applicants/proprietors inability to produce or present their License and Permit. While the inspectors would follow through with their reports, it is unknown whether or not the establishment in question would have been identified as a Standard Hotel in the records. Conversely, some of the Standard Hotel case files are merely records of the application for a License and Permit. This includes the Standard Hotel case file for Port Credit's Rainbow Gardens, where as a result of the establishments' owners past conduct, although an application was filed, no License and Permit was issued.⁸⁷ In other words, the mere presence of a Standard Hotel case file does not imply a licensed Standard Hotel operated or existed.

Although the Standard Hotel case files are a poor tool for statistically determining the prevalence of Standard Hotels throughout Ontario, they are not without use. As demonstrated in *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*, government records often possess much more information than what was originally intended of them.⁸⁸ When it comes to Ontario's Standard Hotels, among other things, the "LLBO standard hotel case files" assist us in determining whether or not multiple Standard Hotels operated in any particular locality. Both the OTA and LCA required license inspectors to validate and verify the information submitted by applicants in addition to judging how the identified establishment compared with other Standard Hotels in the immediate vicinity by ranking its "place in order of quality."⁸⁹ The use of the word "quality" on the applications indicates the board's concern with the suitability of the individual Standard

⁸⁷ Rainbow Gardens, Port Credit, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-887, AO.

⁸⁸ Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, ed., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

⁸⁹ J.C. McRuer, *The Ontario Liquor Laws, being The Ontario Temperance Act and Amending Acts, 1916 to 1922* (Toronto: Canadian Law Book Company, LTD., 1922) 18, 21, 24; F.P. Brennan, *The Liquor Control Act Ontario, Annotated, also the Regulations of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario* (Toronto: Canada Law Book Company, LTD., 1928) 140. The Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit applications submitted by proprietors and the License during the period in Ontario's history when a ban on the public consumption of alcohol can be found in many Standard Hotel case files. However, examples of those submitted during periods covered by the OTA and LCA can be found in the case file for Cainsville's Maple Leaf Hotel – Maple Leaf Hotel, Cainsville, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-29, AO.

Hotels in specific localities as well as how the establishments compared with the accepted societal norms of the period. Typically, License Inspectors categorized establishments in a particular locality by one of two methods. The first simply involved ranking the Standard Hotels in a locality linearly from highest to lowest or '1,2,3 and so on'. This seems to have been a process more suitable for areas where the number of establishments was minimal. Although such a method allows us to verify the presence of at least one or two other establishments operating in a given town, it does not give any indication as to the total number of Standard Hotels serving the locality. Ranking a Standard Hotel as '1,2,3, and so' on was not only a way to differentiate between establishments within a given locality, it could also be used to indicate the type of clientele the operator, as perceived by the License Inspector, catered towards.

The second method License Inspectors used when ranking a Standard Hotels “quality” often involved localities that contained a high number of Standard Hotels, although its application is observable in provinces smaller areas as well. Whereas the previous method simply ranked the establishments from highest to lowest, this method associated an establishment’s “quality” with the expected class or clientele it catered to. For example, the License Inspectors comments found on the Standard Hotel License application for the Maple Leaf Hotel in Peterboro describes the establishment as “third rate” and suitable for individuals from the “Labouring Class.”⁹⁰ Aside from indicating the class of individuals that were best served by the Maple Leaf Hotel, the License Inspectors conclusions emphasize the association between Ontario’s Standard Hotels and individuals from the working class. In the “Boys and Their Booze,” Heron discusses how both the consumption of alcohol and the saloons or taverns

⁹⁰ Inspector’s File, Peterborough, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-904, AO.

within which the activity occurred became central to working class masculinity.⁹¹ It would appear then, that even after the introduction of the OTA in 1916, Ontario's Standard Hotel beverage rooms remained a space where workers could find "an informal, relatively open community of sociability."⁹² A similar use of the two categories can be seen in many other Standard Hotel License applications, including that of Alliston's Windsor Hotel. In this case, the License Inspector chose to describe the Windsor Hotel as "1[st]" in order of quality and capable of catering towards individuals from the "commercial" trade.⁹³ As a result of applying this method in order to rank a localities Standard Hotels with respect to "quality," there existed the possibility that more than one establishment could assume 1st, 2nd, or 3rd; as was the case for localities that had numerous Standard Hotels, such as Toronto.

Of the 19 Standard Hotel case files composed for establishments operating within Toronto, wherein the class of individuals catered towards is indicated, one was identified as 1st in quality, while 8 ranked as 2nd and 10 were identified as 3rd. Furthermore, while only 2 Standard Hotel case files for establishments operating in Toronto were patronized by farmers and cattle drivers, all 18, including the "First class" Selby Hotel, indicated their respective Standard Hotels were perceived as suitable accommodations for transient and permanent guests.⁹⁴ Although all 19 Standard Hotels had their applications reviewed by the same License Inspector, it is not entirely clear what separated those establishments identified as being 2nd in quality from those described as 3rd. As the applications contain similar language and phrasing, it would appear that a significant factor in the grading process involved the License Inspector's overall opinion; something that is extremely difficult to gauge in his short, structured comments. As Malleck

⁹¹ Craig Heron, "The Boys and Their Booze: Masculinities and Public Drinking in Working-class Hamilton, 1890-1946," *The Canadian Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (September 2005): 412, doi:10.1353/can.2005.0126.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 425.

⁹³ Windsor House, Alliston, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1013, AO.

⁹⁴ Selby Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1906, AO.

indicates in “The Bureaucratization of Moral Regulation,” the comments employed by License Inspectors conformed to a set of codes and norms that strove for objectivity and thus limited what could be said.⁹⁵ However, as a result of a License Inspector applying this method, historians are better able to see what groups existed with any given locality or region as well as to draw conclusions as to the influence they might have exerted. For instance, that all 19 Standard Hotels in this sampling were described as suitable for the same, in all likelihood male, clientele suggests that the board recognized the “need” and “demand” for lodgings capable of accommodating two groups of individuals; those of a non-sedentary and transient nature as well as those without property whom required permanent but flexible accommodations.

In addition to ranking Standard Hotels within a given locality, License Inspectors were required to grade a hotel’s “quality...with regard to the needs of this locality.” This requirement reveals two aspects surrounding the BLC and LCBO’s perception regarding the “needs” of a locality and the Standard Hotels that fulfilled them. First, the task of defining, acknowledging, and verifying the “needs” of a locality fell to the board’s numerous License Inspectors. Second, it indicated whether or not License Inspectors believed a Standard Hotel successfully fulfilled the “needs” of a given locality. Ranking Standard Hotels in such a manner further empowered the BLC/LCBO as well as its License Inspectors, allowing them to legitimize and regulate various social behaviours throughout Ontario while at the same time denigrating or prohibiting many others.

Although a highly subjective term employed by the board in order to define the suitability of a Standard Hotel in a given locality, the BLC/LCBO and License Inspector’s often recognized the “need” for these establishments in Ontario’s diverse and unevenly populated localities.

⁹⁵ Dan Malleck, “The Bureaucratization of Moral Regulation: The LCBO and (not-so) Standard Hotel Licensing in Niagara, 1927-1944,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 38 (2005): 60.

Quantitatively speaking, a comparison of the total number of case files in various localities provides further insight regarding the “need” and “demand” of Standard Hotels in particular geographic regions. While the case files indicate that many of Ontario’s smaller towns only had one Standard Hotel, the same files show that towns and cities with larger populations were served by a greater number of Standard Hotels. For instance, while the case files identify 2 Standard Hotels operating in Teeswater in 1927, a small Ontario town, the records acknowledge the presence of at least 5 Standard Hotels in Owen Sound, 57 in Ottawa, and 114 for Toronto.⁹⁶

Unfortunately, as telling as this information may seem, it is wrought with many of the previously noted errors that ultimately makes any quantitative analysis regarding the exact number of Standard Hotels operating within a given locality during a particular time frame highly disputable. Of particular importance are the lack of continuity and the omission of known Standard Hotels in the case files. These errors represent a significant hurdle for historians wishing to use the information contained within the case files in order to compile a quantitative analysis of Ontario’s Standard Hotels. However, combining data compiled from the “LLBO standard hotel case files” and the “Ontario’s Provincial Legislature Sessional Papers” allows some determinations to be made when it comes to the number of Standard Hotels operating throughout the province; in particular the uneven “need” and “demand” for Standard Hotels in Ontario’s many localities.

For example, a quick analysis regarding the number of Standard Hotels serving two localities in Ontario, Haliburton and Kincardine, reveals the uneven distribution of Standard Hotels throughout the province when based on population alone.⁹⁷ Information contained with

⁹⁶ Accumulated using the “LLBO standard hotel case files,” RG 36-1, Archives of Ontario (AO).

⁹⁷ The information for this comparison was extracted from the case files for Standard Hotels in Haliburton and Kincardine: Frank’s Hotel, Haliburton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-385,

the case files indicate the presence of 2 Standard Hotels operating in Haliburton and 3 in Kincardine. While a detailed list of Standard Hotels contained within the Sessional Papers for 1924 confirms the presence of three establishments in Kincardine, it only notes 1 serving Haliburton.⁹⁸ However, it is likely that the omitted establishment, known as the Fetterly House, operated as an unregulated Standard Hotel or boarding house during this period; a notion supported by a Standard Hotel License indicating 15 boarders were lodged at the establishment in addition to a License Inspectors reports describing it as a “boarding house for Mill hands.”⁹⁹ Aside from identifying the primary clientele of the Fetterly House, the License Inspector’s comments further emphasized the “need” fulfilled by the establishment.¹⁰⁰ These two factors ultimately aided the establishments’ ability to receive a Standard Hotel License somewhere in-between the years 1924 and 1927.

Returning to our analysis of the Kincardine and Haliburton, the respective populations of the localities, as identified within the License Inspector reports, indicate that in 1928 Haliburton had 1 Standard Hotel for every 350 persons whereas in 1927 Kincardine had 1 establishments for every 733 of its inhabitants. While the ratio for Kincardine is twice that of Haliburton, as the Sessional Papers indicate, the existence of a second Standard Hotel in Haliburton was a recent occurrence. Prior to the issuance of a Standard Hotel License to the Fetterly House, a ratio of 1 establishment to every 600-700 individuals would have existed in Haliburton. Although these numbers might suggest parity among Ontario’s smaller localities when it came to the presence of

AO; Grand Central Hotel/Lucas House, Haliburton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-386, AO; Bruce Inn, Kincardine, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-35, AO; Royal Hotel, Kincardine, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-47, AO; Walker House, Kincardine, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-50. AO.

⁹⁸ Canada, Ontario, “Ontario Temperance Act, Report,” *Sessional Papers*, 1924, no.28. Accessed April 11, 2014. <https://archive.org/details/n05ontariosession56ontauoft>.

⁹⁹ Frank’s Hotel, Haliburton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-385, AO.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Standard Hotels, further information within the Standard Hotel case files for establishments within Kincardine suggests otherwise. Considering the Royal Hotel's Standard Hotel License for 1927 identified an average of 84 transient guests per week for its 34 available rooms, an average far above the 24 guests per week for the 47 rooms in all of Haliburton, it would appear that Kincardine had sufficient traffic to warrant the existence of more than 3 Standard Hotels. Although one might suggest that the operator of the Royal Hotel had falsified his application, a License Inspector report from 1929 indicates the town's population had risen to 3000, meaning that there would be 1 Standard Hotel for every 1000 inhabitants, and notes the near completion of an addition to the establishment. While this data could be used to argue that Kincardine's population could support more than 3 Standard Hotels. The lack of new establishments in subsequent years suggests either the LCBO or other potential proprietors perceived a lack of "need" and "demand" within Kincardine, regardless of its growing population.

Further indication that License Inspectors equated the "needs" fulfilled by Ontario's Standard Hotels with factors other than a localities population is revealed when considering the ratios of Standard Hotels to residents in two of Ontario's larger cities, Toronto and Ottawa. According to *The Canada Year Book*, published in 1932, Toronto contained a population of 521 893 in 1921 while Ottawa had 107 843 residents.¹⁰¹ Therefore, in 1921, Toronto possessed 1 Standard Hotel for every 4832 residents while Ottawa had 1 Standard Hotel for every 3994 residents. Although the Sessional Papers do not indicate how many Standard Hotels were operating in Toronto or Ottawa in 1931, the next census year, it is possible to approximate

¹⁰¹ Information compiled from data available in: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, General Statistics Branch, *Canada Year Book 1932: The Official Statistical Annual of the Resources, History, Institutions and Social and Economic Conditions of the Dominion* (Ottawa, F.A.Acland, 1932). Accessed April 11, 2014. http://www66.statcan.gc.ca/eng/acyb_c1932-eng.aspx?opt=/eng/1932/193200050000_Title%20Page.pdf; Canada, Ontario, "Ontario Temperance Act, Report," *Sessional Papers*, 1922, no.28. Accessed April 11, 2014. <https://archive.org/details/n05ontariosession54ontauoft>; Canada, Ontario, "Liquor Control Board Report," *Sessional Papers*, 1932, no.20. Accessed April 11, 2014. <https://archive.org/details/n04ontariosession64ontauoft>.

whether the ratios of establishments to residents increased or decreased. As the total number of Standard Hotels operating throughout the province in 1931 was less than 1921, dropping from 1356 to 1007, we can assume that the number of establishments serving both Toronto and Ottawa in 1931 did not exceed the number present in 1921. Furthermore, as the census of 1931 indicates the population of both Toronto and Ottawa increased over the given period, to 631 207 and 126 872 respectively, it is reasonable to assume that the ratio of Standard Hotels to residents would remain equal to or greater in 1931 than it was in 1921. The dissimilar ratios of Standard Hotels to residents in the localities of Haliburton, Kincardine, Toronto, and Ottawa further indicate both the uneven “need” and distribution of Standard Hotels throughout the province of Ontario. Furthermore, these results suggests additional factors influenced License Inspectors recommendation of an establishment for a License and Permit as well as whether or not the BLC/LCBO issued one.

Location, Location, Location: Locating Ontario’s Standard Hotel

Although the Standard Hotel case files may not necessarily assist us in determining just how common or numerous the establishments were in Ontario’s many villages, towns, or cities, they do identify the typical locations within the various localities where one might expect to find a Standard Hotel. Information to this effect can be found by plotting the supplied addresses, a requirement of the application process though not always given, of the Standard Hotels within a particular locality onto a map. In turn, this reveals those areas within Ontario’s localities where Standard Hotels predominated. Utilizing the plotted map in conjunction with knowledge of the locality, such as the type and flow of traffic in and around it, whether or not the area is under/overdeveloped and how the area was used in the given time frame (for instance, between

1916-1934) can assist in determining if the establishments occupied a location of prominence or obscurity. As Huxley argues in *Spatial Rationalities*, the efforts by civic authorities to arrange and organize the various institutions in a given region were attempts at what she describes as “dispositional spatial rationality.”¹⁰² Huxley describes this as a process by which individuals, in particular those in charge of urban planning, attempt to develop “order and organization” in addition to fostering “efficiency and utility through spatial arrangement” while at the same time minimizing threats of chaos and/or disorder.¹⁰³ As a result of identifying the locations Ontario’s Standard Hotels occupied, we are further informed as to whether or not localities understood these public establishments to be legitimate, respectable establishments; dens harbouring and supporting social vices; or some combination of the two.

Smaller towns, typically those covering a small geographic region and containing a population below 1500 inhabitants, such as Wales, Warkworth, and Durham, provide excellent examples of Standard Hotels being prominently and centrally located. The first two, Wales and Warkworth, had only one hotel each that were located on main thoroughfares in their localities (the county highway and Main St respectively).¹⁰⁴ As for Durham, we know of at least two Standard Hotels in operation serving the 1200 inhabitants and visitors of this town, both of which were situated on the town’s main street, Garafraxa St.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, the accessibility, centrality, and readily visible locations assumed by the above mentioned Standard Hotels within their respective localities aligns with the municipal and provincial authorities view that the activities

¹⁰² Margo Huxley, "Spatial Rationalities: Order, Environment, Evolution and Government," *Social & Cultural Geography* 7, no. 5 (2006): 774. doi: 10.1080/14649360600974758.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 777.

¹⁰⁴ Connelly House, Wales, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-213, AO; Leonard House, Warkworth, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-795, AO.

¹⁰⁵ Hahn House, Durham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1801, AO; Hillcrest Hotel, Durham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1802, AO.

occurring within the establishments were socially acceptable.¹⁰⁶ Ensuring individuals were capable of readily accessing and identifying these various forms of public institutions not only further legitimized such businesses, it reinforced the power imbued within the authorities and their ability to regulate specific social functions and activities.

Although drawing a similar conclusion regarding the location of Standard Hotels in the provinces larger localities, geographically and demographically, is somewhat more difficult to accomplish, the case files indicate a predominance of establishments operating in plain sight and on major travel routes. For instance, for locals and visitors to Owen Sound, the King George Hotel, the Comely House, and the Blue Water Inn were all situated on along main travel routes or important avenues.¹⁰⁷ It was similarly the case in the city of Chatham, where the Tecumseh Hotel was located along a main road heading into town, the Glassford House was located in the Market Square, and the Brisco Hotel was situated in the heart of the city, along King St.¹⁰⁸ Even Toronto, Ontario's largest metropolis, had its Standard Hotels situated in prominent and readily visible locations throughout the city. Individuals visiting Toronto's Centre Island, a popular local vacationing and recreational spot, could find food and lodging at one of many Standard Hotels, including the Casino Hotel along Manitou Rd.¹⁰⁹ Individuals who may be looking for accommodations in downtown Toronto could find "clean & comfortable" rooms at the New Strathcona on York St, while those interested in lodgings along Queen St., depending on one's preference, could find accommodations at the Boulevard, Alexandra, Queen City, or Gibson

¹⁰⁶ "AMENDMENTS TO O.T.A. REDUCE "SCRIP" ISSUE AND BAN SALE AT BARS." *The Globe* (1844-1936), Mar 20, 1925. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1435707537?accountid=9894>.

¹⁰⁷ King George Hotel, Owen Sound, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-362, AO; Comely House, Owen Sound, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-359, AO; Blue Water Inn, Owen Sound, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-357, AO.

¹⁰⁸ Tecumseh Hotel, Chatham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-528, AO; Glassford Hotel, Chatham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-514, AO; Brisco Hotel, Chatham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-506, AO.

¹⁰⁹ Casino Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1244, AO.

Hotels.¹¹⁰ If none of these sufficed, the Imperial, American, Clyde, Arlington, York, and National could all be found within short distance of one-another along King St.¹¹¹ The presence of Standard Hotels within Toronto were not limited to the core or popular tourist regions of the municipality either. Although situated in obscurity, located within the commercial district along the outskirts of Toronto to the North-West, the Subway and Hotel Peacock occupied prominent positions within their respective geographies.¹¹² Both of these Standard Hotels took advantage of their locations, on Keele St and College St respectively, making them readily visible and accessible for “cattle drovers” as well as “transient and permanent” guests.¹¹³

However, any “need” or “demand” a Standard Hotel fulfilled extended beyond the mere geographic location the establishment occupied and incorporated the type of clientele it catered towards. In such situations, “need” or “demand” was defined by and associated with an individual’s social class or wealth and the ability to use such standing in order to acquire amenities or services not commonly available to others. Establishments such as Toronto’s American Hotel its clientele base by providing amenities many of Toronto’s other Standard Hotels were incapable of providing.¹¹⁴ The “need” and “demand” it fulfilled were those associated with patrons who were seeking guest rooms with either an attached bath or the availability of running water. Furthermore, by charging upwards of \$5.00 per night for rooms

¹¹⁰ New Strathcona Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1318, AO; Boulevard Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1237, AO; Alexandra Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1225, AO; Queen City Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1338, AO; Gibson House, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1278, AO.

¹¹¹ Imperial Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1294, AO; Piccadilly Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1329, AO; Clyde Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1249, AO; Arlington Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1228, AO; York Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1388, AO; National Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1316, AO.

¹¹² Subway Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1363, AO. Hotel Peacock, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1327, AO.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Piccadilly Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1329, AO.

with these amenities, the American Hotel ensured the clientele that were capable of affording these rooms would reflect and further emphasize the prominence of the establishment.¹¹⁵ However, the availability of accommodations that catered towards a more affluent and prominent clientele was far from the norm. All of the examined Standard Hotel case files for Toronto reveal that establishments provided some sort of accommodation for no more than \$1.50 per night. The availability of rooms within all Standard Hotels at reasonable rates suggests the presence of two aspects when it came to the hostelry trade in Toronto. First, any demand for modernized or upscale accommodations was limited and prevented proprietors from solely directing their business to such patrons. Second, Ontario's Standard Hotel proprietors insured they fulfilled the most common and important institutionalized requirements for those within the hostelry trade, the availability and accessibility of lodging for all members of the public.

