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**HISTORIC RESOURCES
IMPACT ASSESSMENT**

CALGARY BREWING AND MALTING COMPANY

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IV. ASSESSMENT OF HISTORIC AND ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SITE

A SUMMARY HISTORY OF THE BREWERY

The history of the Calgary Brewery is largely a story focused around A.E. Cross who established a highly successful business which then faced a series of crisis brought about by government regulations and changing markets. The economic viability of the Brewery and the end of its era was the result of the lifting of inter-provincial trade barriers, and, the creation of the free trade agreement with the USA, leaving the small, regionally based brewery in peril as the industry shifted to a national / international industry.

At the end of Prohibition in 1892, A.E. Cross built the first brewery in the region. The factory initially produced ale, porter, lager and aerated soda water. A recognized and respected local entrepreneur, he also was committed to producing a high quality product, and, in 1894, he attended the brew-master course at the US Brewery Academy to expand his knowledge of the industry. Further, in order to have greater control over the quality of his beer, he initiated the production of malt grade barley in Southern Alberta which, to that time, he had been importing. In so doing, this gave birth to a secondary industry affecting the immediate agricultural region around Calgary. Not satisfied with his initial operations, within less than a decade, he embarks on a series of brewery expansions to bolster both the quality and quantity of the product. In 1901, he hired a recognized Chicago brewery consultant to modernize the factory. He also returned to school to better educate himself, attending the WH Institute of Fermentology in 1903. At the same time, he began to purchase hotels throughout the Province of Alberta as a means to expand sales. At that time, a pub had to be attached to a hotel in order to obtain a license to sell beer.

The brewery business suffered immensely with the return of Prohibition during World War I. Production at the plant was shifted to low alcohol beer and the introduction of cider, which, along with the continued production of soft drinks, kept the business afloat. Prohibition was lifted in 1926, but was quickly followed by the Great Depression of the 1930's. Barely recovered, it was at this point that two significant events occurred. Firstly, the family business was transitioned to his son James Cross, and secondly, they began to develop a series of community amenities. To keep his employees on staff during the Depression, he began to develop a formal garden around the Administration Building. These new gardens were followed by the opening of a fish hatchery on site and the construction of outdoor fish rearing ponds as a central feature which greatly expanded the gardens. Although located on private land, the gardens were accessible to the public and quickly became a citywide attraction.

By the end of World War II, the Brewery initiated its 4th expansion to include a massive increase in production and modernization that would take a full decade to accomplish. The Brewery enjoyed prosperity again in post-War times.

However, prosperity was about to shift again in 1957 when new provincial regulations restricting the ownership of hotels by the Brewery spelt the beginning of the end. Forced to dispose of hotels, the Cross' began to lose market share. Still the Brewery's interest and support in providing community amenities flourished with the creation of major amenities in the 1960's at the Brewery grounds: The Aquarium and the Horseman's Hall of Fame Museum, along with the provision of land for the current Inglewood Aquatic Centre.

In 1961, the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company was sold to Canadian Breweries and over the next 3 and 1/2 decades, the Brewery would change hands repeatedly through a total of four (4) corporate ownerships. Starting in 1984, a fifth and final expansion to the plant was undertaken. This occurred just as two major changes in government regulations were about to be introduced. In 1985, the inter-provincial trade barriers were phased out, beer sold in Alberta no longer had to be made in Alberta allowing for other domestic products to compete with locally produced beer. Following, in 1988, the free trade agreement with the USA effectively further expanded the field of competition for the brewery industry and, by 1994, the Brewery closed its operations at the Inglewood site in Calgary and began the process of decommissioning the plant.

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ORIGINAL NARRATIVE

A History of the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company

Introduction

The Calgary Brewing and Malting Company (CB&M Co.) was a city landmark for decades. Established by Alfred Ernest Cross, one of the "Big Four" of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede and a foremost pioneer of Alberta, the Calgary Brewery was the cornerstone of his business empire. It was the first brewery established in Alberta and one of the first major industrial concerns in the province. Apart from its role as a major employer and taxpayer, the company set a standard as a proud corporate citizen of Calgary. Their flagship brew, Calgary Export Lager, with its noble buffalo and horseshoe trademark, served as the city's unofficial ambassador for many years.