Whether or not a Standard Hotel's success or ability to remain in business was a result of the prominent or obscure location it occupied in a given locality is difficult to say as the reasons for closure are seldom listed in the case files. Although the BLC/LCBO, and their many License Inspectors commented upon the "needs" or "demand" a specific Standard Hotel within a given locality fulfilled, a proprietor's "success" was never associated with his or her location but rather their own conduct, industriousness, and desire to operate a respectable and legal establishment. In other words, an applicant was issued a License and Permit based on a determination by the BLC/LCBO that a successful business could be operated. However, as many Standard Hotels ceased operations, changed ownership, or downgraded to restaurants and boarding houses, it would appear there was more to operating a successful and respectable establishment than just the effort put forward by its operator.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

Who was Patronizing Ontario's Standard Hotel?

As License Inspectors were endowed with the ability to use their own judgment when it came to recommending a particular establishment or operator, opinionated decision making as such requires one to consider just how much, if any, bias was present in the process.¹¹⁶ For instance, did a License Inspector favour establishments that catered to a particular type of clientele over another? Therefore, this section will make use of the Standard Hotel case files in order to illustrate the various social and class based groups that License Inspectors perceived as the patrons of Ontario's Standard Hotels. Typically, the clienteles Ontario's Standard Hotels catered towards were defined in one of the following six ways: tourist, commercial, transient, general public, the working man's boarding house and lastly, the hotels serving labourers and farmers.

In addition to implying the type of individual that a particular establishment catered towards, Standard Hotel's that were associated with a "tourist" clientele base were incorporated from two distinct forms. The first involved Standard Hotels that operated solely during the summer months, such as the Glenwood Summer Resort on Stony Lake, and often allowed their License and Permit to lapse in the off-season.¹¹⁷ The second form involved Standard Hotels that operated year round, as was the case with Chatham's Brisco Hotel.¹¹⁸ With respect to the latter type, it was not uncommon for License Inspectors to deem such establishments as suitable for catering to other segments of the trade, in particular "commercial" interests.¹¹⁹ Although

¹¹⁶ It is important here to remember that the "Class or Trade catered to" question on the application form was situated under a list of questions that the License Inspector was required to answer when assessing the individual establishments. Therefore, the "Class or Trade" identified on the application may not reflect the actual clientele base but rather the opinion of the License Inspector and how he interpreted or viewed the patrons of a given Standard Hotel.

¹¹⁷ Glenwood Hotel, Stony Lake, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-911, AO.

¹¹⁸ Brisco Hotel, Chatham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-506, AO.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

composed of two different groups of individuals, the association between “tourist” hotels and those suitable for “commercial” clientele seems to have been based upon the overall assessment of the establishments in question. Hotels that catered towards these two groups often received above average comments regarding their ability to serve the needs of their respective locality in addition to being ranked first among the “order of quality” with respect to other Standard Hotels in the area. Nonetheless, due to a lack of tourism within certain regions of Ontario, Standard Hotels operating in rural areas, such as the Brunswick Hotel in Colborne, were identified as having a “commercial” clientele base even though they offered amenities and services that rivalled their “tourist” counterparts.¹²⁰

As noted, the significance of Standard Hotels identified as serving a “tourist” clientele base implied their suitability for a particular class of individual. In *The Second Greatest Disappointment*, social historian Karen Dubinsky discusses the significance and social makeup of the tourist trade in the Niagara Region in early 20th century Ontario.¹²¹ In particular Dubinsky outlines how the tourist trade was segmented along class lines.¹²² Although reforms to working conditions were enacted towards the end of the 19th and into the 20th century, Dubinsky notes how a majority of the working-class were still incapable of leisure travel.¹²³ As a result, individuals that made up the “tourist” trade often came from the middle or upper-classes as it was they who were capable of accruing the superfluous income and time needed to vacation. With respect to Ontario’s Standard Hotels then, those defined as catering to a “tourist” trade would have been establishments suitable for middle or upper-class individuals.

¹²⁰ Brunswick Hotel, Colborne, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-783, AO.

¹²¹ Dubinsky, 117-152.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

Additionally, Dubinsky's work discusses the restructuring of the tourism industry within the Niagara region as a result of a reduction in tourism revenues when compared to an increasing number of tourists.¹²⁴ More specifically, she indicates how businesses within the Niagara region attempted to diversify and expand the available amenities and/or services in order to encourage longer vacation periods from a broader segment of the population as well as to increase overall revenues related to tourism.¹²⁵ However, the rise of leisure time and superfluous income would not have been limited to individuals travelling to the Niagara region. In fact, it is reasonable to assume that the change in the demography of tourists would have occurred throughout the rest of the province and across Canada in a somewhat consistent matter. Consequently, the application of the term "tourist" to a particular establishment's License and Permit was an indication that the License Inspector responsible for reviewing the application believed the hotel in question to be suitable for individuals from the middle and upper-classes. As "tourist" establishments often offered the widest and newest amenities and services, their reception of the highest grades within their respective communities reaffirms Malleck's position that a Standard Hotels requirements were arranged in order to emphasize the modernity and progressiveness of early 20th century Ontario.¹²⁶

Similarly to "tourist," the term "transient" was used to define Standard Hotels that catered to groups of people in need of accommodations while travelling. According to Dubinsky, individuals from the working-class had neither the excess time nor income to engage in the tourist trade.¹²⁷ Therefore, the decision by License Inspectors to use the term "transient" was a result of the need to differentiate between establishments based on class distinctions.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 117.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Dan Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 81.

¹²⁷ Dubinsky, 118-119.

Furthermore, Standard Hotels that were identified as catering to a “transient” clientele were establishments that License Inspectors believed were aptly suited for individuals from the working-class. For instance, Toronto’s Subway Hotel, which according to its Inspector’s report catered to a “transient” class or trade, was also described as a “3rd Class” establishment and “patronized mostly by Cattle Drivers.”¹²⁸ Consequently, although many Standard Hotels accommodated a travelling clientele base, terms such as transient, tourist, and commercial were employed by License Inspectors in order to emphasize the class differentiation within the perceived clientele base of a given establishment.

While some of the terms used by License Inspectors differentiated between clienteles, others were used in order to identify an establishment that catered to more than one group. For many small town or rural Standard Hotels it was not uncommon for the phrase “general public” to be used when identifying a clientele base. The reason License Inspectors applied such a general and ambiguous term to so many Standard Hotels is a consequence of a combination of reasons. First, as previously noted, many towns only had one hotel with which to serve any sort of traveler, regardless of social standing, employment, or background. Second, the limited size and population of many of the towns produced a more homogeneous social makeup than would be found in larger and denser populations, resulting in the inability for the License Inspector to identify any particular clientele base as dominant. Third, as no other options existed, the clientele patronizing these Standard Hotels were quite literally, generally composed, with the only social relationship existing between patrons being a need for lodging, accommodation and/or food.

As previously mentioned, very little differentiated a boarding house from a Standard Hotel, the main difference’s being that the latter required a dining area in order to serve patrons in

¹²⁸ Subway Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1363, AO.

addition to possessing certain privileges as a result of obtaining a License and Permit.¹²⁹ The ease with which a keeper of a boarding house could set up a dining area frequently led License Inspectors to suspect that the establishment in question had no intention of operating as a Standard Hotel but rather simply wanted to be able to legally sell light beer. However, depending on the needs of the locality and regardless of the perceived deteriorating conditions, it was not uncommon for a License Inspector to recommend, what he perceived to be, a boarding house for a License and Permit. This was the case for Collingwood's Manitoba House.¹³⁰ While the case file does not explicitly say why the Manitoba House retained its License and Permit, that the License Inspector chose to describe the establishment as "a working man's boarding house" suggests there existed a demand for accommodations in Collingwood suitable for individuals from the working class.

The final category of hotels includes Standard Hotels that catered to either "labourers" or "farmers" and ultimately differentiated from boarding house's as a result of subtle differences regarding the service's they provided to the immediate vicinity. As identified by Heron in *"The Boys and Their Booze,"* male working-class drinking practices were an important vehicle by which men could express and reinforce their masculinity.¹³¹ While boarding house's provided a location for working-class men to reside, those defined as suitable for "labourers" or "farmers" further incorporated the intent and meaning of a Standard Hotel, as defined by the BLC/LCBO. Although separate designations, the terms "labourers" and "farmers" were applied in order to describe an establishment that while providing suitable accommodations, directed its attention towards serving light beer and lunches to individuals from the working class or agricultural communities. For instance, the proprietor of Cartier's Paty House requested a License and Permit

¹²⁹ McRuer; Brennan.

¹³⁰ Manitoba Hotel, Collingwood, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1019, AO.

¹³¹ Heron, "The Boys and Their Booze," 412.

in order to serve light beer and meals to the neighbouring lumber camps.¹³² Other examples include the Comely House as well as the City Hotel, both located in Owen Sound, which were said to have a clientele base largely composed of “farmers”.¹³³ While the Comely House and City Hotel met the LCBO’s requirements for acquiring a License and Permit, information contained within their respective case files suggests they operated under a business model other than one dedicated towards temporary accommodation for travelers. In particular, both Standard Hotels contained a limited amount of lodging, respectively 30 & 15 rooms, in comparison to the vast amount of space allotted for parking automobiles, 35 & 30, and stabling horses, 175 & 50. When combined with the knowledge that the seating capacity in each hotel’s dining room, 70 & 36, exceeded their lodging capacity, one can only conclude that the revenue associated with food and/or refreshment were far more important to the respective operators. Similar to scenarios where Standard Hotels were merely described as no more than a “working man’s boarding house,” the previous example indicates how License Inspectors consistently recommended License and Permits to establishments that were able to meet the particular needs or demands of a locality, even if that predicated one aspect of the trade over another.

Chapter Conclusion

The recurring theme throughout this chapter has been the existence and presence of a wide array of Standard Hotels, throughout Ontario’s numerous localities, serving an unevenly distributed, diverse, and often socially stratified population. While the “needs” and “demands” of cities such as Chatham, Owen Sound and Toronto were fulfilled by numerous Standard Hotels,

¹³² Paty House, Cartier, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1056, AO.

¹³³ Comely House, Owen Sound, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-359, AO; City Hotel, Owen Sound, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-358, AO.

taking into consideration the population of a locality reveals that smaller towns or villages, including Haliburton and Kincardine, often possessed a greater number of establishments. Furthermore, while the Standard Hotels of larger localities were able to cater towards a particular segment of the population, many other places throughout the province, such as Alton, Corbetton, and Warkworth, retained the services of a single establishment with which to facilitate their diverse “needs.” Although many of the Standard Hotel case files for these Standard Hotels are littered with infractions, most of which were related to alcohol, provincial License Inspectors continually recommended the renewal of their License and Permits. Often, such action was the result of the License Inspector’s recognition of the greater utility associated with a given establishment, in particular a Standard Hotels ability to accommodate the needs of its particular locality.

Recognizing the particular “needs” and “demands” fulfilled by Ontario’s Standard Hotels, both the BLC and LCBO as well as their many License Inspectors opted to further incorporate public establishments into society. This was accomplished by ensuring Ontario’s Standard Hotels remained legitimate and respectable establishments, as outlined in the LCA and its preceding act, the OTA. In contrast to illegal drinking establishments, colloquially known as “blind pigs” and quickly becoming associated with various social vices and stigmas, Ontario’s Standard Hotels did not need to operate outside the purview of the law or on the outskirts of town in order to remain in operation. In fact, examination of the Standard Hotel case files revealed that many Standard Hotels were located in readily accessible and visible areas within their respective localities. As both a legislated and socially accepted institution, Ontario’s Standard Hotels remained in the forefront of society, frequently situated at important geographic points in both

rural and urban areas in addition to being positioned along major highways between localities as well as in areas dominated by the tourist trade.

Lastly, this chapter has outlined how the BLC/LCBO and their many License Inspectors made use of existing socially as well as class defined categorizations in order to define whose “needs” and “demands” an individual Standard Hotel might best fulfill. Although classifying Standard Hotels as suitable for serving tourists, commercial business, the general public, labourers, or farmers required authorities to adhere to socially constructed stigmas or stereotypes, it allowed them to justify the use and utility of a given establishment within a particular locality. While such a process had a very real practical application in Ontario’s denser and more populated localities, such as Toronto, its impact was severely limited in the province’s smaller towns and areas that were served by one or even two Standard Hotels. Although the process of grading Ontario’s Standard Hotel may have been more suited to Ontario’s urban localities, its replication in the provinces rural and less populated regions further indicates the BLC/LCBO’s recognition of the diversity of “needs” and “demands” that existed throughout the province. As indicated on numerous occasions, the task of fulfilling the often incongruent and different “needs” and “demands” among and within Ontario’s numerous localities fell upon Ontario’s Standard Hotels, which existed in as diverse a capacity as the individuals they served.

Chapter Two

Relationships: Proprietors, the BLC/LCBO, and Ontario's Heterogeneous

Localities

In an effort to better depict their argument, historians have often portrayed late 19th and early 20th century Ontario's localities as composed of dichotomous groups of individuals, who were frequently opposed to the opinions and beliefs of one another.¹³⁴ At the most basic level, divisions operated along religious, class, and regional lines: i.e Catholics versus Protestants, the Working-class versus Middle-class, and rural versus urban localities. With respect to the continual debate surrounding alcohol, these groups often assumed either a "Wet" or "Dry" position.¹³⁵ However, the works of historians such as Carolyn Strange, Lynne Marks, and Julia Roberts have shown the provinces' localities were in fact composed of a complex array of "communities."¹³⁶ Aside from running much deeper than the aforementioned simple categorizations allow, the plurality of "communities" that were present often pitted individuals or

¹³⁴ Examples of works that represent groups in this manner include: Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840s," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 7 (1981): 9-39; Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); Glenn J. Lockwood, "Irish Immigrants and the "Critical Years" in Eastern Ontario: The Case of Montague Township, 1821-1881," in *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, ed. Donald H. Akenson (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1978), 152-78; Michael J. Piva, "Workers and Tories: The Collapse of the Conservative Party in Urban Ontario, 1908-1919," *Urban History Review* 5, no. 3 (1977): 23-40; Carol Wilton, *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada, 1800-1850* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

¹³⁵ To get a better understanding of the ongoing debate involving alcohol, see: Matthew J Bellamy, "The Canadian Brewing Industry's Response to Prohibition, 1874-1920," *Journal of Brewery History*, no. 132 (2009): 2-15; Gerald A. Hallowell, *Prohibition in Ontario, 1919-1923*, M.A. Research Essay (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1966); Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2003) ; Peter Oliver, *G. Howard Ferguson: Ontario Tory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

¹³⁶ Lynne Marks, *Revival and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009); Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Carolyn Strange, and Tina Loo, *Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867-1939*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

groups, who were construed as allies, in opposition to one another.¹³⁷ As sites where alcohol could be served and consumed, the existence and operation of Ontario's Standard Hotels was frequently a topic of the debate. While the debate surrounding alcohol has been discussed, only a couple of historians have chosen to examine how public establishments within Ontario, in particular the Standard Hotels, were perceived by individuals patronizing or residing within their vicinity.¹³⁸ This chapter aims to identify how different "communities" within the province's diverse localities perceived the day-to-day operations of Ontario's Standard Hotels and influenced an establishment's ability to receive or renew a Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit.

Responsible for catering to the frequently conflicting "needs" and "demands" of patrons and individuals within a given locality, Ontario's Standard Hotels became highly contested sites.¹³⁹ This resulted in the operations of a Standard Hotel, the activities occurring within them, as well as the conduct of its proprietor, being severely critiqued by the authorities and the "communities" residing within a given locality. In order to start/remain in operation, applicants/proprietors of Ontario's Standard Hotels were forced to negotiate the wide array of perceptions regarding the hostelry trade. In addition, an establishment's operator had to conduct

¹³⁷ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap & Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 147.

¹³⁸ For studies that illustrate Ontario's public establishments as well as their patrons, see: Craig Heron, "The Boys and Their Booze: Masculinities and Public Drinking in Working-class Hamilton, 1890-1946," *The Canadian Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (September 2005): 411-452; Dan Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself: The Regulation of Public Drinking in Post-Prohibition Ontario, 1927-1944* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2012).

¹³⁹ For studies that examine the complex debates that developed around the activities and conduct occurring within public establishments outside of Canada, see: Michael Frank, "Satan's Servant or Authorities' Agent? Publicans in Eighteenth-Century Germany," In *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Beat Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 12-43; Beat Kümin, "Run by the Poor for the Poor? : Social Elites in the Early Modern Public House," *Renaissance Journal* 1, no. 7 (January 2003); Beat Kümin, "Useful To Have, But Difficult To Govern: Inns and Taverns in Early Modern Bern and Vaud," *Journal of Early Modern History* 3, no. 2 (1999): 153-175; Theodore B. Leinwand, "Spongy Plebs, Mighty Lords, and the Dynamics of the Alehouse," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 2 (1989): 159-184; and A. Lynn Martin, "Drinking and Alehouses in the Diary of an English Mercer's Apprentice, 1663-1674," in *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History*, ed. Mack P. Holt (Oxford - New York: Berg, 2006), 93-106.

his/her Standard Hotel in accordance to regulatory standards set forth in the Ontario Temperance Act (OTA) and subsequently the Liquor Control Act (LCA.) As the previous chapter demonstrated, Ontario's Standard Hotel operators customized the services their establishment offered to reflect the particular "needs" and "demands" of their immediate locality. This chapter, on the other hand, examines the factors that influenced the dynamic relationships that developed between the State and the owners of Ontario Standard Hotels. In doing so, this chapter will indicate how the relationships that developed between these groups either benefitted or hindered a proprietor's ability to acquire or retain a License and Permit.

With respect to the purpose and extent of the various relationships, the argument presented here differs from those presented in other histories of public drinking establishments in Canada. For example, Peter DeLottinville's *Joe Beef of Montreal* outlines and discusses some of the relationships developed in Joe Beef's Canteen, a late 19th century Montreal tavern.¹⁴⁰ DeLottinville dedicates his examination to understanding the working-class bonds that existed and were formed as a result of the actions and conduct of Joe Beef's operator, Charles McKiernan. This study differs from DeLottinville's as it incorporates examples from numerous Standard Hotel case files in order to indicate how specific sets of relationships influenced the Board of License Commissioners (BLC) as well as the Liquor Control Board of Ontario's (LCBO) enforcement of regulations with respect to Standard Hotels operating throughout Ontario between 1920 and 1934.

With respect to the geographic region of Ontario, Julia Roberts argues in *In Mixed Company* that Upper Canada's taverns were composed of a heterogeneous clientele drawn from

¹⁴⁰ Peter DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889" *Labour/Le Travail* 8/9 (Autumn 1981 - Spring 1982): 10, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25140071>.

all segments of society.¹⁴¹ This required patrons of Upper Canada's taverns to negotiate a compromise when it came to the highly sought after comforts these establishments provided.¹⁴² As such, the questions Roberts asks are directed towards understanding how individuals cohabitated within Upper Canada's taverns. In order to answer her questions, Roberts draws upon numerous examples from an array of sources.¹⁴³ Ultimately, a lack of sources that contain information on Ontario's Standard Hotels between 1920 and 1934 differentiates this thesis from that of Roberts. Instead, this chapter uses those sources available in order to identify how the activities occurring within one of Ontario's Standard Hotels were perceived and reacted upon by both the BLC/LCBO and individuals from the immediate locality.

In *Try to Control Yourself* Dan Malleck discusses how the regulations enacted by the LCBO ultimately dictated a patron's experience in Ontario's post-prohibition public drinking establishment.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, he does examine relationships that developed between members of the LCBO and Standard Hotel operators. As previously noted, Malleck argues that the relationships between these groups was a byproduct of the LCBO's attempt to enforce "a specific value system" on Ontario's citizenry.¹⁴⁵ While agreeing with Malleck's assessment of the LCBO's method of operation, this chapter will identify how relationships involving the proprietors and their localities as well as the localities and the LCBO could be equally influential when it came to "standardizing" Ontario's Standard Hotels.

¹⁴¹ Roberts, 10.

¹⁴² Ibid., 3.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 7.

¹⁴⁴ Dan Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 3-4.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 37.

A Proprietor's Relationship with the BLC/LCBO

Although the case files typically do not explicitly state how the relationship between an operator and LCBO or its License Inspectors was formed or maintained, they do indicate the presence of one that exists in a capacity far beyond the common anti-liquor campaign rhetoric. At their simplest, these relationships are perceived via short statements within correspondence, usually indicating that an applicant or operator was previously known to the board, as was the case with the proprietor of Durham's Hahn House. Built around the start of the 20th century, the Hahn House was a 25 room, 3 story brick and frame establishment that boasted a large dining room capable of seating over 100 people, lavatories on the main floor and "good" bathrooms on each of the upper floors.¹⁴⁶ Although consecutive License Inspector Reports described the Hahn House as "deteriorated," its housekeeping and cleanliness were described as "firstclass" while all other aspects were "good" or "fair".¹⁴⁷ Physical and observed appearances aside, these statements aid our ability to infer the type of relationship existing between the proprietor and the LCBO. For instance, a letter from the Director of Permits to the mayor of Durham states the LCBO knows the operator of Hahn House "personally and very much regret that he should allow himself and his hotel to be compromised in this way."¹⁴⁸ That the board regretted the actions of the proprietor along with the events that "compromised" his establishment "very much" indicates a relationship that went beyond that of service provider and inspector. In addition, the decision to return the proprietors License and Permit so long as he gave "positive assurance of strict observance of henceforth" is further proof that the board operated with leniency.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Hahn House, Durham, between 1920 and 1946, Liquor Licence Board of Ontario (LLBO) standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1801, Archives of Ontario (AO).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

The meaning attributable to this sort of action, that is not revoking an establishment's License and Permit, in Ontario's era of public prohibition, 1916-1934, differs from the period that follows. Malleck argues that in post-prohibition Ontario the LCBO rationalized that the best way to retain control and enforce compliance, with respect to the liquor traffic, was to allow its procurement and consumption in heavily regulated environments.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, the full-strength beer served in post 1934 licensed beverage rooms, as discussed by Malleck, were for all intents and purposes within the confines of the law. To revoke a proprietor's License and Permit, as a result of any number of violations, could ostensibly create an underground traffic that operated outside the LCBO's control. However, during the period covered in this thesis, 1927-1934, any Standard Hotels serving full-strength beer were already operating outside of the law and thus part of an underground or illicit trade. As Malleck notes in his article "The Bureaucratization of Moral Regulation" the issuance of a License and Permit not only extended the power of the LCBO to the applicant but made him/her "an 'agent' of the LCBO."¹⁵¹ An unintended consequence of this transfer of authority was the implication that the actions of any given Standard Hotel proprietor were, in effect, legitimized and authorized by the LCBO. As an entity of the provincial government, the LCBO had to be extremely cautious when it came to issuing Licenses and Permits in order to preserve its legitimacy and respectability. Additionally, during Ontario's era of public-drinking prohibition (1916 and 1934), the inability to procure a License and Permit merely limited a proprietor's ability to profit from privileges associated with being a Standard Hotel, including the sale of temperance beer, cigarettes and tobacco.¹⁵² Refused

¹⁵⁰ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 54-55.

¹⁵¹ Dan Malleck, "The Bureaucratization of Moral Regulation: The LCBO and (not-so) Standard Hotel Licensing in Niagara, 1927-1944," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 38 (2005): 61.

¹⁵² F.P. Brennan, *The Liquor Control Act Ontario, Annotated, also the Regulations of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario* (Toronto: Canada Law Book Company, LTD., 1928) 5; J.C. McRuer, *The Ontario Liquor Laws, being The Ontario Temperance Act and Amending Acts, 1916 to 1922* (Toronto: Canadian Law Book Company, LTD., 1922) 146.

applicants could still operate their establishment as a boarding house or restaurant, depending on which service predominated. Subsequently, the action of revoking a License and Permit in prohibition era Ontario served two purposes. First, it removed the ability for an individual to use a government issued License and Permit, as well as the authority it conveyed, as cover for their illegal activities. Second, it allowed the LCBO to maintain and preserve its image of respectability by distancing itself from individuals that participated or engaged in the illicit trafficking of alcohol.

Although the particular scenario that unfolded with the Hahn House reinforces the importance attributed to the presence of a Standard Hotel in a locality, it also represents the existence of particular type of relationship between the proprietor and LCBO. The absence of direction or steps outlining how to properly run a Standard Hotel, a common inclusion with correspondence to other operators given a second opportunity, suggests two things. First, at least one individual at the LCBO personally knew the Hahn House's proprietor. Second, that the Director of Permits believed the proprietor was a respectable individual who knew how to properly operate a Standard Hotel.

Examples outlining the unique relationships existing between Ontario's Standard Hotel proprietor's and the BLC/LCBO, as observed with the Hahn House, reinforce the importance of considering the manner in which individual operators interacted with the respective boards in addition to the responsibilities they assumed within their localities. Take for example a letter from the Director of Permits to the proprietor of the Grand Central Hotel in Haliburton. The Director outlined that the responsibilities of a Standard Hotel keeper, caring for travelers and

their belongings, required an operator who held his own conduct in high regard.¹⁵³ Aside from revealing that the board frowned upon a proprietor who had a fondness for drink and/or had been charged for being intoxicated, it also stigmatized such individuals with notions of immorality, irresponsibility, and a lack of industriousness. Furthermore, the Director of Permits reiteration of how a proprietor's poor conduct results in a "blemish on a hotel man's record" not only represents the damage that could be inflicted to the individual operator but the board as well.¹⁵⁴ As Malleck indicates, "proprietors were, in essence, agents of the LCBO" and as result, their actions reflected upon the board's integrity as they had issued the operator the License and Permit.¹⁵⁵ Consequently, proprietors incapable of operating a respectable establishment not only raised questions regarding their own actions, they might raise reasonable suspicion among the general public as to the board's perceived motives.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, the relationships between proprietors and the BLC/LCBO were rather tenuous and far from entrenched. Although centered on an operator's actions or conduct, whether or not these relationships existed in a positive or negative manner was up to the discretion of the board's and their License Inspectors. While many positive relationships remained, those deemed to be negative frequently resulted in the board attempting to distance itself from such operators via a cancellation or revocation of one's License and Permit.

However, canceling or revoking a proprietors License and Permit in order to distance themselves from negatively stigmatized behaviour, such as intoxication, was not the only form of action the board took. Many of the case files reveal that from time to time, and per the circumstances of given infraction, the board opted to issue a warning to the individual under

¹⁵³ Grand Central Hotel/Lucas House, Haliburton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-386, AO.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 67.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 71.

examination.¹⁵⁷ Such warnings, similar to the one issued to the proprietor of the Grand Central Hotel, typically stated that a continuation of the current behaviour would result in the cancellation of an operator's License and Permit. Interestingly enough, a number of proprietors retained their respective License and Permit, an indication that they had conformed to the board's wishes or that the establishment served a purpose to the locality beyond that of being a poorly operated Standard Hotel or even worse, a blind pig, brothel, or gambling den. The fact that statements found in the License Inspector's reports for the Grand Central Hotel described the establishment as "a very good hotel," "a necessity to this village and community," and "a credit to your department" no doubt assisted this particular proprietor's ability to retain his License and Permit.¹⁵⁸ Not only do they justify the License Inspector's decision to recommend a License and Permit be issued, they reaffirmed the board's faith that the applicant would conduct a respectable establishment and that his presence benefited the community, as well as the purpose and mandate of the board.

The extent and type of action taken by the LCBO in the scenario involving the proprietor of Haliburton's Grand Central Hotel was by no means a singularity and can be observed occurring in other localities throughout the province. For instance, the small town of Tiverton in Bruce County was home to some 200-400 individuals between the years of 1927 and 1931, during which time only one Standard Hotel operated, the Mansion House.¹⁵⁹ According to its proprietor, a tenant, the 3 story, brick Mansion House was built c.1890, contained 10 guest rooms and could accommodate up to 40 individuals in its dining room.¹⁶⁰ While many of the amenities offered at

¹⁵⁷ Blue Water Inn, Owen Sound, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-357, AO; American Hotel, Sydenham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-320, AO; Victoria Hotel, Port Lambton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1827, AO.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Mansion House, Tiverton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-42, AO.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

the Mansion House were common to many rural Standard Hotels, stoves for heating, pumped water, and outside toilets, License Inspectors continually noted how the operator had allowed the property to deteriorate.¹⁶¹ Recognizing the need for a Standard Hotel within the locality resulted in the Director of Permits corresponding directly with owner of the property. Having confirmed that the issue involving the Mansion House was the tenant itself, the owner promptly “put him out” and brought in another operator who could produce more favourable references.¹⁶² Additionally, the owner was able to exemplify her commitment to owning a first class Standard Hotel as well as her own industriousness and progressive work ethic as she tended too many of the required improvements outlined by the License Inspectors in their reports.¹⁶³

The scenario involving Tiverton’s Mansion House also indicates that when it came to subtle infractions or violations, proprietors and owners who observed or acquiesced to the BLC/LCBO’s demands were typically shown greater mercy than operators who argued or opposed authorities. Exposing the inherent demeanors operators expressed towards the authorities, in support of or opposition to, can be accomplished through careful examination of case files that contain material describing interactions between the two participants. Similar to the way in which many individuals incorporate meaning or intent within their choice of words or the manner in which they employ them in oral discussions, words within written correspondence are also employed with specific connotations.¹⁶⁴ Although tones that express cynicism, sarcasm, acquiescence, and empathy (to name a few) are readily interpreted and understood in oral conversations, elucidating their presence in written text is much more difficult. As a result,

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, "Social History and Case Files Research," in *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 11-15. Additionally, *On the Case* provides individuals with a range of articles that explain and identify how historians have analyzed and used such documents while discussing past historical events.

although determining the meaning encoded in an individual's words can provide insight into the relationship(s) he/she had, it is a process wrought with difficulty, contradictions, and opposition.¹⁶⁵

Frequently we assume that governmental case files contain nothing but the facts, allowing us to identify the truth in any scenario. However, the documents within these files, including the "LLBO standard hotel case files," are often filled with constructed or biased opinions, ideas, and decisions.¹⁶⁶ To take these accounts at face value only guides our understanding or interpretation of the events, and subsequently the truth, to be what the owners of the records intend it be. Consequently, such an approach only acknowledges one side of the relationship and ignores the existence of ulterior motives among the various parties. With respect to Ontario's Standard Hotels, one such motive consisted of the fact that many of the proprietors communicating with the board did so in order to provide them with the best chance of receiving a recommendation. As Strange notes in *Stories of Their Lives: The Historian and the Capital Case File*, case file contents are much more "than words or pictures on paper" as they allow us to "analyze how meanings were organized and...how meanings informed social action."¹⁶⁷ For example, in "Close that Place of Hell": *Poor Women and the Cultural Politics of Prohibition* Michael Willrich acknowledges "that petitions constrained as well as empowered their authors" as they required individuals to defer a certain amount of authority those they were writing to.¹⁶⁸ However, Willrich declares that the petitions' authors were "clearly aware" of the existing power

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ LLBO standard hotel case files list, RG 36-1, AO.

¹⁶⁷ Carolyn Strange, "Stories of Their Lives: The Historian and the Capital Case File," in *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 27.

¹⁶⁸ Michael Willrich, "'Close that Place of Hell': Poor Women and the Cultural Politics of Prohibition," *Journal of Urban History* 29, (2003): 557. doi: 10.1177/0096144203029005003.

relations and “tailored their accounts” in order to make their “experiences ‘legible’ and their claims “legitimate.”¹⁶⁹

With respect to Ontario’s Standard Hotel case files, the manner in which proprietors and third parties employed their language when conversing with License Inspectors or other members of the BLC and LCBO is of importance: were they hospitable or combative, antagonistic or friendly, dominant or submissive. Deciphering the meaning encoded within a proprietor’s words not only allows for elaboration upon their relationships with the various License Inspectors or the BLC and LCBO, but also allows for a more thorough understanding of the roles and positions of the operators within their various communities. For instance, the proprietor of the Manitoba Hotel in Collingwood returned his License and Permit, as requested by the LCBO, but included a letter indicating they could “put them in a frame,” ensuring the board were well aware of the operator’s lack of interest in retaining any sort of positive relationship.¹⁷⁰ Aside from being indicative of a disagreeable relationship, the proprietor of the Manitoba Hotel believed he had exhausted all avenues that would have allowed him to retain his License and Permit. He was also aware that, as a result of consecutive poor reviews, no plea or explanation would assist him. Not all of these encounters depict a negative relationship between the two based on the inability to account for past misdeeds. Situated in Collingwood, the 3 story, 26 guest room Tremont Hotel was a Standard Hotel that was clearly on its way to losing any and all privileges. One License Inspector even went so far as to forego submitting a report and instead wrote a 3 page letter wherein he described conditions as “deplorable,” that “there was not one bed that I would sleep in for one hour,” and noted how the cellar had “at least two inches of

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 557-558.

¹⁷⁰ Manitoba Hotel, Collingwood, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1019, AO.

water in it.”¹⁷¹ However, that same letter noted the good conduct and civility extended towards the License Inspector, by the Tremont Hotel’s proprietor, even when he was told a renewal of his License and Permit would not be recommended.¹⁷² While consecutive reports and reviews of the Tremont Hotel vary, from operating as a gambling house to a “well conducted” establishment, the board’s recommendation that a new License and Permit be issued was secured partially as a result of the proprietor’s humble and civil demeanor in addition to the high work ethic and industriousness he displayed by improving and maintaining the overall quality of his establishments: characteristics that the LCBO believed a desirable operator should have.¹⁷³ Additional support for the Tremont Hotel arose from an individual who previously opposed its continued operation and will be discussed in more detail later.

The repetitive and standardized language used by License Inspectors in the *Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit* application forms are indicative of a system that attempted to create an overall general template by which proprietors could be interpreted and quantified. In correspondence between the LCBO and Standard Hotel applicants/operators in post 1934 Ontario, Malleck argues that the board often implemented a passive voice in addition to indirect language as it implied a similar type of objectivity typically used in scientific writing.¹⁷⁴ While the language employed by the BLC/LCBO, including the Director of Permits and the many License Inspectors, in years prior to 1934 certainly took on a similar form, a quick study of some of the case files reveal the inherent difficulty surrounding the categorization of Ontario’s Standard Hotels by such subjective terms including: well kept, clean, fair, good, and first class.

¹⁷¹ Tremont Hotel, Collingwood, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1894, AO.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 31.

Due to the requirement for License Inspectors to consider the individualized demands and needs of Ontario's numerous localities, many analyzed and graded Ontario's Standard Hotel operators not in relation to proprietors from other jurisdictions but rather to those existing within the locality that the aforementioned Standard Hotel resided in. The generality with which terms, in particular "demand" and "need", were applied and answered by License Inspectors is recognition on their part of the non-uniform requirements existing in Ontario's many diverse localities. Consequently, the relationships between the BLC/LCBO and Standard Hotel proprietors incorporated both subjective and relative levels of integration with respect to issuing a License and Permit. On the one hand, a subjective hierarchical structure within a given locality was developed in order to assign and equate specific Standard Hotels with certain social classes. On the other hand, the need to ensure a suitable amount of Standard Hotels were available to the varying demographic makeup of Ontario's numerous localities required a relative comparison and equation of the establishments. Therefore, the relationship between a particular proprietor and the authorities is partially understood as a means by which the BLC/LCBO could construct a hierarchical list of "suitable" Standard Hotels that were capable of servicing the numerous and segregated "communities" present within a given locality.

As previously noted, the LCBO was responsible for overseeing the management and operation of Ontario's Standard Hotels, in particular those spaces dedicated to the consumption of alcohol. Furthermore, as a government entity, the LCBO was responsible for eliciting and maintaining a level of respectability that coincided with the values of the majority of the provinces constituents. By the 20th century temperance advocates and anti-liquor interests had learned how to effectively organize campaigns to voice their opinions regarding alcohol.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Bellamy, "The Canadian Brewing Industry's Response to Prohibition, 1874-1920," 12.

However, such a premise only indicates the manner and extent to which they lobbied as opposed to their alignment with the majority of Ontario's constituents. In fact, Hallowell's *Prohibition in Ontario, 1919-1923* has shown how convoluted and teetering the debate regarding prohibition was in Ontario, requiring 3 referendums within 5 years and elections in 1919, 1923, and 1926 where successful candidates needed to make use of both "Dry" and "Wet" votes in order to secure victory.¹⁷⁶ As for Ontario's Standard Hotel case files, they depict an array of relationships that involved members from both camps as well as individuals whose opinions resided in-between the two extremes. While many of the examples used throughout the previous section identified proprietors whose reputations or conduct endangered the LCBO's respectability, there were scenario's that developed whereby the board opted to retain the services of a particular operator, as observed with Haliburton's Grand Central Hotel and Tiverton's Mansion House.

Consequently, the extent to which the board attempted to distance itself from individuals that could damage its "authority" is inconsistent. The case files for the Grand Central Hotel and Mansion House indicate the relationships between a License Inspector and a particular proprietor or owner was contingent on many localized factors, in particular the determination as to whether or not there existed a "need" or "demand" for a given Standard Hotel in a locality, as well as the personal interactions between operators/owners and License Inspectors.¹⁷⁷ Although the process by which License and Permit applications were submitted to the BLC or LCBO may have been standardized, a License Inspector's requirement to consider many localized factors when making their recommendations, for or against an establishment, resulted in a non-uniform application of Ontario's liquor legislation throughout the province.¹⁷⁸ In other words, as opposed to simply

¹⁷⁶ Hallowell.

¹⁷⁷ Grand Central Hotel/Lucas House, Haliburton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-386, AO.

¹⁷⁸ McRuer, sections 18, 21, 24; Brennan, section 140.

being hegemonic in their structure and order, a proprietor's relationship with the LCBO incorporated complex socially localized factors and individual interactions. In order to understand the diverse roles, purposes, and positions Standard Hotel operators assumed in Ontario's many localities, one needs to examine the relationships developed between a proprietor and individuals within his/her environs.

A Proprietor's Relationship with His/Her Locality

Facilitating the "needs" and "demands" of various communities within a given region resulted in the construction of independent and unique relationships between Ontario's Standard Hotel operators and the constituents of their respective localities. Although the Standard Hotel case files were constructed by the LCBO, they do include instances that allow us to determine how an operator was received by the individuals and groups within their respective locality, i.e. positively, negatively, or a combination of the two. In order to determine that a proprietor's relationship with his/her locality existed in a positive capacity, it must be apparent that "communities" served by the particular Standard Hotel accommodated and incorporated the "needs" and "demands" of the localities they resided in. Conversely, we can interpret the relationship between the parties as being negative if the proprietor in question was incapable of identifying and facilitating the "needs" and "demands" of the various "communities" within his/her locality. While one might think that this allows for a straight-forward analysis of Standard Hotels within a given locality, it does not. The reason for this is the numerous and often incongruent and segregated "communities" that were present in early 20th century Ontario localities. For instance, as identified by License Inspectors, the "communities" that made use of Ontario's Standard Hotels assumed many forms, including the daily lunch crowd, commercial

salesman, tourists, working-class labourers, cattle drovers, transient migrants, and long or short term boarders. Furthermore, as a result of the differing sociopolitical and economic factors impacting Ontario's diverse localities, although many may have contained similar "communities," no two contained a similar set of "needs" and "demands" with respect to the hostelry trade.

Complicating the matter further was the wide range of interpretations that existed as to whether or not a Standard Hotel operator conducted him/herself as well as his/her establishment in an appropriate and respectable manner. Consequently, similar to the relationships between proprietors and the LCBO, creating a general template that defines the relationship existing between Ontario's numerous proprietors and their respective localities is not possible. However, while a macro-definition may be inadequate, micro-analysis of the individual relationships between Ontario's Standard Hotel operators and the "communities" within their respective localities allows for a more complete and representative history.