The story of the Calgary Brewery is also an excellent example of the role of the entrepreneur in the development of the economy of western Canada, and the history of industrialization in Alberta. Cross established his brewery on a gamble that the west would grow rapidly and prosper. An opportunist in his business ventures, he foresaw the potential in Alberta, and was proved right by the success of his brewery enterprise. The history of the brewery reflects not only the maturation of the economy of the western provinces, but also the changing nature of industry.

Starting as a family concern, funded by an "old boys" club of Calgary investors, the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company survived growing pains, two world wars, Prohibition and the Depression, only to be swallowed by larger national and then international corporations. The appearance of the multinational corporation, the advent of the global economy and the movement towards free trade, made the smaller regional brewery uncompetitive. Like local family firms in many industries, the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company became a casualty of economic change.

Alfred Ernest Cross

It is impossible to separate the history of the company from the energy and vision of Alfred Ernest Cross. A rancher, as well as a brewer, Cross tried his hand at many enterprises. He was unlike the image of the self made frontier pioneer, ill educated and looking for a chance to better himself, as exemplified by another member of the Big Four, Patrick Burns. Cross came from a genteel Montreal family, received an excellent education and had many prospects. It is a profile not unusual among the men who rose to prominence in Calgary during its early years, James Lougheed being another prominent example.(1) He stands apart from his peers on the frontier, however, in being Calgary's first modern industrialist, as his brewing company was one of the first, and for many years one of the largest industrial concerns in the city. In 1899, Ernest Cross also married Helen Macleod, daughter of Colonel James Macleod, and thus joined one of Calgary's first families. With his successful business and public career, pioneer roots and family ties, A.E. Cross and his family became members of Calgary's original aristocracy.

Cross himself was born in 1861 in Montreal, the fifth child of the Honourable Justice Alexander and Mrs. Julia Cross. Aside from his work on the bench, his father was a successful investor and dabbled as a gentleman farmer. This inspired a strong agricultural turn in his sons. An elder brother, Henry, later United States Senator Henry Cross, established a successful ranch in Wyoming, just as Ernest became one of the early cattle barons of Alberta. After attending the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph, Ernest Cross entered the Veterinary Medicine College at McGill University in Montreal. Graduating with a degree in 1884, he came west soon after to take a job at the British American Ranch near Cochrane, in the capacity of accountant, veterinarian and general ranch hand. Despite his Montreal background, the rough-hewn life of the rancher appealed to Cross. He may also have been trying to escape his father, who was somewhat domineering and was called the "the governor" by Cross and his brothers.(2) At the same time, Cross kept up his Montreal connections. He began quietly buying up land in Calgary and the surrounding area, as well as making loans to other businessmen, backed by his father's money and sometimes acting as his agent.(3) Like other eastern migrants, he was likely struck with the wide open possibilities of the frontier compared to the more structured world of eastern Canada. There were many opportunities for an ambitious man in the west.

Initially, brewing beer was not his ambition. In any case, the Northwest Territories of the time languished under prohibition - alcohol could only be imported under a special license, and no alcoholic drinks could be brewed or distilled in the territory. Instead, ranching was Cross' first love. He left the Cochrane operation to start his own ranch near Nanton in 1885. Although he was relatively successful, open range ranching proved a difficult business in Alberta. Unpredictable weather, particularly in the winter, came close to ruining him, and Ernest suffered all the many hardships common to frontier settlements. Deciding his land was too dry, he obtained a new homestead and grazing leases further west through his brother William. This was the beginning of the famous A7 Ranche, which became one of the largest ranches of Southern Alberta and which still remains in the Cross family today. Cross was also active in organizing his fellow ranchers in order to lobby the government over grazing leases, efforts which culminated in the Western Stock Growers Association. Long after the brewery and his other business concerns became the centre of his fortunes, Cross considered himself a rancher.

An unfortunate accident in 1889 changed the course of his career. Although a good horseman, Cross was struck in the stomach by his saddle horn and badly injured while trying to retain his seat on a bucking horse. In severe pain, he became very ill. His father, himself in poor health, came to Calgary to take his son home for proper medical attention. Although Cross' injury is often described as "appendicitis", according to his long time friend and associate Charles W. McMillan he was actually diagnosed with peritonitis, an infection caused by a ruptured intestine.(4) Cross recovered, but he was warned not to go back to his grueling life on the ranch and to remain within close distance of proper medical attention.