Although proprietor's accounts of their daily operations and interactions are limited, many of the individual case files contain correspondence from various individuals within a given locality to the board discussing a range of topics with respect to a specific proprietor or a particular Standard Hotel. Typically, these letters were a result of an individual either vouching for or arguing against the presence of a particular proprietor or a Standard Hotel in their locality. Additionally, it was not uncommon for various groups to organize petitions, again, both for and against certain operators and/or establishments. In fact, such a scenario presented itself during the application of a former License Inspector's bid to operate a "Proposed Hotel" at the Southeast corner of the College St and Ossington Avenue intersection, in Toronto.¹⁷⁹ That

¹⁷⁹ Glenavon Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1279, AO.

numerous individuals supported its presence, “provided the said hotel is operated by [the] Ex-Inspector,” suggests the applicant in question was thought to be a respectable and emblematic citizen who, due to his previous experience as a License Inspector, would operate an establishment that best reflected the board’s wishes.¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately for the applicant and his many supporters, opposition to a License and Permit being issued was much stronger. In this instance, the opposition forces made use of the supposed “social” ramifications of having a beer parlour in close proximity to a local public school, a topic to be discussed later.¹⁸¹ Unfortunately, the case file abruptly ends after a License Inspector report of the establishment and does not explicitly state whether or not a License and Permit was issued. However, it is highly unlikely that the staunch opposition developed towards the operation of the “Proposed Hotel” would have ended had the application been approved. Additionally, a search of other sources detailing the existence of Standard Hotels within Toronto reveals no indication of the “Proposed Hotel” ever coming into operation.¹⁸²

The letters and petitions to the LCBO regarding the “Proposed Hotel” reveal two important aspects of public-drinking establishments that either garner little attention or are ignored altogether: the depiction or desire for a Standard Hotel in a given locality as well as communal support for a particular proprietor. For example, a letter from a particular collection of City of Toronto employees in addition to one from The Irvin Lumber Company Ltd. can be found within

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Consulted sources include: Liquor Licence Board of Ontario establishment files, RG 36-8, AO; “Hotels--Ontario--Toronto : Images : Toronto Public Library,” Accessed April 18, 2014, http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/search.jsp?Erp=20&N=38550&No=0&Ntk=Subject_Search_Interface&Ntt=Hotels--Ontario--Toronto&view=grid; “Ossington Avenue (Toronto, Ont.) : Toronto Public Library,” Accessed April 18, 2014, [http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/search.jsp?Ntt=Ossington+Avenue+\(Toronto%2c+Ont.\)&Ntk=Subject_Search_Interface&view=grid&Erp=20](http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/search.jsp?Ntt=Ossington+Avenue+(Toronto%2c+Ont.)&Ntk=Subject_Search_Interface&view=grid&Erp=20).

the case file for Toronto's Subway Hotel.¹⁸³ Both documents express the benefit the proprietor brought the immediate vicinity, describing the establishment as a "handy & clean place & convenient to other workers" while suggesting the boards belief that the "hotel was not a benefit to the community" was incorrect.¹⁸⁴ Although the Subway Hotel was the site of liquor related infractions, letters such as those contained within its case file not only assisted a particular proprietors ability to retain his/her License and Permit, they had the ability to sway or reverse decisions of the board. Consequently, instances such as those discussed in the case file for Toronto's Subway Hotel indicate a proprietors relationship to his/her locality was the result of their ability to fulfill specific needs and demands within the vicinity. In addition to this, it was common for constituents to express support for a particular proprietor as well as highlighting the ways in which the operator benefited the locality.

As seen in the example for the "Proposed Hotel" in Toronto, not all correspondence is indicative of a positive relationship existing between a proprietor and the members of his/her locality. In fact, the case file for the previously discussed Leonard House in Warkworth contains a relay of correspondence between the Director of Permits and a constituent suggesting a highly negative relationship existed between the locality and the establishment's operator. Statements such as "the public opinion is in sympathy with the action taken" with respect to a raid conducted at the Leonard House as well as "last year a popular petition prevented him from opening a pool room as it would, under his management, perhaps be an unwholesome influence in the village" indicate a portion of the locality perceived that the current proprietor was incapable of operating a Standard Hotel.¹⁸⁵ In addition to this, subsequent comments including "women prefer to pass on the other side of the street rather than go through the crowd and run

¹⁸³ Subway Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1363, AO.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Leonard House, Warkworth, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-795, AO.

the chance of getting an unpleasant whiff” and “travellers avoid staying over night if possible” point out ways in which the establishment negatively impacted the locality both socially and economically.¹⁸⁶ Lastly, the concerned citizen concludes one letter by claiming “I am confident public opinion would oppose [a Light Beer Permit] being granted. Warkworth has been a local option area.”¹⁸⁷ This last comment aimed to influence the board’s decision as it insinuates that a majority of people within the locality oppose the perceived intentions of the current proprietor.

However, letters from the previously discussed individual could also be used to indicate the Leonard House did in fact fulfill the “needs” and “demands” of a particular segment of the locality. For instance, aside from describing the ways in which the Leonard House violated the law, this concerned citizen also claimed that “the hotel is crowded with men on Saturday nights.”¹⁸⁸ Although taken from a source opposing the Leonard House, this statement suggests men within or around Warkworth recognized the capability of the proprietor to satisfy their “needs” and “demands”; even if they did revolve around the illegal distribution of liquor. Furthermore, instances describing “crowded” Standard Hotels serving full strength beer or liquor also represent the opposition that existed towards Ontario’s period of public prohibition.

While some comments indicated the presence of questionable and/or illegal conduct, additional correspondence in the Leonard House’s case file expresses support for the proprietor along with his ability to conduct a respectable and honest (legal) establishment.¹⁸⁹ Although short and mostly composed of comments that oppose claims made by others, a letter from the Reverend of a local Roman Catholic Church attains importance due to the inherent authority and respectability bestowed upon its writer. By describing the proprietor as a “gentleman” the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

Reverend associates the action and conduct of the operator with those of respectable, honest, and law abiding individuals. These comments along with those opposing the proprietor are indicative of multiple complex and often incongruent relationships that developed between operators of Ontario's Standard Hotels and various members of their localities.

Positive or negative relationship aside, the correspondence advocating against the Leonard House's proprietor provides another statement that indicates the diverse range of ideologies and beliefs that existed in Ontario's numerous localities. The comment in question describes how "a good hotel would give [the proprietor] a fair living, but he apparently wants to make money without effort."¹⁹⁰ What makes this comment of interest is the duality it represents when it comes to an individual's industriousness and conduct. Clearly, the individual in question believed that offering goods and service that a locality apparently demanded, evident by the large crowds that patronized the Leonard House, did not exemplify the type of industriousness and conduct that should be associated with Standard Hotel proprietors. In other words, this statement is recognition of the stigmatization surrounding a proprietor's (and other individuals) conduct when it did not conform to a particular type of ethos as advocated by certain individuals with respect to societal regulations; moral or legislative.

While many of the previous examples identify the existence of opposing ideologies in order to outline or create a perception of the complex relationships proprietors entered into, there are many scenarios that adequately represent how an operator facilitated the needs of his/her locality without emphasizing any sort of conflict. Located at the northwest corner of King St West and John St, the Arlington Hotel could be described as centrally located within Toronto.¹⁹¹ A 4 story brick and stone establishment, with a verandah on the South side and what appears to be an inner

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Arlington Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1228, AO.

courtyard, the Arlington Hotel was a sizeable Standard Hotel with over 104 guest rooms, most with running water, and housing a dining room that could seat over 80 individuals.¹⁹² Described as “well kept,” “well furnished,” and having “good meals served at reasonable price” the Arlington Hotel was a popular establishment that housed more than 40 boarders and accommodated approximately 300 transient guests a week.¹⁹³ In addition to the large number of guests that lodged at the Arlington Hotel, the establishment also attracted a significant amount of business from various organizations looking to hold annual meetings. On 3 separate occasions in 1921, the Arlington resided as the meeting point for groups including the Ontario Beekeepers Association, the Ontario Shoemakers and Repairers, and Master Harness Makers.¹⁹⁴ While this sort of information points to the development of a positive and beneficial relationship between the proprietor of the Arlington Hotel and the “communities” it served, there were setbacks. A prosecution card contained in the Arlington Hotel’s case file outlines the conviction and incarceration, in 1928, of one of its employees for a breach of the LCA.¹⁹⁵ However, this infraction hardly seems to have raised any eyebrows at the LCBO as in 1929, the Arlington Hotel’s operator applied for and received his License and Permit without any hesitation from the board or opposition from the general public; another indication that the proprietor conducted himself in a manner which allowed him to foster positive relationships with the various members of his immediate locality.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ "TO SELL HONEY IN CO-OPERATION," *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Nov 24, 1921, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1356397596?accountid=9894>; "SHOE REPAIRERS CAN ADVERTISE," *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Jul 29, 1921, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1354127641?accountid=9894>; "OPPOSES TAXES ON MIDDLEMEN," *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Feb 17, 1921, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1366198547?accountid=9894>.

¹⁹⁵ Arlington Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1228, AO.

No more than 10 blocks east from the Arlington Hotel along King St, the operator of the Clyde Hotel attempted to diversify his business opportunities in a manner similar to the Arlington Hotel.¹⁹⁶ It appears as though the proprietors of these two establishments may have been related as aside from sharing the same last name, both were born England and seem to have accrued mirroring years of service in North America.¹⁹⁷ However, the hereditary and familial incorporations to be found within the hostelry trade are an entirely different subject worthy of their own research. Rated as a “3rd class” establishment, License Inspectors described the Clyde Hotel as “well kept” in addition to being “under capable management.”¹⁹⁸ Although in operation for over half a century, the current proprietor of this 4 story brick establishment had only been in charge since 1920.¹⁹⁹ However, during his tenure as proprietor of the Clyde Hotel, there is evidence to suggest he attempted to provide additional services to his locality in order to draw in more business.²⁰⁰ In 1922 the Clyde Hotel’s stables were the site of McGregor’s Horse Exchange, where auctions were held every Monday and Thursday at 11am.²⁰¹ Additionally, a set of announcements in *The Globe* indicate that tickets to the first annual banquet of the Old George Street School Association could be purchased at the Clyde Hotel.²⁰² While the exact financial gain for participating in these ventures is unknown, they do represent the proprietor’s interest in using his establishment in manner that allowed for other legitimate business to prosper in addition to promoting respectable social gatherings. However, any benefit this brought the proprietor of Clyde Hotel seems to have been limited to mere opportunities as opposed to

¹⁹⁶ Clyde Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1249, AO.

¹⁹⁷ Arlington Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1228, AO; Clyde Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1249, AO.

¹⁹⁸ Clyde Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1249, AO.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ "Display Ad 36 -- no Title," *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Nov 18, 1922, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1351861616?accountid=9894>.

²⁰² "Marriage Announcement 2 -- no Title," *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Apr 14, 1926, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1412058925?accountid=9894>.

efficient business management. In 1928, as a result of taxes and rent in arrears, the contents of the Clyde Hotel were sold at a public auction and the proprietor was asked to return his License and Permit.²⁰³

Examples such as those described in the above section indicate the relationships existing between a proprietor and his/her locality were much more complex and diverse than commonly believed. In contrast to the common temperance rhetoric that negatively stereotyped public-drinking establishments, Ontario's Standard Hotels aimed to identify and serve the particular "needs" and "demands" of their localities in addition to providing a wide array of services. Due to the presence of multiple "communities" existing in any and all localities, it was common for conflict to erupt when it came to whether or not a License and Permit would benefit the immediate vicinity. As opposed to simply basing their decision on a License Inspector's recommendation, the BLC/LCBO were forced to incorporate a large array of influencing factors when it came to approving or denying a particular Standard Hotel License and Permit. As the previously identified "Proposed Hotel" in Toronto suggests, the boards were forced to contend and consider arguments advocated by individuals and/or groups who supported and opposed such establishments. Furthermore, whether or not a Standard Hotel operator retained the social support of his/her immediate locality, the LCBO and its License Inspectors, examples such as the Clyde Hotel indicate the inherent difficulty operators faced when trying to conduct both a successful and respectable Standard Hotel.

²⁰³ Clyde Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1249, AO.

The Relationship Between a Locality and the BLC/LCBO

Many of the Standard Hotel case files previously identified in this study include instances where individuals or groups within a locality corresponded directly with the BLC or LCBO in order to communicate their position, for or against a given establishment or its operator. As such, these instances depict a third network of relationships that must be considered when discussing public drinking establishments; i.e. those developed between third parties (i.e. various “communities” or groups within a locality) and the BLC/LCBO. While Malleck has described the impact attributable to these relationships in Ontario after 1934, whether a similar scenario presented itself during the provinces’ prohibition on the public consumption of alcohol is unclear.²⁰⁴ Although the relationships developed between various members of a locality and the BLC/LCBO throughout this period may appear tertiary in importance, they exerted a significant amount of influence when it came to granting or revoking an operator’s License and Permit. An individual or group’s ability to effectively communicate their position, for or against a given establishment, aided the board in determining the extent to which the “need” or “demand” for the goods and services facilitated by a particular Standard Hotel existed. While these instances may only represent a small segment of a constituency’s position concerning a Standard Hotel, they are indicative of the diverse range of “communities” present in Ontario’s numerous localities. Therefore, while their presence within the Standard Hotel case files is limited, correspondence between the constituents of a particular locality and the BLC/LCBO is an invaluable source for scholars when it comes to furthering our knowledge of the role and presence public establishments assumed, regardless of the region or time period. To that end, this section will

²⁰⁴ Malleck, “Hearing the Voices,” *Try to Control Yourself*, 87-109.

reexamine some previously identified case files and outline how social advocacy both favoured and hampered individual applicants or proprietors as well as their establishments.

While letters explicitly stating that discontent existed within a given locality regarding a particular establishment are rare in the Standard Hotel case files, the correspondence between License Inspectors and member of the BLC or LCBO often reference complaints that had been leveled against a proprietor. While the particular person(s) filing these complaints are often omitted, they do represent a particular level of interaction between various members or groups of a locality and the authorities. However, Malleck has noted both the ulterior motives of some individuals as well as the circumspection with which the LCBO received complaints regarding some of its Standard Hotels.²⁰⁵ That being said, fictitious or coerced accounts were not solely developed by individuals who opposed a particular establishment or its proprietor. It is highly probable that those who supported or vouched for a particular establishment did so in order to facilitate their own desires for a substance or activity that could not be found elsewhere or was deemed illegal by the authorities.

Located just inside the city boundary in West Toronto, south of the Canadian Pacific Railway and near the Irvin Lumber Company, the Subway Hotel, built c.1880, was a 3 story Brick establishment with a verandah along the front and a garage for housing lodger's automobiles.²⁰⁶ Although the Subway Hotel's 2 bathrooms and 3 lavatories were supplied with hot water, none of its 14 "poorly furnished but clean" guest rooms had running water.²⁰⁷ Additionally, the Subway Hotel's dining room was capable of serving "straight meals," at a cost

²⁰⁵ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 173-176.

²⁰⁶ Subway Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1363, AO.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

of 40¢, to upwards of 50 individuals at any given time.²⁰⁸ Physical appearances aside, the Standard Hotel case file for the Subway Hotel includes examples and references indicating the presence of a distinct relationship between authorities and individuals within the vicinity of the establishment as well as the existence of opposing “community” opinions with respect to the establishment’s continued operation. Included in this is information that details the supposed positive position of the establishment in its immediate vicinity and the perceived negative attributes that had been brought to the attention of the LCBO. Although liquor infractions resulted in the operator’s personal liquor permit being revoked, he initially retained the License and Permit for the Subway Hotel; probably as a result of License Inspector reports that described him as a “capable Hotel keeper” and the establishment as a “a fairly well conducted hotel.”²⁰⁹ However, the Director of Permits did request that the operator contact him so that they could further discuss the situation and “thrash out matters” regarding the Subway Hotel.²¹⁰ While the action taken by the Director of Permits may not have been the norm, the Standard Hotel case file includes a petition, signed by a collection of City of Toronto workers, and a letter from the manager of the Irvin Lumber Company indicating “community” support for the proprietor of the Subway Hotel existed.²¹¹ However, the petitions seem to have been more reactionary to action taken by the board as opposed to a continued discourse surrounding the importance of this particular establishment. Additionally, there is the possibility that the protests and petitions that developed in support of the Subway Hotel could have been no more than the result of individuals who wanted continued access to illicit goods and services. Conversely, although the source is

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

never identified, the reception of information alluding to the sale of liquor at the Subway Hotel indicates that at the very least, one individual opposed this establishment's current operation.

In the particular case described above, the short comings of the operator, described as having "an unfortunate weakness for liquor," seem to have been negated for some time as a result of perceived "community" support that existed and License Inspector reports describing the establishment as "a fairly well conducted hotel."²¹² Unfortunately for the operator, the group's inability to develop a positive relationship with the LCBO meant it produced very little influence. Additionally, as the complaints leveled against the Subway Hotel were confirmed via raids upon and seizures within the establishment and considering the high number of Standard Hotels in Toronto at the time, it is likely that the LCBO believed those lobbying in support of the Subway Hotel could have easily found food and legal refreshment nearby.²¹³ In other words, the petitions written in support of the Subway Hotel did little to emphasize any "need" or "demand" for this particular establishment within the immediate vicinity that could not be found elsewhere. Only by improving the overall condition and redecorating the establishment was the operator able to retain his License and Permit for the following year.²¹⁴ Although the case file abruptly ends after a subsequent liquor infraction, the fate of the Subway Hotel is known. As the Subway Hotel's operator's wife was the proprietor of Toronto's Heydon House, a quick examination of that Standard Hotel case file reveals that the prior establishments License and Permit were in fact cancelled.²¹⁵

The Subway Hotel is not the only case file that entails a relationship developing between the "communities" within a locality and the LCBO. The case file for a "Proposed Hotel" in

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Heydon House, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1289, AO.

Toronto contains petitions both for and against its existence. Located at the corner of College St. and Ossington Ave., this particular building was 3 stories, built of brick and stone, and while it formerly held a bank, its current occupants included a flower shop, a hairdressing parlour, and apartments on the upper floors.²¹⁶ In this instance, the length and significance of the relationship is limited to reactions concerning the “Proposed Hotel” and how it would impact the vicinity. However, the arguments in support of and opposed to its operation do mirror those that were present in the petitions for the Subway Hotel; namely a lack of factors indicating any sort of need for the operation of this particular establishment and a number of reasons as to how the “Proposed Hotels” existence might negatively impact the immediate area. In particular, those opposed to its existence indicated how the establishment would be a “menace” to children passing by on their way to the local public school, not more than 550 feet from the “Proposed Hotel.”²¹⁷ An additional concern centered on the belief that the beverage room located in the “Proposed Hotel” would only act as a “drinking space” that “would be a detriment to the morale and would depreciate the value of real estate in the locality.”²¹⁸ When compared to the individuals in favour of the “Proposed Hotel,” who only had “no objections to an hotel be operated” in their locality, those who opposed a License and Permit being issued clearly did a better job at eliciting their concerns, regardless of their inherent subjectivity.²¹⁹

While these two examples might be used to suggest that the LCBO associated and favoured the “Dry” forces, they more adequately represent a government agency that aligned itself with the third party’s that best justified their position and argument. In both examples, the individuals or groups who were in favour of maintaining/opening an establishment gave no indication as to

²¹⁶ Glenavon Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1279, AO.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

how or why it would benefit them. In the case of the Subway Hotel, authorities recognized the establishment was used by many individuals but only in a manner that could easily be found elsewhere.²²⁰ As for the “Proposed Hotel,” no reasoning is supplied as to why the individuals who signed the petition did so. In contrast, those opposing the establishment identified its proximity to a church and school, indicating the negative moral ramifications that would be created should the hotel open. As shown, the Standard Hotel case files for the Subway and “Proposed” hotels include instances outlining the methods by which third parties cultivated relationships with the LCBO. Furthermore, these examples indicate the influence that third parties were capable of exerting upon the LCBO when it came to issuing or renewing License and Permits.

As noted though, the Subway Hotel was and the ‘Proposed Hotel’ would have been located in Toronto. The superfluity with which public establishments existed in urban localities, in particular Toronto, meant the “need” and “demand” regarding a particular establishment had to exist in a capacity beyond that of simplicity - I.e. Lunch, light beer, and/or lodging. In contrast, due to the monopoly provincial legislation created for Standard Hotels on particular goods and services, smaller localities required the continued operation of their limited establishments in order to provide a legitimate, regulated venue for such demands.²²¹ Therefore, when it came to Standard Hotels in a rural setting, at times the BLC/LCBO and their many License Inspectors were required to broaden and relax the parameters surrounding an establishments “need” or “demand” as well as reducing their specificity. With respect to those supporting or advocating for an operator as well as his/her establishment, this translated to greater leniency on behalf of the board when it came to an individual or groups ability to justify their position. Conversely,

²²⁰ Subway Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1363, AO.

²²¹ McRuer, section 146; Brennan, section 140.

those opposing a particular operator or establishment now had to give more than sufficient reason and justification that such facilities were a detriment to a locality and should be shut down.

Take for example the situation involving the Leonard House and the relationship between a concerned citizen and the Director of Permits. The lone Standard Hotel in the village of Warkworth, with a population of approximately 600, the Leonard House had been serving its residence since its construction in c.1870; although its current proprietor had only been in operation since 1924.²²² The establishment itself was a 3 story, brick building, with 17 guest rooms, the ability to serve somewhere between 70-80 individuals in its dining room and a couple of overhung toilets.²²³ License Inspector Reports included varied descriptions regarding the quality of the establishments, including “cheap” furnishing in the bedrooms while those in the dining-room were “clean” and “fair.”²²⁴ However, the issues cited by the concerned citizen revolved less around the Leonard House’s furnishing and had more to do with the manner in which its proprietor conducted himself. While the concerned individual could be identified as well-respected citizen, the grievances and concerns he cited with respect to the conduct of the establishments operator were not enough to influence the board to revoke the proprietor’s License and Permit. This does not mean that the board took no action as a License Inspector was sent to determine the acuity of the accusations and raids were conducted in hopes of catching illegal activities in the act.²²⁵ In the end, as a result of a generally positive review by the License Inspector, a letter from an equally respected citizen that dispelled some of the accusation, and the inability to capture any hard evidence against the operator, the Director of Permits opted only to

²²² Leonard House, Warkworth, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-795, AO.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

caution the proprietor on the importance of proper and acceptable conduct and allowed him to retain his License and Permit. In this instance, the demand for a Standard Hotel coupled with the lack of alternative accommodation in the locality and the establishment's proximity (or lack thereof) to a more heavily populated region influenced the board to side with the operator.

The case file for the Leonard House also makes us aware of the importance of just "who" is corresponding with the board. As Malleck indicates with his wonderful example of the fictitious Mrs. A. Jones, the societal position associated with a particular individual or patron often influenced the extent to which the board acted.²²⁶ With respect to this thesis, many of the examples taken from the case files indicate that third parties occupied a position of respectability; for instance, the case of the concerned citizen in Warkworth. However, other examples can be found within the case files to represent the associations between an individual's gender, class, or social positioning and its ability to influence the LCBO. Aside from acquiescing to the specific demands of the LCBO, Collingwood's Tremont Hotel garnered support from an unlikely candidate, allowing the establishment to retain its License and Permit.²²⁷ Although numerous raids turned up empty, complaints and reports of questionable activity resulted in the Chief Constable staking out the establishment wherein he documented a suspicious amount of activity, ultimately resulting in the operator being convicted for operating a gambling den.²²⁸ However, as opposed to distancing itself from the Tremont Hotel and its proprietor, a series of events led to the issuing of a new License and Permit. After a stern report from the Director of Permits, the operator complied, fixing many of the outstanding physical and structural issues outlined in the License Inspectors reports. Aside from resulting in a positive review from a subsequent License Inspector, the operator of the Tremont Hotel also benefited from the support

²²⁶ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 174-175.

²²⁷ Tremont Hotel, Collingwood, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1894, AO.

²²⁸ Ibid.

of the previously opposed and suspicious Chief Constable. Indicating that the establishment was now being “well conducted” and that “no further complaints” has been filed, the Chief Constable went on and stated he had “no objections” to the board issuing a License and Permit.²²⁹ Although circumstantial on its own, a letter from a License Inspector to the Director of Permits described the Chief Constable as “a straightforward and aggressive officer, quite reliable and fair,” suggesting he was someone they could trust to make decisions that were in the best interest of locality.²³⁰ Additionally, his suggestion that the board act on the Chief Constables advice is further representative of the influence individuals of notable standing could enact in the board’s decision making process. Clearly, as a result of social or communal empowerment instilled within individuals of high standing, it was not uncommon for the board to use their input when it came to recommending an operator and/or establishment.

Many of the aforementioned examples indicate the board was willing to communicate with individuals who occupied a position of importance or benevolence within a locality – i.e. government official, priest, or legitimate business operator. However, there is a distinct lack of input or advocacy from those groups that would otherwise be classified as a minority: i.e. the needy or poor, immigrants, and the working class. Although a group of labourer’s did lobby for the Subway Hotel, in the form of a petition, it did little to advocate how the establishment bettered the locality it served and as previously mentioned, only had a short term impact on the operators ability to retain his License and Permit. This suggests that the type and extent of action taken by the BLC/LCBO against an operator or establishment was related to either board’s ability to determine the validity and veracity of a third party’s input. Although never explicitly

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

stated, the above examples indicate the board associated the legitimacy of the information supplied by an individual or group with their social or class status.

As shown, the BLC/LCBO's ability to determine the "need" and "demand" of these establishments often required input from the individuals and groups residing in the given localities. While the petitions and/or correspondence implicate the utilization of specific public establishments, they also represent the diverse type and range of relationships that existed between the BLC/LCBO and members of Ontario's numerous localities. Additionally, the examples demonstrate the inappropriateness of compartmentalizing the provinces constituents position towards Standard Hotels, in particular the goods and service they offered, by such simplistic terms as either "for" or "against." As with many other aspects of day-to-day living, social signifiers, including religion, gender, and class greatly influenced a person's inclination towards these public establishments along with the services and amenities they provided. Complicating the matter further is the realization that there existed a myriad of social and individualized factors that could impact a person's disposition towards any or all of Ontario's Standard Hotels. Ultimately, the extent to which third parties were able to influence the BLC/LCBO in the License and Permit decision making process requires one to consider all the above mentioned factors.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has made use of the LCBO's Standard Hotel case files in order to understand the complex array of relationships that existed between the BLC/LCBO, license inspectors, applicants/operators and members of a given locality. It has shown how the relationships that developed between the involved parties were influenced by many factors, examples of which

included, but were not limited to: whether or not the region in question could be identified as rural or urban; the demography of the given locality; the manner in which the applicant/operator expressed and/or conducted himself; and objective representation of support/opposition in the given locality.

The BLC/LCBO and their License Inspectors were responsible for ensuring Ontario's constituents and visitors complied with the regulations set forth in the OTA/LCA. As such, the BLC/LCBO and their License Inspectors possessed the power to approve, deny, suspend, or cancel an applicant/proprietor's License and Permit. In order to retain the privileges associated with a License and Permit, Ontario's Standard Hotel operators either acquiesced to, or attempted to justify how their actions reflected, the board's demands. Additionally, for those Standard Hotel proprietors who the board deemed to be good operators, it was not uncommon for the BLC/LCBO or its License Inspectors to instruct or coach an individual on the appropriate and expected modes of conduct associated with operating a Standard Hotel. In this respect, the actions of the BLC/LCBO and their License Inspectors are attempts to implement a uniform code of conduct, with respect to Standard Hotel operators, throughout the province. Furthermore, the BLC/LCBO operated under bureaucratic mandates that sought uniform application and enforcement of the OTA/LCA. Consequently, both boards and their License Inspectors subjectively quantified various social and physical components related to an individual applicant/proprietor. This included aspects of an individual applicant/proprietors character and reputation as well as those of his/her Standard Hotel, as perceived by the boards and their License Inspectors.

The case files for the Arlington and Clyde Hotels provide examples of proprietors who allowed their establishments to be used by legitimate and respectable business or volunteer

groups within their respective localities. This resulted in the development of positive relationships between the proprietors of the Arlington and Clyde Hotels and numerous communities within their respective localities. However, the opposing “Wet” and “Dry” voices that were present in early 20th century Ontario localities often made such a task extremely difficult. As was the case with Warkworth’s Leonard House, Standard Hotel operators were unable to gain unanimous support from the “communities” within their localities. This resulted in many proprietors directing their efforts towards aspects of business and trade that facilitated the “needs” and “demands” of certain “communities” within their localities.

Whether or not a License and Permit were issued to a particular establishment was also subject to the relationships developed between the various “communities” and the BLC/LCBO. Central to these relationships was the purpose with which they were developed. That is to say, many individuals attempted to coerce or influence the board in its decision making process when it came to the issuance of a specific License and Permit. As observed with the “Proposed Hotel” in Toronto and Warkworth’s Leonard House, such attempts were not limited to only those opposing a particular Standard Hotel but to the many who supported its existence as well.

The relationships that existed between individuals either invested or interested in the operation of Ontario’s Standard Hotels were products of the perceived “needs” and “demands” of the province’s numerous and diverse localities. This chapter has identified the manner and extent to which these relationships existed and developed. As this chapter has demonstrated, the relationships often revolved around a specific concern or problem that the Standard Hotel in question produced, supported or resolved. Most importantly, it has indicated how certain relationships were capable of influencing the BLC/LCBO’s decision to recommend, either for or against, the issuance of a License and Permit to a specific establishment and operator.

Chapter Three

Real and Imagined Concerns: Construction, Fire Safety, and the Regulation of Space

The Board of License Commissioners (BLC) and its successor, the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) were tasked with ensuring that the province's Standard Hotels conformed to regulations regarding form and function. In order to accomplish this task, the BLC/LCBO required a proprietor to submit a *Standard Hotel License and Light Beer* application that identified specific details regarding an establishment in order to ensure the accommodations were suitable for patrons and guests. However, as a result of the differing "needs" and "demands" of Ontario's diverse and numerous localities, the look and layout of Standard Hotels operating throughout the province between 1920 and 1934 differed greatly. Aside from having Standard Hotels that operated throughout the year, there existed numerous "Summer" establishments that only operated during the warmer months when individuals, couples, or families vacationed. In regards to their physical construction, Standard Hotels could be single-story establishments composed from wood or multi-storied structures built from stone, cement, or brick. Many of provinces' rural establishments had their toilets placed outside and had to pump or transport water into the establishment. In contrast, it was common for urban Standard Hotels to be attached to municipal water and sanitation systems, should they exist, allowing facilities to be placed within the establishments or the guest rooms themselves. An array of additional differences among Ontario's Standard Hotels existed as well and included aspects such as the manner in which the establishments were heated, the availability of parking as well as stabling, the presence and location of a verandah, and lastly the dimensions, accessibility and visibility of beverage, dining, and sitting rooms.

That the BLC/LCBO required proprietors to provide details of specific features of an establishment – i.e. the presence of a verandah or the dimensions of a beverage room – suggests both board's perceived such areas as problematic and of concern. This chapter will identify some of the primary concerns that the BLC/LCBO contended with while regulating Ontario's Standard Hotels. It will demonstrate how these concerns often differentiated from those advocated by the array of individuals or groups found within the provinces' localities. Additionally, it will outline how the BLC/LCBO managed and addressed these concerns as well as those of localities residents. In order to accomplish this, this chapter will draw upon examples from within the "Liquor Licence Board of Ontario's standard hotel case files" in conjunction with excerpts from newspaper published during the period in question.²³¹ These sources make us aware of the unique regulations that governed both "public" and "private" spaces within a Standard Hotel. Understanding these regulations reveals that the distribution and consumption of liquor was but one concern of the BLC/LCBO. Additional and arguably more important concerns regarding the provinces' Standard Hotels included the potential risk of fire, the safety of individuals within the establishments, and a proprietors as well as his/her patrons adherence to certain codes of conduct and morality.

More and more academics have begun to investigate the development, institution and enforcement of the social codes of conduct, customs, and morality that were deemed appropriate by societies and legislated by governments.²³² For instance, historian Lynne Marks has

²³¹ Liquor Licence Board of Ontario (LLBO) Standard Hotel Case Files, RG 36-1, Archives of Ontario (AO).

²³² Works that have engaged with this topic, but are in no way limited to, include: Peter C. Baldwin, *Domesticating the Street: The Reform of Public Space in Hartford, 1850-1930* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999); David S. Churchill, "Mother Goose's Map : Tabloid Geographies and Gay Male Experience in 1950s Toronto," *Journal of Urban History* 30, no. 6 (2004): 826-852; Amanda Glasbeek, ed., *Moral Regulation and Governance in Canada: History, Context, and Critical Issues* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006); Peter G. Goheen, "Negotiating Access to Public Space in Mid-Nineteenth Century Toronto" *Journal of Historical Geography* 20, no. 4 (1994): 430-449; Margaret Little, *No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit: The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997* (Toronto: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1998); Lynne Marks, *Revival and Roller Rinks: Religion,*

demonstrated how late-19th-century Ontario's moralized middle-class perceived "street-corner loafers" as a threat who when left unattended possessed the ability to destabilize society.²³³ While her work focuses on Ontario's smaller towns, the issues relating to appropriate modes of behaviour in public space would not have been limited to the localities of Thorold, Campbellford, or Ingersoll.²³⁴ Elsewhere, Renia Ehrenfeucht and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris have highlighted the difficulties the municipality of Los Angeles faced when it came to regulating public sidewalks. In particular, Ehrenfeucht and Loukaitou-Sideris outline and discuss the modes of behaviour and conduct that were considered acceptable for individuals occupying these public spaces.²³⁵ Lastly, Peter Goheen has examined the process by which Toronto's middle-class attempted to ascribe ideas and modes of appropriate behaviour, largely reflecting their own ideals, to public space.²³⁶ All of these studies indicate that late 19th and early 20th century municipalities throughout North America were being pressured to consider the problem of conflicting ideologies and interpretations when it came to "respectable" conduct and public space.

Proprietors and patrons respectability aside, the BLC/LCBO was also responsible for ensuring Standard Hotels remained safe spaces. Sara Wermiel's "No Exit: The Rise and Demise of the Outside Fire Escape?" outlines the development of emergency egress from buildings

Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Susanne Rau, "Public Order in Public Space: Tavern Conflict in Early Modern Lyon," *Urban History* 34, no. 1 (2007): 102-113; Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); and Mariana Valverde, *Diseases of the will: alcohol and the dilemmas of freedom* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

²³³ Marks, *Revival and Roller Rinks*, 125 & 82.

²³⁴ Marks, *Revival and Roller Rinks*, 16.

²³⁵ Renia Ehrenfeucht and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, "Constructing the Sidewalks: Municipal Government and the Production of Public Space in Los Angeles, California, 1880-1920," *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007): 104-124. doi:10.1016/j.jhg.2005.08.001.

²³⁶ Peter G. Goheen, "The Assertion of Middle-Class Claims to Public Space in Late Victorian Toronto," *Journal of Historical Geography* 29, no. 1 (2003): 73. doi:10.1006/jhg.2002.0448.

located throughout towns and cities in late 19th and early 20th century America.²³⁷ According to Wermiel, the history of fire safety can be differentiated between measures related to reducing the spread of fire within an establishment and those capable of offering an effective means of escape or egress to individuals trapped inside burning buildings.²³⁸ Many of the examples Wermiel provides regarding emergency egress were present within Ontario's prohibition-era Standard Hotels while those described by Malleck as modern or progressive are absent. Consequently, Wermiel's work aids in highlighting a particular aspect regarding how the BLC/LCBO approached the topic of fire safety within Ontario's Standard Hotels.

With respect to Ontario's Standard Hotels, Malleck has recently shown how beverage rooms operating in post-prohibition Ontario differed from those operating prior to amendments of the Liquor Control Act (LCA).²³⁹ He notes how regulations instituted in 1934 were "heavily restrictive" and resulted in features and activities that were previously associated with beverage rooms, including gambling, the "stand-up" bar, and the sale of beer for "off-premises consumption," being altogether removed.²⁴⁰ This chapter will show that the regulations instituted by the LCBO, between 1927 and 1934, were representative of the board's concerns regarding the use, conduct, and activities occurring within Ontario's Standard Hotels. Furthermore, it will identify the areas, amenities, and features of Ontario's Standard Hotels that caused the most concern for the BLC/LCBO.

²³⁷ Sara E. Wermiel, "No Exit: The Rise and Demise of the Outside Fire Escape," *Technology and Culture* 44, no. 2 (April 2003): 258-284. doi: 10.1353/tech.2003.0097.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Dan Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself: The Regulation of Public Drinking in Post-Prohibition Ontario, 1927-1944* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2012), 7.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

Construction and Physical Layout: Form, Function, and Fire

While Ontario's Standard Hotels existed to provide accommodations and food to the general public, establishments operating in the rural regions of the province differed structurally from their urban counterparts. Generally speaking, this was a result of the need for the provinces rural Standard Hotels to fulfill a broader collection of "needs" and "demands" when compared to their urban counterparts. The structural differences that could be found within both urban and rural Standard Hotels throughout Ontario led to the production of unique spaces. This allowed proprietors to model their establishment in a manner that best suited the needs of their respective localities. With respect to the materials used in a Standard Hotel's construction, it was not uncommon for establishments in Ontario's rural localities to be entirely composed of wood, as was the case with North Bruce's North Bruce Hotel.²⁴¹ Another oft used construction method that was found in the province's rural Standard Hotels, such as Cainville's Maple Leaf Hotel, Teeswater's Vendome Hotel, Caledon's Sutton House, and Colborne's Alexandra Hotel, involved the combination of wood and brick.²⁴² As for Standard Hotels operating in Ontario's urban localities, many identified brick as their sole construction material while on occasion some establishments were built of stone.²⁴³ This allowed Ontario's urban Standard Hotels to overcome certain limitations regarding size and capacity that their wooden rural counterparts could not. By increasing an establishment's size and capacity, owners/proprietors were able to cater to and accommodate larger segments of the provinces more urbanized and densely populated localities. The structural limitations Ontario's rural Standard Hotels faced, particularly those composed of

²⁴¹ North Bruce Hotel, North Bruce, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-43, AO;

²⁴² Maple Leaf Hotel, Cainsville, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-29, AO; Vendome Hotel, Teeswater, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-49, AO; Sutton House, Caledon, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-892, AO; Alexandra Hotel, Colborne, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-780, AO.

²⁴³ Of the 25 "LLBO standard hotel case files" used in this thesis that identify establishments operating in Toronto, 18 listed their primary building material as brick.

wood, is best represented by their frequent limitation to just three stories. Conversely, Standard Hotels operating in the provinces urban localities were generally three stories to start and frequently consisted of more. For instance, the CP owned Royal York in Toronto was 28 stories when it opened in 1929.²⁴⁴

Directly related to the construction materials used in Ontario's Standard Hotels was the very real risk of fire. Malleck has argued that the fire prevention measures found within Ontario's Standard Hotels, such as the use of fire-proof materials, were implemented in order to emphasize modernity and progress.²⁴⁵ However, the majority of examples Malleck provides are of Standard Hotels that operated after 1934.²⁴⁶ Furthermore, Malleck's work better addresses fire prevention developments within the provinces urban Standard Hotels. Absent from his work are examples of how License Inspectors, or the LCBO, assessed establishments operating in Ontario's rural localities.²⁴⁷ An examination of Standard Hotel case files containing information of both rural and urban establishments, between the years 1927 to 1934, allows us to determine how the LCBO addressed the very real issue of fire. Additionally, such an examination allows us to conclude whether the actions undertaken by the LCBO were similar to those they displayed in post-prohibition Ontario, as described by Malleck.²⁴⁸ Although subtle, differences between the fire standards indicated by Malleck after 1934 and those existing prior to are identifiable. These include the prevalence and limited concern regarding the construction of wooden establishments; the presence and maintenance of alternative fire escape or egress measures, such as ropes of adequate thickness in all upper rooms; and the presence and size of verandahs.

²⁴⁴ "Hotels in Toronto, Canada: Luxury Hotels in Toronto, Ontario." Accessed May 25, 2014. <http://www.fairmont.com/royal-york-toronto/hotelhistory/>.

²⁴⁵ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 81.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 78-82.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

Malleck asserts that after 1934 the LCBO became concerned with the potential for fire in Standard Hotels that were constructed from wood.²⁴⁹ An analysis of a collection of “LLBO standard hotel case files” indicates the same cannot be said for the Standard Hotels in operation prior to 1934. While the presence of wooden Standard Hotels may have declined in the provinces urban regions, those containing wooden frames or composed entirely from wood were still common in Ontario’s rural or smaller urban localities. Although brick was identified as the primary construction material in over 60% of the 96 case files examined for this thesis, other options existed and were frequently used. Over 15% of case files listed wood as the sole construction material while 10% identified it in combination with another material. Lastly, establishments constructed of materials less prone to fire, including cement and stone, accounted for less than 7%. Most importantly, none of the examined case files include any notices or correspondence suggesting the LCBO was concerned about the potential fire hazard of wooden Standard Hotels. Prior to 1934 then, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that the LCBO was overly concerned with establishments composed of wood. By all appearances, the BLC/LCBO and their many License Inspectors readily accepted Standard Hotels that were solely composed of wood.

As noted, Malleck’s argument regarding the board’s concern with those establishments constructed of wood is based on a collection of files for Standard Hotels located in the provinces more densely populated, urban localities.²⁵⁰ Between the years 1919 and 1926, the number of Standard Hotel Licenses issued towards establishments within Toronto and Ottawa averaged 95 and 25 respectively.²⁵¹ The presence of numerous establishments in any given locality meant the

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 79.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Composed from “Ontario Legislative Assembly Sessional Papers” between the years 1919-1926. Excluded from this is the year 1921 as no report was filed. Toronto and Ottawa were the only localities where the number of

LCBO could afford to “pick and choose” which Standard Hotels most adequately represented the societal values and progressive tendencies the board sought to emphasize. As larger localities possessed significantly more Standard Hotels with which to accommodate the needs and demands of their respective “communities,” the loss of any particular establishment, due to its construction material, would have been minimal. Even the province’s smaller urban localities, such as Niagara Falls and Owen Sound, would have contained a sufficient number of Standard Hotels to offset the closure of any particular establishment within their boundaries.²⁵² In contrast, Ontario’s rural localities often contained but a handful of Standard Hotels and at times were limited to just one. When the Hahn House had its Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit revoked, the Mayor of Durham noted how such action would inconvenience the “Travelling public” as the establishment was “the only Hotel down town.”²⁵³ Closing or refusing to issue a License and Permit for establishments within the provinces smaller localities would create a void with respect to the “needs” and “demands” they fulfilled.

As part of the License and Permit application process, Ontario’s Standard Hotel proprietors were required to indicate how they addressed the BLC/LCBO’s concerns pertaining to fire safety. This involved the identification of certain measures, including the type and quality of fire escapes in the establishment; the existence of any sort of verandah; and the presence of ropes in all rooms above the ground floor. Unlike the winch and pulley systems, parachutes, interior

license’s issued was identified. Elsewhere, the number of license’s issued was totaled by county or included more than one municipality.

²⁵² The “Liquor Licence Board of Ontario standard hotel case files” (RG 36-1) contain records for 8 and 31 Standard Hotels, in Owen Sound and Niagara Falls respectively. However, one must remember that the case files included in the fonds were compiled between the years 1920 & 1946 and do not necessarily reflect the number of Standard Hotels operating in any given year. The number of case files for Owen Sound is proportional to the number of Standard Hotels identified, 38, throughout Grey County in the Sessional Papers of 1925. In contrast, the number present for Niagara Falls may be more representative of the many proprietors who attempted to enter into the hostelry trade as there were only reported to be 22 Standard Hotels in all of Niagara Falls (including river municipalities) in 1925.

²⁵³ Hahn House, Durham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1801, AO.

smoke-proof stairwells, and slides identified by Wermiel, the measures instituted in Ontario's Standard Hotels were much more pragmatic and focused on the ability to remove an individual safely from an establishment.²⁵⁴ In time however, the egress measures found within Ontario's Standard Hotels would be supplanted by more "modern" or "progressive" ones that aimed at limiting the spread of fire or suppressing it altogether.

Prior to 1934, the Standard Hotel case files reveal that proprietors rarely attempted to emphasize the modernity of their establishment by using terms such as "fire-proof." Of the 84 Standard Hotel case files examined, only the Casa Loma and Delaware Hotels in Toronto included descriptions that identified their respective establishments as being constructed with "fire-proof" materials.²⁵⁵ The inclusion of other fire prevention measures, such as the presence of fire extinguishers, that could be described as progressive or modern were only identified in the Standard Hotel case file for Wasaga Beaches' Rustic Inn.²⁵⁶ Consequently, the information submitted by operators on their License and Permit applications, between the years 1927-1934, reflect Wermiel's argument and further highlights the emphasis the BLC/LCBO placed on fire egress measures; in particular fire escapes, ladder, ropes in rooms, verandahs, flat roofs. When it came to fire protection or safety within Ontario's Standard Hotels, the period examined by this thesis coincides with the timeline Wermiel provides for the disappearance of exterior fire escapes and the introduction of fire-resistant or fire-proof materials.

While Malleck discusses fire safety measures in order to emphasize an establishment's modernity, he acknowledges that the egress measures found within the provinces Standard

²⁵⁴ Wermiel, 258-274.

²⁵⁵ Casa Loma Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1243, AO; Delaware Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1260, AO.

²⁵⁶ Rustic Inn, Wasaga Beach, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1901, AO.

Hotels, such as properly installed ropes, were of significant importance to the LCBO.²⁵⁷ However, the examples he provides suggest that infractions relating to fire egress measures were hardly a significant factor for the board when it came to issuing a License and Permit to a particular establishment.²⁵⁸ In fact, many of the examples Malleck provides suggest that fire safety infractions were a minor concern for the board, as they merely resulted in warnings or fines being issued to the guilty party.²⁵⁹ As Malleck points out, instances where the board suspended or withheld an establishment's License and Permit were limited to repeat offenders who committed multiple fire safety infractions.²⁶⁰ In such scenarios, the type of action described by Malleck contrasts with that taken by the BLC/LCBO throughout the 1920's and up until 1934. Although the Palmer House was the only Standard Hotel in Alton, "improved" by the addition of a verandah and had an operator who possessed a clean record with respect to LCA infractions, in 1930 its License and Permit were withheld as a result of "Two ropes missing."²⁶¹ Examples such as Alton's Palmer House indicate the firm and unwavering stance the BLC/LCBO took with respect to the adherence and maintenance of fire egress measures within Ontario's Standard Hotels; in particular the presence of adequate and sufficient ropes in an establishments guest rooms. Although the BLC/LCBO sought to ensure compliance when it came to adhering to regulations regarding liquor, these types of examples reaffirm the notion that there were more central issues to operating and maintaining a Standard Hotel.

Quite often, rope related infractions impacted a proprietor's ability to receive or renew a License and Permit. In fact, the LCBO took a much firmer position against operators guilty of rope related infractions when compared to those who were guilty of liquor violations. For

²⁵⁷ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 78.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 82.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Palmer House, Alton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-882, AO.

example, the case file for the Commercial Hotel in Ripley includes a report that outlines an LCA infraction occurring at the establishment in the summer of 1930.²⁶² As a consequence, the LCBO cancelled the personal liquor permits of both the operator and his son. However, the board opted not to cancel or suspend the establishment's License and Permit.²⁶³ A subsequent report filed later that fall indicated that until such time as the inadequate ropes were replaced, the establishment's License and Permit were suspended.²⁶⁴ The outright cancellation of a proprietor's License and Permit allowed the LCBO to distance itself from disreputable or immoral Standard Hotel operators. In contrast, the mere suspension of a proprietor's License and Permit kept the operator and his/her establishment under the supervision and legislative control of the LCBO, the ultimate objective of the board. This sort action reinforces Malleck's argument that the LCBO operated as a "regulatory bureaucracy" and maintained its power through its constant streams of supervision.²⁶⁵

With respect to urban and rural establishments, the Standard Hotel case files are filled with additional examples that indicate the actions of the LCBO were not uniformly applied throughout the province. Similar to the events that unfolded in Ripley's Commercial Hotel, the proprietor of Chatham's Glassford Hotel was convicted of multiple liquor related infractions.²⁶⁶ A License Inspector's report from July 1929 cited various infractions as grounds for recommending against a License and Permit for the establishment.²⁶⁷ However, the LCBO opted to renew the Glassford Hotels License and Permit, even though residents or visitors to Chatham

²⁶² Commercial Hotel, Ripley, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-36, AO.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 82.

²⁶⁶ Glassford Hotel, Chatham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-514, AO.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

could find accommodations and food at least 7 other Standard Hotels.²⁶⁸ Even in the face of negative License Inspector Reports and liquor violations, any concern the board had regarding the establishment were outweighed by the services the Glassford Hotel provided its locality. However, a letter from LCBO in February 1930 to the proprietor of the Glassford Hotel indicated the establishment's License and Permit would be withheld as a result of "some ropes missing from bedrooms."²⁶⁹ Due to the LCBO's prioritization of patron safety, any influence that was gained by the services offered and afforded at the Glassford Hotel were far less important than the presence of adequate ropes, for the purpose of egress, in all bedrooms. Additionally, the hard line the LCBO took when verifying and ensuring fire egress measures were adequate emphasizes the board's concern regarding the risk of fire and its potentially disastrous consequences.

Although the LCBO required egress measures in order to provide individuals with a safe and easy method of escape from an establishment's upper levels, these features were often interpreted differently by certain members of the general public. Placed in the same category as fire escapes and ropes on the *Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit* application, verandahs were another means of egress individuals could use in case of an emergency. However, the physical space verandahs occupied situated them along the peripheries of publicly and privately owned property. As opposed to walls, curtains, partitions or some other physical structure that could be used to separate physical spaces, open verandahs allowed for both public and private spaces to encroach upon one another. With respect to Ontario's Standard Hotels, the type and form of action conducted in these spaces could reflect views of both the "Wets" and "Drys." Consequently, as extensions of their interior, whether or not verandahs posed a moral or social threat is worthy of further examination.

²⁶⁸ Based on the number "LLBO standard hotel case files" associated with Chatham.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

In addition to indicating if an establishment possessed a verandah, the case files included the opinions and perceptions of the BLC/LCBO, its License Inspectors and certain members of the public. An examination of these records allows us to determine whether or not the presence of a verandah provoked (re)action from members of the BLC/LCBO, the general public or a Standard Hotels proprietor. Approximately 30% of the 96 Standard Hotel case files examined indicate the respective establishments possessed a verandah. None of the case files include notices or correspondence suggesting the LCBO, its License Inspectors, or individuals from the general public were concerned or took issue with the presence of a Standard Hotel's verandah. While verandahs appeared to be an inviting and ideal space for loiterers, loafers, or other modes of questionable conduct, the Standard Hotel case files reveal an absence of references indicating verandahs posed any sort of moral threat or danger to the constituents of a given locality.

As opposed to letting his/her Standard Hotel deteriorate, many proprietors sought to maintain, update or add to their establishment. In fact, License Inspectors were required to indicate whether an establishment had deteriorated or improved since their last inspection. Often, a new coat of paint or refurbishing the guest rooms were enough for License Inspectors to suggest that the proprietor had improved the overall quality of his/her Standard Hotel.²⁷⁰ In fact, notations regarding a Standard Hotels verandah only appear in the case files when proprietors indicate their intention to construct one. For example, License Inspector reports from 1927 and 1928 note how the operator of Alton's Palmer House intended to construct a verandah.²⁷¹ Not only did the proprietor's intentions and actions receive no opposition, they did not warrant any

²⁷⁰ These case files are but a few examples that mention instances where License Inspectors perceived the Standard Hotels as improved due to the maintenance and upkeep of the proprietor: Alexandra Hotel, Colborne, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-780, AO; Brunswick Hotel, Colborne, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-783, AO; Grey Wolf Inn, Port Credit, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-878, AO.

²⁷¹ Palmer House, Alton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-882, AO.

sort of inquiry from the License Inspector or the LCBO. Furthermore, upon completing the verandah, a subsequent License Inspector's report noted the establishment is "improved" from its last inspection.²⁷² As opposed to imagined or constructed fears that might associate verandahs with idleness and immorality, their addition was seen as a method by which a proprietor could depict his/her industrious, progressive attitude.

"Private Dwelling House" or "Public Place"

In his article "The assertion of middle-class claims to public space in late Victorian Toronto" Peter Goheen demonstrates how the general public and various authoritative entities frequently possessed conflicting notions with respect to the regulation of public space.²⁷³ According to Goheen, of particular interest to all of the concerned groups were the modes of conduct and behaviour that were considered to be both appropriate and acceptable.²⁷⁴ As a result of their participation in the hostelry trade, the privately owned and operated Standard Hotels were not only perceived as public property but were legally defined as public establishments.²⁷⁵ In order to avoid attempts at circumventing regulations, as occurred in Vancouver, the OTA included definitions that outlined what sort of structures could be described as a "private dwelling house" while the LCA used the word "residences" in order to identify establishments that were not public.²⁷⁶ Additionally, both Acts defined the types and forms of physical spaces that were to be included in the phrase "public place."²⁷⁷

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Goheen, 74.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 29.

²⁷⁶ McRuer, section 2; Brennan, section 2; Robert A. Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer: Regulating Vancouver's Beer Parlours, 1925-1954* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 19.

²⁷⁷ McRuer, section 55; Brennan, section 2.

As a result of the differing legal and colloquial interpretations of both “private dwelling house” and “public place,” the spaces within Standard Hotels were often subject to conflicting moral, social, and legal regulations. The governmental regulations attempted to ensure that the Standard Hotels were conducted and operated in a manner that reflected the beliefs and ideals of the “communities” they served. Goheen has argued that in early 20th century Toronto, the contestation and negotiation of public space was a byproduct of the attempts by individuals to institute new set of values or ideas that ultimately infringed upon those that previously existed.²⁷⁸ Across Ontario, these new beliefs and ideals often developed through middle-class associations, such as the WCTU, YMCA, and Lords Day Alliance whose chief concerns involved keeping “working women safe from the threats and temptations of the streets and places of public resort.”²⁷⁹ The interest and subsequent input various associations developed was often a response to any and all forms of conduct or behaviour they perceived as immoral. As Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo indicate in *Making Good*, the Lords Day Act was the product of concerted and unified efforts by the Ontario Lord’s Day Alliance (OLDA).²⁸⁰ While the OLDA sought to “curb the commercialization of the sabbath,” other advocacy groups, such as the WCTU, directed their efforts towards other morally suspect activities occurring within the public domain.²⁸¹ As a result of their position as “public establishments” Ontario’s Standard Hotels fell within the purview of temperance groups and prohibition forces and became entwined in the ongoing debate surrounding liquor regulation.

Similar to Mallecks’ assertions regarding the LCBO’s utilization of “obfuscating bureaucratic language,” in particular the terms “need” and “demand,” correspondence and

²⁷⁸ Goheen, 76.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Strange and Loo, 61.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

petitions within the Standard Hotel case files indicate individuals within Ontario's numerous localities employed a similar lexicon when opposing a particular establishment.²⁸² The members of the West United Church in Toronto, for example, wrote a petition to the LCBO and indicated their opposition towards the issuance of a License and Permit on the grounds that there existed "no need or demand for an hotel in this locality."²⁸³ By using the same language employed by the LCBO, the members of the West United Church indicated they understood the needs of their locality without ever actually identifying them. Furthermore, by expressing their opinion in the form of a petition, these individuals attempted to depict a widespread and unanimous opposition towards the presence of a Standard Hotel in the given locality.²⁸⁴

In localities where the "need" and "demand" for a Standard Hotel existed, objections were directed towards specific features of the establishment in question. Many of these objections were the product of perceived associations between the physical features themselves and how they might enable immoral activities and/or vices. For example, individuals opposed to the manner in which Warkworth's Leonard House was operated directed their criticism towards certain sections of the establishment. This allowed them to address key areas of concern within the establishment, including the bar, beverage rooms and spaces where billiards or other games were conducted while still suggesting that sufficient "need" and "demand" existed in the locality for a properly conducted Standard Hotel.²⁸⁵ That individuals adopted such an approach is not surprising as Marks' work has outlined how various segments of society emphasized the perceived threat dances posed to localities; an event often hosted at a Standard Hotel.²⁸⁶

Although the case files for the Leonard House contains numerous letters outlining the immoral

²⁸² Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 66.

²⁸³ Glenavon Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1279, AO.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Leonard House, Warkworth, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-795, AO.

²⁸⁶ Marks, 130.

and indecent behaviour and activities occurring within the establishment, no evidence exists to support the accusations. This suggests that many of the fears and concerns identified by the resident were more imagined than real. With respect to the Leonard House's operation and the activities occurring within, the perspective of the concerned individual was not shared by the authorities or a majority of the population of Warkworth.²⁸⁷

While Ontario's Standard Hotels were perceived and legally defined as "public spaces," certain areas within an establishment could become categorized as "private spaces" as a result of their function and use. With respect to private spaces within public establishments, Julia Roberts has identified the existence and use of private rooms within Upper Canada's late 18th and early 19th century taverns and inns.²⁸⁸ However, the private rooms used by individuals such as Ely Playter and Harry Jones were no longer a feature of Ontario's early 20th century Standard Hotels.²⁸⁹ The private spaces that existed in Ontario's Standard Hotels during the period under examination, 1920-1934, were limited to a registered patrons' guest room and the private quarters of a proprietor. Whether the significance attributable to these spaces is a result of the lack of information within historical records, an oversight by historians, or the product of some other factor(s) is not entirely clear. What can be said is that private spaces - i.e. guest room and private quarters - have received minimal attention from historians of public establishments.

With respect to the guest rooms of Ontario's Standard Hotels, the BLC/LCBO simply required proprietors to indicate the number that were present and whether or not they were serviced by running water.²⁹⁰ This did not mean that guest rooms were unregulated spaces within

²⁸⁷ Leonard House, Warkworth, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-795, AO.

²⁸⁸ Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009), 32.

²⁸⁹ Roberts, see *Index* for the range of pages wherein these two individuals are discussed.

²⁹⁰ See "Floater's Inn, Port McNicol, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1033, AO" for an example of a Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit application.

Standard Hotels. Rather, the BLC simply perceived guest rooms or “private space” in a different manner from those that could be described as “public.” For example, only the registered patrons of a Standard Hotel were allowed to keep full-strength beer or liquor in their guest rooms.²⁹¹ Additionally, in order to protect a Standard Hotel patrons’ privacy, doors to guest rooms were required to have locks.²⁹² Lastly, with respect to a patrons’ safety, proprietors were required to ensure guest rooms were equipped with fire escape ropes or possessed some sort of egress.²⁹³ Aside from providing a safe and secure environment for patrons, these regulations were enacted in order to ensure a guest was afforded the same comforts he/she would receive in their own private dwelling.

However, the regulations governing the private quarters of a Standard Hotels operator were subject to a scrutiny that more closely resembled that which was applied to the establishments publicly accessible beverage, dining, and sitting rooms. Whereas registered patrons were allowed to maintain and keep a personal supply of liquor in their own guest room, operators were only permitted to do so after requesting and receiving permission from the LCBO. To do otherwise could result in fines and the suspension of a proprietors personal liquor permit. Such a scenario occurred at Collingwood’s New Globe Hotel where the operator neglected to inform the board that he maintained a personal supply of liquor.²⁹⁴ However, further examination of the case file for the New Globe Hotel reveals the proprietor took it upon himself to visit the LCBO’s Director of Permits, admit his folly and reassure the board it would not occur again. As a result of the action the proprietor took after his conviction and the positive reviews the operator received from the License Inspector, the board opted to renew the operator’s subsequent License and Permit. In

²⁹¹ Commercial Hotel, Ripley, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-36, AO.

²⁹² "Regulations for Standard Hotels," *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Aug 02, 1916, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1351613337?accountid=9894>.

²⁹³ Palmer House, Alton, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-882, AO.

²⁹⁴ Mountview Hotel, Collingwood, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1893, AO.

addition, the board returned the proprietor's personal liquor permit and granted him permission to keep a personal supply of liquor in his designated personal quarters.²⁹⁵

Aside from being subject to an alternate set of regulations, those spaces that retained the ability to transition from a "public" to "private" designation frequently raised the suspicions of the BLC/LCBO and their License Inspectors. These suspicions were a byproduct of the allowance for registered guests as well as a Standard Hotels operator to keep a supply of alcohol for personal consumption within their private dwelling space.²⁹⁶ Often, instances involving the seizure of liquor from a proprietor's private quarters did not develop and play out as smoothly as they did with the operator of the New Globe Hotel. The BLC/LCBO and their many License Inspectors frequently questioned a proprietor's reason or need for keeping a personal supply of liquor.²⁹⁷ Their intrigue was often based on an operators' past experience and/or suspicions that he/she was distributing or allowing patrons to consume liquor in their private quarters.²⁹⁸ In one particular scenario, the proprietor of the Tecumseh Hotel in Chatham attempted to designate seven rooms in his establishment as his private quarters, including the parlour and dining room. In addition to identifying a previous infraction for possessing liquor in a store room, the Director of Permits turned down this request on the basis that it appeared to be an attempt to circumvent regulations pertaining to public space and would only allow the proprietor "to play a fine game of hide-and-seek with the police."²⁹⁹ A subsequent request to designate two rooms as the operator's private quarters was approved by the LCBO on the grounds that the proprietor's son, who had liquor infractions of his own, would be unable to possess a personal liquor permit while

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ The Globe, Collingwood, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1893, AO; Commercial Hotel, Ripley, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-36, AO.

²⁹⁷ Tecumseh Hotel, Chatham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-528, AO; Central Hotel, Durham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1802, AO.

²⁹⁸ St. Lawrence Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1356, AO.

²⁹⁹ Tecumseh Hotel, Chatham, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-528, AO.

a resident and employee of the Tecumseh Hotel.³⁰⁰ Therefore, the regulations the LCBO enacted with respect to liquor in an operator's private quarters existed as a control measure, providing the board with greater opportunity to ensure that Standard Hotel operators conformed to their demands.

As previously noted, the Standard Hotel case files lack any information to suggest the BLC/LCBO were concerned about the unobstructed visibility of questionable conducts or actions that could occur on a Standard Hotel's verandah. According to Attorney-General William Nickle, an unobstructed view into the province's beverage rooms allowed the activities to be placed "out in the window rather than in the cellar."³⁰¹ Although Nickle's choice of words emphasized the province's acceptance, support and legitimization for the consumption of 4.4% beer, the reference took on a very literal translation as well. As opposed to obscuring the view into Ontario's Standard Hotel, proprietors were required to ensure passersby had an unobstructed view of an establishments beverage rooms.³⁰² Aside from further legitimizing the consumption of alcohol, the board instituted this requirement in order to elicit self-moderation or regulation from patrons and guests of a Standard Hotel. With respect to alcohol consumption, the visibility of the activity occurring within a Standard Hotels beverage room was interpreted in one of two ways. On one hand, the "Wets" as well as their supporters interpreted the unobstructed view into the province's beverage rooms as an indication that the consumption of alcohol was both a respectable and legal activity.³⁰³ On the other hand, the "Drys" interpreted the decision to ensure a clear view into an establishment's beverage rooms as the province's wholesale promotion of

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ "AMENDMENTS TO O.T.A. REDUCE "SCRIP" ISSUE AND BAN SALE AT BARS," *The Globe* (1844-1936), Mar 20, 1925. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1435707537?accountid=9894>.

³⁰² "BARS IN EXISTENCE MUST BE WALLED UP IF BEER IS ON TAP," *The Globe* (1844-1936), May 04, 1925, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1435710176?accountid=9894>.

³⁰³ "AMENDMENTS TO O.T.A. REDUCE "SCRIP" ISSUE AND BAN SALE AT BARS," *The Globe* (1844-1936), Mar 20, 1925. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1435707537?accountid=9894>.

what the anti-liquor interests perceived as a highly immoral and suspect activity. Conflicting or opposing opinions regarding specific aspects of liquor regulation were not limited to Ontario. In his article “The Boons and Banes of Booze,” Geoffrey Bernard Toews identifies the opposing opinions that developed as a result of the requirement for potential proprietors in rural Manitoba to take out an ad in the local newspaper and state their purpose.³⁰⁴ According to Toews, Manitoba’s provincial government implemented this requirement in order to provide residents of the province with the opportunity to voice their opinion for or against the issuance of a permit. However, many in the “Dry” camp interpreted this requirement as the active promotion of both public drinking establishments and the consumption of alcohol.

Regardless of whether one associated with the “Wets” or “Dry’s,” the clear, unobstructed view into Ontario’s Standard Hotel beverage rooms redirected conflicts, erupting as a result of inappropriate conduct or questionable behaviour, away from other public spaces, such as verandahs, sheds and stables. Both neighbourhood residents and the members of Toronto’s West United Church based their opposition towards the issuance of a License and Permit on the fact that numerous children would be able to view inside the “Proposed Hotel’s” beverage room as they passed by on their way to school, only two blocks away.³⁰⁵ In this particular instance, the perceived threat revolved around the publicly visible (and immorally perceived) activity of alcohol consumption by individuals one knew, respected and/or idolized. The implication being that children who observed the act of drinking would be (in)directly influenced to “take-up” such action.

³⁰⁴ Geoffrey Bernard Toews, “The Boons and Banes of Booze: The Liquor Trade in Rural Manitoba, 1929-1939,” *Manitoba History*, October 2005: 18-27.

³⁰⁵ Glenavon Hotel, Toronto, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-1279, AO.

Defining the “Spaces” Within

Standard Hotel License applications submitted prior to 1927 reveal the BLC was particularly concerned with the use and organization of areas where light beer was to be served and consumed. The License applications required Standard Hotel operators to identify the specific rooms where alcohol was to be served in addition to their dimensions; whether or not a bar was present in them; if tables and chairs would be provided; as well as the number and dimensions of any doors or windows that were present along with the streets they faced.³⁰⁶ License applications for the Maple Leaf Hotel indicate that the establishment had a beverage room that included a bar as well as tables and chairs for its patrons.³⁰⁷ Although none of the rooms where light beer was to be served or consumed could be described as large, their individual size is indicative of the importance and necessity associated with each space. The beverage room of the Maple Leaf Hotel measured 14’ by 24’.³⁰⁸ The establishment also possessed a dining room that measured 12’ by 22’ as well as a 10’ by 10’ sitting room.³⁰⁹ That the beverage room was the largest of the three suggests the revenue accumulated via the sale of light beer and/or lunches was a significant factor in the day-to-day affairs of this Standard Hotel.

Whereas the case file for the Maple Leaf Hotel indicated how the BLC defined specific areas of a Standard Hotel, applications submitted by other establishment operators demonstrate the boards preoccupation with spaces dedicated to the consumption of alcohol. The Herman House, located Northwest of Owen Sound in Hepworth, requested its Liquor Permit be valid for

³⁰⁶ The non-obligatory requirement to have seating differentiates Ontario’s prohibition on the public consumption of alcohol from provinces such as British Columbia, where patrons were required to sit. For more information on Alcohol and Beer Parlour regulations in British Columbia, see Robert A. Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer: Regulating Vancouver's Beer Parlours, 1925-1954*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

³⁰⁷ Maple Leaf Hotel, Cainsville, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-29, AO.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

the establishment's beverage, dining, and grill rooms.³¹⁰ However, the only additional information provided pertains to the establishment's beverage room. Aside from being on the ground floor and measuring approximately 25' by 30', the application indicates the beverage room faced Bruce St., a main thoroughfare in Hepworth.³¹¹ Although the dimensions of the dining and grill rooms are not mentioned, the application was successful and the Herman House received a Liquor Permit that encapsulated all three rooms.³¹² By requiring proprietors to provide details regarding dimensions, staging and location of an establishment's beverage room, the BLC attempted to define the spaces associated with the activities occurring within these rooms. These requirements allowed the board to ascribe a singular legitimate purpose to the province's beverage, dining, and sitting rooms as opposed to allowing them to remain unregulated and undefined spaces that could be used for or associated with illicit and immoral activities.

As noted, historians have identified how various government entities and groups of individuals, typically those within the social gospel movement, were concerned about the regulation and use of public space. For example, Dan Malleck has demonstrated how the LCBO both queried and opposed the use of space that was not defined or associated with a prime function or purpose.³¹³ Often, individuals and groups feared that both undefined and unregulated spaces would be used to harbour subversive or immoral activities like dancing, gaming, and drinking. Such a scenario presented itself when the proprietor of Port Credit's Rainbow Gardens submitted an application for a License and Permit. An Inspector's report indicates that as a result of the dance hall attached to the Standard Hotel, granting the establishment a License and Permit

³¹⁰ Herman House, Hepworth,, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-39, AO.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself*, 31.

would only allow “further openings for breaches of the Liquor Control Act.”³¹⁴ In this case, the position assumed by the LCBO mirrors their opposition towards the existence and operation of all-purpose rooms within the province’s post-prohibition Standard Hotels, as described by Malleck.

Whereas dance halls and all-purpose rooms are severely critiqued and negatively stigmatized, objections or concerns regarding commercial rooms within Ontario’s Standard Hotels are absent from the case files. As Roberts argues, establishments within the hostelry trade have a history of ensuring the operation of a wide array of services from within or about their premises.³¹⁵ Commercial rooms located within hostelry establishments in the early 20th century continued this tradition. While the main function of bedrooms, bathrooms, beverage rooms, kitchen and stables are well defined, the purpose of a commercial or sampling room was defined only in so far as its ad-hoc use. For instance, an advertisements within Spokane’s *Spokesman Review* from the early 20th century claims commercial or sample rooms could be rented on a short term basis as required by commercial travelers looking to sell their wares.³¹⁶ The regulations that encompassed Ontario’s Standard Hotels initially stated that establishments must possess at least one commercial room.³¹⁷ Furthermore, the LLBO Standard Hotel case files reveal that both prior to and after 1934 many of Ontario’s establishments possessed at least one commercial room. In contrast to dance halls and all-purpose rooms, commercial rooms within Ontario’s Standard Hotels were not viewed as spaces where questionable and illicit activities

³¹⁴ Rainbow Gardens, Port Credit, between 1920 and 1946, LLBO standard hotel case files, RG 36-1-0-887, AO.

³¹⁵ Roberts, 63-68.

³¹⁶ “A SAFE PLACE TO STOP,” *The Spokesman-Review*, Feb 22, 1911, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1314&dat=19110222&id=oqRVAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=w8kDAAAAIIBAJ&pg=1304,252914>.

³¹⁷ “MORE HOTELS LOSE BEER AUTHORITIES,” *The Globe (1844-1936)*, Sep 14, 1934, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1351805151?accountid=9894>.

could occur. Similar to verandahs then, concerns or fears regarding the existence and use of a Standard Hotels commercial room were not shared by the BLC/LCBO.

Chapter Conclusion

While the retail sale of alcohol has long been a concern for regulatory authorities, this chapter has demonstrated that liquor consumption was not the sole concern of BLC/LCBO when it came to Ontario's Standard Hotels. Throughout the period under review, the BLC/LCBO was concerned with the difficult issues of regulating both public and private spaces. In addition to this, both boards attempted to produce safe environments for proprietors, patrons and guests through concerted efforts to ensure fire safety measures were adhered to and well maintained.

In order to understand how the BLC/LCBO sought to regulate Ontario's Standard Hotel's one must be aware of the variety of establishments covered by the law. Although the OTA/LCA ensured similarities abounded when it came to the physical structure of the establishments, there also existed a myriad of differences. For instance, Standard Hotels operating throughout the province were built from an array of materials, including wood, brick, cement, and stone. The limitations and possibilities of these materials, in particular the load they could carry, led to the construction of establishments that ranged from single story structures to those upwards of 28 floors. Aside from an enormous difference when it came to the number of guest rooms that were available in any given establishment, this also meant that the presence and availability of certain amenities within an establishment differed greatly. Ultimately, this resulted in the development of unique Standard Hotels that were designed and arranged in order to meet the specific "needs" and "demands" of the localities.

Although proprietors sought to meet the “needs” and “demands” of their respective localities, the BLC/LCBO continually strove to ensure Ontario’s Standard Hotel’s adhered to certain regulations. While a proprietors “fondness” for liquor is a topic that permeates many Standard Hotel case files, punishment for alcohol related infractions were frequently less severe than those extended by the BLC/LCBO for infractions pertaining to fire safety measures. This chapter has examined how both boards enacted “regulatory bureaucracy” via responses to fire safety measure infractions. Additionally, it has shown how these infractions took priority over an establishment’s ability to fulfill the “needs” and “demands” of a locality, something liquor infractions were not capable of.

Regarded as public establishments, Ontario’s Standard Hotels contained both “public” and “private” spaces that were subject to different sets of regulations. The use and activities occurring within these spaces were often subject to conflicting interpretations by a host of actors, including provincial authorities, proprietors, patrons, and members of the establishment’s respective localities. The case files reveal that the BLC/LCBO were predominantly concerned with the use and arrangement of public space. However, this did not restrict either board from displaying concern that immoral activities might be occurring within the private spaces of a Standard Hotel. Due to the regulator’s acknowledgement that Standard Hotels were required among Ontario’s numerous localities, criticism regarding an establishment’s use or operation was often directed at specific features or conduct occurring within the premises. Aside from opposing the presence of such features, many opposed the government’s position that advocated for unrestricted visibility into Ontario’s Standard Hotels. As the provincial entities in charge of regulating Ontario’s Standard Hotels, the BLC/LCBO were required to engage with such arguments, although they were more representative of various temperance societies perceptions

of alcohol. Additional concern(s) frequently cited by the BLC/LCBO or their License Inspectors involved those areas of an establishment that were loosely defined. While fixtures such as verandahs were of little concern to provincial authorities, other areas of a Standard Hotel could possibly be used to harbour immoral and indecent activities, including gambling, dancing, and excessive consumption of alcohol. As products of the diverse localities they were drawn from, the concerns associated with any given Standard Hotel were often as incongruent and debated as the perceptions regarding an establishments “need” or “demand.”

Conclusion

While histories of public establishments are often littered with references that associate them with the ill-effects of alcohol consumption, critical examination of public record's often paints a different picture. Aside from being the only public place where one could legally consume light beer between 1916 and 1934, Ontario's Standard Hotels were home to a myriad of activities and functions. This thesis has demonstrated that as a result of their ability to fulfill the unique "needs" and "demands" of Ontario's residents and visitors, the province's Standard Hotels formed an institution that occupied central roles within their localities.

As with public establishments operating in other time periods and geographic regions, the principal functions of Ontario's Standard Hotel related to their ability to provide suitable accommodations and dining to guests.³¹⁸ However, the regulations that governed Ontario's Standard Hotels distinguished them from other public establishments. From 1916 until 1927 the province's Standard Hotels were licensed by the Board of License Commissioners (BLC) and subject to the Ontario Temperance Act (OTA). After 1927, this task became the responsibility of the newly formed Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) and was subject to the guidelines set

³¹⁸ Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World: Voices from the Tavern, 1500-1800*, 4 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Robert A. Campbell, *Sit down and drink your beer: regulating Vancouver's beer parlours, 1925-1954* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Bernard Capp, "Gender and the Culture of the English Alehouse in Late Stuart England," *COLLeGIUM: Studies Across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences* 2 (2007): 103-127; Craig Heron, "The Boys and Their Booze: Masculinities and Public Drinking in Working-class Hamilton, 1890-1946," *The Canadian Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (September 2005): 411-452; Beat Kümin, *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Beat Kümin and Beverly Ann Tlusty, *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Dan Malleck, *Try to Control Yourself: The Regulation of Public Drinking in Post-Prohibition Ontario, 1927-1944* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2012); A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder in Traditional Europe* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2009); Susanne Rau, "Public Order in Public Space: Tavern Conflict in Early Modern Lyon," *Urban History* 34, no. 1 (2007): 102-113; Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009); Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing & Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Beverly Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2002).

forth in the Liquor Control Act (LCA). As specific types of alcohol were allowed in certain areas of a Standard Hotel, the establishments were incorporated into the OTA/LCA. Most notable were regulations that permitted Standard Hotels to sell temperance or light beers. Additionally, although Standard Hotels were legally defined as public places, areas such as guest rooms and proprietors private quarters were subject to regulations that governed private spaces. As a result, registered guests and Standard Hotel operators were permitted to keep a personal supply of liquor within their guest rooms. This particular aspect differentiated Ontario's Standard Hotels from other types of establishments, boarding houses for instance, wherein it was illegal for individuals to keep a personal supply of liquor in their own quarters.

In order to be defined as a Standard Hotel, potential candidates were required to apply for and receive a Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit from the BLC/LCBO. In doing so, an establishment was entitled to sell a variety of goods in addition to providing specific services. This included the sale of "non-intoxicating drinks and beverages other than light beer, cigars, cigarettes, and tobacco," and the ability to operate an "ice cream or general restaurant or café."³¹⁹ Consequently, establishments that received a License and Permit were entitled to far greater privileges and legal revenue sources than those establishments that operated without one.

Defining and identifying the specific "needs" and "demands" that a given Standard Hotel attempted to fulfill is not an easy task. For starters, although both terms were associated with specific questions on the License and Permit applications proprietors submitted to the BLC or LCBO, neither was associated with a set list of functions and activities that establishments were expected to provide. Employed by License Inspector's in order to grade Ontario's Standard

³¹⁹ F.P. Brennan, *The Liquor Control Act Ontario, Annotated, also the Regulations of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario* (Toronto: Canada Law Book Company, LTD., 1928) 5. While the exact wording is drawn from Brennan, a similar version existed in the OTA's regulations and can be found here: J.C. McRuer, *The Ontario Liquor Laws, being The Ontario Temperance Act and Amending Acts, 1916 to 1922* (Toronto: Canadian Law Book Company, LTD., 1922) 146.

Hotels, the terms “need” and “demand” represented the unique set of functions and activities that a particular establishment should provide. Complicating the usage of the terms “need” and “demand” further was the common occurrence for individuals (i.e. those other than the authorities) to develop and advocate entirely different sets of “needs” and “demands.” This thesis has identified three groups of individuals who participated in the debate revolving around whether or not a License and Permit should be issued to a given establishment as a result of its ability to fulfill a particular set of “needs” and “demands.”

The first group, proprietors of Standard Hotels, frequently indicated their action(s) and conduct was based upon their own observations regarding the perceived “needs” and “demands” of their respective localities. The second group, the general public, includes both individuals who patronized Ontario’s Standard Hotels as well as those who passed judgment on their operation. The significance and importance of this group is associated with the fact that they were providing first-hand accounts regarding the expectations of a given Standard Hotel. In other words, they described what their particular “needs” and “demands” were and whether or not a Standard Hotel was able to fulfill them. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, due to Ontario’s diverse demography, third party accounts were not always representative of the beliefs and ideologies of others within the province, or any given locality for that matter. That being said, these accounts verify the presence of such beliefs within the provinces localities. Additionally, although unintentional, third party accounts frequently provide us with insight regarding the presence of opposition or support for a particular Standard Hotel. The last group identified in this thesis was the provincial authorities, which included members of the BLC, the LCBO and the many License Inspectors who reported upon Ontario’s Standard Hotels. In their attempts to define how a particular Standard Hotel fulfilled the “needs” and “demands” of its locality,

members of this group frequently identified the type of clientele that would be best served by the establishment and whether or not that type existed in the locality. As demonstrated in chapter 1, it was not uncommon for Standard Hotels that would have been inadequate in one locality to be approved for another.

As administrators of the OTA and LCA, the BLC and LCBO defined the ideal form and function of province's Standard Hotels. These regulatory bodies demanded that establishments have, at the very least, a lobby or office, dining room, kitchen with pantry, store room, sample room, 4 bedrooms, a water closet and a bathroom. Form and function aside, such requirements acted as control measure and allowed authorities to prevent would be "proprietors" from using the title of "Standard Hotel" as a front to hide otherwise illicit activity. In order to ensure patron safety, the doors of guest rooms were to be bolted from the inside and fire egress measures were to be available throughout the establishment. As a result of the ban on the public consumption of alcohol, open stand-up bars, a staple of public establishments, were absent from Ontario's prohibition era Standard Hotels.

Even with regulations aimed at constructing a particular type of institution, as a result of the particular "needs" and "demands" associated with a particular Standard Hotel's locality, no two establishments were exactly alike. Support for such a conclusion is drawn from the critical analysis of three particular aspects of Ontario's Standard Hotels. These include the distribution of Standard Hotels throughout the province; the relationships between those individuals who inhabited, patronized, inspected, and critiqued the Standard Hotels; and how the space's within an establishment were defined along with the perceptions of how such space should be used.

Julia Roberts has demonstrated that up until the middle of the 19th century the number of taverns in operation throughout the region of Ontario was on the rise. However, her work ends

50 years prior to the start of prohibition and offers no evidence to indicate the number of public establishments that operated in Ontario at the start of the 20th century. Furthermore, Roberts identifies a host of taverns that did not provide the necessary functions and/or amenities that were required of Ontario's Standard Hotels. While the taverns of Upper Canada may have been a predecessor to Ontario's Standard Hotels, many would not have been considered for a License and Permit. This thesis has identified that the number of public establishments operating in Ontario were in fact in decline during the years leading up to the introduction of the OTA; a result of the concerted efforts by authorities to ensure the suitability and safety of the provinces Standard Hotels. Whereas Roberts indicates that the number of taverns providing accommodations and/or food as well as drink to Upper Canadians averaged one for every 320 individuals, in prohibition Ontario it was common for a single Standard Hotel to be responsible for accommodating and meet the dining needs of at least 700 individuals.

Additionally, this thesis has shown that as a result of the unique "needs" and "demands" of Ontario's numerous localities, there existed a non-uniform and uneven distribution of Standard Hotels throughout the province. This meant that Standard Hotels throughout the province seldom directed their activities towards facilitating an identical set of "needs" and "demands." For instance, the high number of Standard Hotels that were present in the province's more densely populated areas allowed proprietors to dictate their operations towards a particular set of "needs" and "demands." For instance, certain operators attempted to attract the lunch time working-class crowd while others emphasized the extravagant accommodations that their establishments afforded. When compared to the ratio of residents per an establishment in Ontario's larger localities, those within the provinces smaller localities were responsible for serving far fewer patrons. However, due to the absence of alternate Standard Hotels, proprietors in Ontario's

smaller localities had to ensure their establishments were capable of accommodating a more diverse collection of “needs” and “demands.” This included groups of individuals who possessed differing and often conflicting theological and moral beliefs as well as individuals drawn from any and all social classes. This frequently resulted in rural and small town Standard Hotels being described as suitable establishments for the “general public” as opposed to any particular social class.

The case files also make us aware of the distribution of Standard Hotels within a given locality. In contrast to “blind pigs” or other illegal drinking establishments, Ontario’s Standard Hotels were codified by provincial authorities as legitimate and respectable establishments that operated within the confines of the law. This allowed Ontario’s Standard Hotels to exist and operate in readily identifiable and prominent locations within individual localities. Further impacting the distribution and presence of Standard Hotels throughout Ontario’s localities were License Inspector’s accounts that justified the use and utility of a given establishment with respect to the types of patrons that would be best served by them. Although perceived and validated by License Inspectors and the BLC/LCBO, the non-uniform and incongruent “needs” and “demands” of Ontario’s numerous localities resulted in a distribution of Standard Hotels that was equally uneven.

In addition to being a determining factor for the BLC/LCBO when it came to issuing a License and Permit, the “needs” and “demands” that establishments sought to fulfill also defined the relationships between License Inspectors as well as other members of the BLC/LCBO, proprietors, patrons, and residents of a given locality. Many of these relationships revolved around the inconsistent and conflicting perceptions regarding what the exact “needs” and “demands” of a locality were. Individuals frequently advocated their own or, in the case of the

authorities, the BLC/LCBO's position regarding how a Standard Hotel was or should be operated. Support for a given Standard Hotel was often associated with the moral and respectable service a proprietor was or should be providing to his/her locality. For those opposed to the conduct of a proprietor or the manner in which he/she operated their Standard Hotel, objections were frequently posed in a way that highlighted the immorality or negative consequences that were associated with such actions. Regardless of the relationship under examination, individuals and groups frequently attempted to legitimize their own perceptions regarding the "needs" and "demands" of a locality in order to justify their assessment of how a Standard Hotel was operated.

As the regulatory authority, the BLC/LCBO assumed a position of power in its relationship with proprietors. The power the BLC/LCBO possessed resulted from its ability to ultimately approve or deny a License and Permit for a particular establishment. Additionally, such a position allowed the BLC/LCBO to instruct proprietors on the proper codes of conduct as well as the State's expectations regarding how a Standard Hotel would operate. As a result, it is the inspectors' perceptions regarding a Standard Hotel's ability to identify and fulfill the "needs" and "demands" of a locality that mattered most in the decision making process. That being said, the BLC/LCBO was not immune to public pressure. Under the right circumstances and advocated in the proper manner, groups composed of both proprietors and the general public influenced the authorities' decision as to whether or not a Standard Hotel should be issued a License and Permit.

In a manner completely different from that of the BLC/LCBO, proprietors hoped to develop positive relationships with both the authorities as well as members of their respective localities. Developing positive relationships with these groups required proprietors to identify

and fulfill the “needs” and “demands” of their locality. In doing so, proprietors could justify their actions and declare they were simply responding to the “needs” and “demands” of a locality, as advocated by its residents. Additionally, developing positive relationships with members of their own locality provided proprietors with social support that could be used as leverage if the BLC/LCBO opted to query an operator’s conduct. Complicating a proprietor’s ability to accomplish such a task was the fact that they had to ensure their Standard Hotel operated within the confines of the law as well as commonly accepted social codes. Although the BLC/LCBO ultimately legitimized or denounced how a Standard Hotel was operated, it was not uncommon for the “needs” and “demands” that a particular establishment attempted to fulfill to be contentious and often debated topics within a locality. As a result, Ontario’s Standard Hotel proprietors were often placed in a position whereby in order to appease one group they conducted their establishment in a manner that offended another or, in a few instances, even broke the law.

The last type of relationship that is evident within the case files are those that were developed between the BLC/LCBO and members of a given locality. These are important as they are literal accounts of individuals describing and identifying, what they believe to be, the “needs” and “demands” of their locality. However, their historical significance goes beyond what is simply documented in the files. The mere fact that individuals outlined and advocated what they perceived to be the “needs” and “demands” that Ontario’s Standard Hotels should be fulfilling to the BLC/LCBO indicates that other ideologies and beliefs were present throughout the province during this time period. For instance, accounts from individuals who complained about large groups of men congregating at a specific Standard Hotel make us aware that these establishments were significant to a particular segment of the population.

As discussed in the chapter 3, the above mentioned relationships indicate that concerns, other than those related to alcohol, were constantly debated and contested between the involved parties. Observable in the “LLBO standard hotel case files,” these concerns included the presence of suitable and adequate fire safety measures as well as the use and management of both “public” and “private” spaces. While concerns over patron and public safety appear to have garnered little attention from the general public, the case files indicate the BLC/LCBO considered these topics to be extremely important – perhaps even more so than alcohol consumption. As a publicly regulated institution that was overseen by the BLC/LCBO’s, the board was responsible for ensuring Ontario’s Standard Hotels provided guests with safe and secure accommodations. For instance, proprietors who did not ensure that their establishment met fire safety regulations frequently found their License and Permit suspended or withheld until such time as the Standard Hotel was brought up to code. This sort of action differs greatly with respect to the sort taken against individuals who committed liquor infractions. As indicated, proprietors who were caught serving over-strength beer or hard liquor seldom had their License and Permits suspended. Rather, such instances often resulted in the suspension of one’s personal liquor permit or the imposition of a fine. With respect to liquor related infractions, Malleck has argued that the BLC/LCBO’s opted to respond in such a manner in order to prevent the development of an underground liquor trade. However, his argument is not valid for the time period covered by this thesis. Differentiating the prohibition and post-prohibition eras is the fact that the sale of full-strength beer and liquor in Ontario’s Standard Hotels was illegal from 1916 until 1934. Regardless of whether or not a Standard Hotel proprietor possessed a License and Permit, to engage in the sale of these products was to participate in an underground trade. More in line with Malleck’s argument would be how the BLC/LCBO dealt with Standard Hotel

proprietors who did not possess a License and Permit but nonetheless sold light-beer. In instances where the offending proprietor already had access to light-beer, one could argue that the BLC/LCBO issued the offending operator a License and Permit in order to prevent the development of underground economy.

This thesis has also attempted to show how the BLC/LCBO enacted different sets of regulations depending on whether a space was defined as “public” or “private.” The endued meaning behind these regulations was often a focal point in public debates and discussions regarding the “needs” and “demands” of Ontario’s localities. It was not uncommon for these debates to pit individuals or groups against one another as many disagreed on the types of activities and behaviours that were acceptable and permissible in both “public” and “private” space. Of particular importance to the BLC/LCBO was the requirement for passersby to have a direct view into areas of a Standard Hotel where light-beer was to be served. Such a requirement was an attempt by the BLC/LCBO’s to provide further support and legitimacy for the consumption of light-beer, a legal commodity. However, the “Dry” anti-liquor interests interpreted the requirement as the government’s wholesale advocacy for alcohol consumption. Additionally, many within the “Dry” camp believed such a requirement would instill immoral and indecent behaviours within individuals, particular children, who observed the activities occurring within the provinces beverage rooms. Although there were spaces within Standard Hotels that were defined as “private,” they were not entirely removed from the debates on the acceptable uses of space. Private spaces including registered guests rooms as well as those designated as a proprietor’s personal quarters were subject to separate sets of regulations. Regardless of the form or type of regulation, they were the BLC/LCBO’s attempt to assert and maintain control over individuals within a space that was otherwise part of the public domain.

The uneven and unequal distribution of Standard Hotels, coupled with the high number of patrons per establishment made it increasingly difficult for the proprietors to operate an establishment capable of fulfilling the “needs” and “demands” of every patron or guest. As a result, many proprietors attempted to direct their establishment’s operations towards what they perceived as the dominant “needs” and “demands” of the marketplace. As previously noted, proprietors in more densely populated regions could emphasize a certain function or feature of their establishment in hopes of drawing in a specific segment of the population. As for Standard Hotel operators in the provinces less populated regions, they had little choice but to attempt to create an environment that would meet the “needs” and “demands” of every individual that passed by. While urban and rural Standard Hotel proprietors used different approaches in order to succeed, how an operator conducted him/herself in addition to how they operated their establishment could easily pit them in between the “needs” and “demands” of their respective localities and those defined as permissible by the BLC/LCBO.

Regardless of the ongoing debates surrounding their operation or the activities occurring within, as legitimate regulated establishments, Ontario’s Standard Hotels were more than just public drinking establishments. First and foremost, Ontario’s Standard Hotels were responsible for providing food, drink and accommodation to Ontario’s residents and visitors. In addition to accomplishing these functions, Standard Hotel proprietors were required to operate and maintain an establishment that ensured the security and safety of the individuals residing within. As owners of a publicly available and accessible institution, Standard Hotel proprietors sought to conduct an establishment that met the particular “needs” and “demands” of their localities. Aside from simply fulfilling these “needs” and “demands,” proprietors were responsible for doing so in

a manner that reflected the ideals and beliefs of the BLC/LCBO, the establishments' patrons, and the individuals residing in the immediate locality.

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

APPLICATION FOR STANDARD HOTEL PERMIT

Application (in duplicate) for a Permit to sell non-intoxicating liquor in certain designated premises of a Standard Hotel as provided by The Ontario Temperance Act and rules and regulations made thereunder.

1. Name in full of Applicant [REDACTED]
2. Age [REDACTED]
3. Are you a British subject by birth or naturalization? [REDACTED]
If not, of what nationality? [REDACTED]
4. Are you married or single? [REDACTED]
5. Do you intend selling liquor personally? [REDACTED]
6. How many, if any, of the members of your family will be assisting you in selling liquor? [REDACTED]
7. How many of your employees will be selling liquor? [REDACTED]
8. At what place have you resided during the last six months? [REDACTED]
9. How long have you occupied the hotel regarding which this application is made? [REDACTED]
10. Are you the owner or a tenant? [REDACTED]
If a tenant give terms of lease [REDACTED]
11. Is there a bar or counter in the designated premises in respect of which the permit is requested?
[REDACTED]
12. Do you agree to make the necessary alterations to conform with such rules and regulations as may from time to time be made? [REDACTED]
13. Are the designated premises in which liquors are to be served supplied with tables and chairs or seats? [REDACTED]
14. What windows or doors face upon any streets or public thoroughfare? Give dimensions of each.
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
15. Is there a dance hall connected with the Hotel by any covered passageway or way of internal communication? [REDACTED]
16. Have you been convicted under The Ontario Temperance Act or any other statute? If so, state nature of the offences and the date of conviction (if any) [REDACTED]

To the Board of License Commissioners for Ontario.

Sirs,—I hereby certify that the foregoing answers to be true and correct and beg to apply for a Permit to sell non-intoxicating liquor in the premises of the..... hotel
(Name)

situate at..... in the
(Street and number)

(City, town, village or township)

in the County of..... in the Province of Ontario, as hereinafter particularly designated.

(Here accurately designate the rooms or parts of the hotel for which the Permit is desired, and the dining and grill rooms and the beverage rooms of the hotel).

In the event of a Permit being granted to me to sell non-intoxicating liquors in the rooms or parts of this hotel, accurately designated above, I agree to observe The Ontario Temperance Act and all rules and regulations that are now or may hereafter be made.

(Applicant)

DATED at..... in the County of.....
Ontario, this..... day of..... 19.....

Remit with this application permit fee of \$10.00 by certified cheque, express or postal order payable to the Provincial Treasurer, which will be returned if application is refused.

This application will not be considered unless all questions are fully answered.

Applications for permits must be made on the forms supplied by the Board, which may be obtained on application to the Board or to the local License Inspector.

APPLICATION FOR STANDARD HOTEL LICENSE

To the Liquor Control Board of Ontario:

(Write Distinctly)

Gentlemen,—I hereby apply for a Standard Hotel License under Section 140 of The Liquor Control Act of Ontario for the remaining portion of the license year ending Oct. 31, 1927, for the Hotel and Premises known as the _____ Hotel _____ situate in the _____

_____ of _____ County of _____

My hotel-keeping experience covers the following years and places: _____

_____ I was born in _____ and _____ (British-born) British subject. (County or City if Canada, Country if not) (Scrout out words not needed)

If my application is granted, I will pay all duty imposed therefor, and will duly observe the law and the regulations thereunder imposed by the Board.

Please find below data about the _____

Dated at _____ this _____ day of _____ 1927

Data on above Hotel furnished by the Applicant

Hotel Property.—(1) Building constructed of _____ (2) Erected A.D. _____ (3) No. of Floors _____ (4) Owner _____ (5) Remarks on Heating, Fire Escapes, Ropes, Water Supply, Sanitation _____

Municipal Relations, &c.—(6) Assessment in 1927 _____ Business Ass't in 1927 _____ (7) Taxes Actually Paid in 1927 _____ General \$ _____ Business \$ _____ (8) Who Pays Taxes _____ (9) Yearly Rental, \$ _____ (10) Applicant's Estimate of Present Value of Property \$ _____ (11)

Departments.—(12) Number of Bedrooms for Guests _____ (13) Number Bedrooms with Bath Attached _____ (14) Number Bedrooms with Running Water and not Bath _____ (15) Number General Bathrooms _____ (16) Number Lavatories Separate from Baths _____ (17) On American or European Plan? _____ (18) Day Rates if American _____ (19) Room Rates if European _____ (20) Meal Rates _____ (21) Dining Room Seats _____ (22) Remarks on Eating Arrangements _____ (23) Number Commercial Sample Rooms _____ (24) Number of Employees _____ (25) Accommodation for Autos, Horses, Vehicles _____ (26) Is Guest Register Properly Kept? _____ (27) Number Transient Guests for Average Week _____ (28) Number Boarders Kept _____ (29) Who was your Predecessor in this Hotel? What year did you succeed him? _____ (30) Are you Married or Single? _____ (31) Do you propose to sell Temperance Beers, Tobacco, &c., as per Sec. 146 (5)? _____

NOTE.—The answers to Nos. 12, 13 and 14 must exclude bedrooms occupied by the proprietor and family and help.

INSPECTOR'S REPORT ON THIS APPLICATION

- (1) Estimated Value of Hotel Property, \$.....
- (2) Condition of Property, whether well kept or otherwise.....
- (3) Is Applicant accurate in data furnished? If not, state wherein you differ.....
- (4) Remarks on (a) kind and efficiency of fire escapes; (b) extent of verandahs; (c) whether ropes are maintained in bedrooms as required by law.....
- (5) Remarks on quality of equipment and furnishings.....
- (6) Remarks on character of house-keeping.....
- (7) Remarks on eating arrangements.....
- (8) What complaints, if any, against his house or himself?.....
- (9) What has been Applicant's record and that of his family for law observance?.....
- (10) Is he sober and of good character and habits?.....
- (11) About what age is he?.....
- (12) Is Applicant capable and adapted for keeping hotel?.....
- (13) Do you recommend the granting of this application?.....
- (14) Listing hotels in this place in order of quality, which number would this be?.....
- (15) Grading hotels in quality A, B and C, with regard to the needs of this locality, how would you grade this hotel?..... If a Summer Hotel, add S.....
- (16) Class of Trade catered to?.....
- (17) Other Remarks.....

Inspector of

District

Dated....., 1921.....

(In Duplicate)

Application for Joint Standard Hotel License and Light Beer Permit

To the Liquor Control Board of Ontario:

(Write Distinctly)

[Redacted]

(Applicant)

[Redacted]

(Name of Hotel)

[Redacted]

(Street and Number)

[Redacted]

(Post Office)

[Redacted]

(County or District)

Gentlemen,—I hereby apply for a Standard Hotel License under Section 140 of the Liquor Control Act (Ontario) for the license year ending Oct. 31, 19... for the Hotel and Premises named and situated as stated in the bordered space to the left hereof.

My hotel-keeping experience covers the following years and places

[Redacted]

I was born in [Redacted] and am a British-born [Redacted] British subject.
(County or City if in Canada, Country if not) (Score out words not needed)

I enclose herewith the required fee of \$1.00 for Standard Hotel License to be returned in event of the application being refused.

I also hereby apply for renewal of Permit to sell Light Beer under Section 70, Liquor Control Act (Ontario) for the year ending 31st October, 19..., in my said Hotel Premises.

Describe hereunder parts of hotel for which permit is desired

[Redacted]

In the event of a Standard Hotel License and a Light Beer Permit being granted to me, I agree to observe The Liquor Control Act of Ontario and all Regulations that are now or may hereafter be made thereunder.

I enclose also herewith the required Light Beer Permit fee of \$10.00 to be returned to me in event of the application being refused.

Dated at [Redacted] this [Redacted] day of [Redacted] 19...

NOTE.—The two remittances may be combined in one marked \$10.00 cheque, bank draft, postal or express order. If the applicant does not desire a Light Beer Permit, he may cross his pen through the lines relating thereto. Fee should be made payable to the Liquor Control Board of Ontario.

DATA ON ABOVE HOTEL FURNISHED BY THE APPLICANT

- (1) Building constructed of [Redacted] (2) Erected A.D. [Redacted]
(B., Brick; S., Stone; W., Wood; F.P., Fireproof)
- (3) No. of Floors [Redacted] (4) Owner [Redacted] (5) Remarks on Heating, [Redacted]
(Not counting basement) (If other than applicant, give address)
- [Redacted] (5A) Fire Escapes [Redacted]
- (5B) Ropes [Redacted] (5C) Water Supply [Redacted]
- (5D) Sanitation [Redacted]
- (6) Yearly Rental, \$ [Redacted] (7) Who pays Taxes [Redacted] (8) Applicant's [Redacted]
(Do not include taxes) (A., Applicant; O., Owner)
- Estimate of Present Value of Property \$ [Redacted] *Number of Bedrooms for Guests [Redacted]
- (10) *Number Bedrooms with Bath Attached [Redacted] (11) *Number Bedrooms with Running Water [Redacted]
and not Bath [Redacted] (12) Number General Bathrooms [Redacted] (13) Number [Redacted]
Lavatories Separate from Baths [Redacted] (14) On American or European Plan? [Redacted]
- (15) Day Rates if American [Redacted] (16) Room Rates if European [Redacted]
(Both with and without Bath) (Both with and without bath)
- (17) Meal Rates [Redacted] (18) Dining Room Seats [Redacted] (19) Remarks on [Redacted]
Furnishings [Redacted]
- (20) Number Commercial Sample Rooms [Redacted] (21) Number of Employees [Redacted]
- (22) Accommodation for Autos [Redacted] Horses [Redacted] Vehicles [Redacted]
- (23) Is Guest Register Properly Kept? [Redacted] (24) Are You Married or Single? [Redacted]
- *NOTE.—The answers to Nos. 9, 10 and 11 must exclude bedrooms occupied by the proprietor and family and help.

LIQUOR CONTROL BOARD OF ONTARIO

Hotel report by General Inspector

Date of Visit

1927

County or District		
City, Town, &c.		
Name of Hotel		Population
Name of Licensee		
Owner or Tenant	Building Erected of	No. of Storeys
Has he Standard License?	Has he Light Beer Permit?	
No. Beds for Guest	With Bath Attached	With Running Water
Rates American	Rates European	
Meal Rates	No. Boarders	

- As to fire protection—Fire escapes, number.....
Fire escapes—kind.....
Ropes—is there one in each room?.....
- As to property—has it improved or deteriorated?.....
- Has Licensee or owner of property any plans for future? If so, indicate.....
- As to cleanliness.....
Sanitation.....
Heating—kind of system?..... Is house kept warm?.....

5. As to condition of rooms.....

Furnishings.....

Bedding, etc.

General Housekeeping.....

Mattresses.....

6. As to Dining-Room.....

Furnishings.....

Kitchen.....

Cellar.....

7. As to condition of quarters for help.....

Rooms.....

Furnishings.....

Treatment of help.....

8. As to licensee—his conduct.....

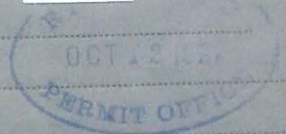
Character or reputation.....

Efficiency.....

Is Guest Register properly kept up?.....

Do you recommend renewal of Standard License?.....

9. Remarks (may continue over leaf).....



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