It is simplistic to ascribe Cross' decision to open a brewery solely to his injury. By the time of his accident, rumours had begun to circulate that prohibition in the territories was likely to be repealed, putatively to fight the whiskey trade by providing settlers with less alcoholic beer. Cross was already a real estate speculator and investor as well as a rancher. His career demonstrates that Cross had a keen eye for opportunity and the notion of starting a brewery may have already occurred to him. Heeding his doctor's advice, Cross turned over management of his ranch holdings to his brothers. While convalescing in Montreal, he took a brewer's course at the Montreal Brewery Company, learning the business from Francis Barton, the brewery manager, who later advised him on the considerable technical requirements of setting up a brewery.(5) Armed with his new skills, Cross returned to Calgary in late 1891 to raise the capital and start construction of the brewery.

Although his accident played a role in his entry into the brewing industry, one must also look to the entrepreneurial energy of A.E. Cross. One common aspect of the western frontier businessman was his ability to take advantage of opportunities, or to create them outright.(6) Success required imagination, foresight and a conviction that the west would grow and prosper. Men like W.R. Hull and Pat Burns were much like Cross in their willingness to try their hand at many different enterprises. While all three men began in the ranching industry, their business interests expanded in many directions; real estate, oil and gas exploration, coal, mining and so on. Even before he started his brewery, Cross was exploring the possibilities of becoming a distributor of spirits and wine for Hiram Walker & Sons, perhaps as a sideline to brewing beer.(7) As he worked to establish the brewery, he became involved in numerous other business ventures. Not every investment bore fruit: a flourmill in which he invested a great deal of money did not prove a success.(8) Cross was a backer of early exploration for natural gas and the petroleum in the province, helping finance the Royalite Oil Company, later serving as a director for the company. He was a major stockholder and later a director of Canadian Western Natural Gas, Heat, Light and Power Company, as well as the Calgary Power Company. He took an interest in mining in the British Columbia interior, maintaining several claims and investing in some mining ventures.(9) Cross also maintained his interests in the cattle industry, raising one of the largest herds of pedigree steers in Alberta, which commanded record prices on the Chicago Exchange on several occasions.

Like his successful contemporaries, Cross was also drawn into public life by his business accomplishments. It was difficult if not impossible to separate the two in western society. Despite a general dislike of the spotlight, Cross demonstrated the same energy in his community activities that he had as an entrepreneur. Naturally enough, he was a director and vice president for the Western Brewers Association and a director of the Canadian Association of Manufacturers. He was one of the founding members of the Ranchmen's Club and was a founder of the Calgary Board of Trade, serving as its president in 1908. He explored politics as well, and was elected as the member for East Calgary in the legislative assembly of the Northwest Territories in 1899. His public service did not end there, as he also served on the board of the General Hospital for many years and supported several other charitable societies.

Outside of his business and his public life, Cross also found time to indulge an interest in sports, sponsoring golf, polo, baseball and hockey through the brewery. As a sportsman, he snowed his characteristic need to experiment and innovate, and imported pheasant and partridge to Alberta and established breeding populations for hunting. It is, however, his role as one of the Big Four for which Cross is most famous. He continued to serve on the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Board until his death in 1932.

The Establishment of the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company

Cross set about the establishment of his brewery quickly but methodically. As early as November 1891, Cross sent a letter to the Calgary town council to inform them of his plans, and to request a tax exemption.(10) He also sent a letter to Otto C. Wolf, a Philadelphia, Pennsylvania engineer specializing in the design of breweries, inquiring about blueprints for a plant.(11) Samples of water from the Bow and Elbow rivers were sent to McGill University for analysis.(12) With the repeal of Prohibition, he must have realized that he would not be the only one thinking of setting up a brewery, and that speed was of the essence. Investors were easy enough to find among his ranching contacts. Meeting on March 7th, 1892, they organized the company and drew up documents for incorporation, and by July they were registered with the government of the Northwest Territories. Initially, Cross was joined in the venture by Herbert Samson of High River, William Roper Hull of Calgary, J.R. Hull of Kamloops, John Lineham, the Drewery lumber baron, D.H. McPherson of High River and William E. Cochrane, Cross' near neighbour on his Mosquito Creek ranch.(13) With Cochrane and Hull and Lineham, Cross joined forces with men much like himself, successful businessmen who understood the opportunities for new ventures in the west. Cross and his partners raised \$52,000 dollars between them to begin the venture, and were able to borrow another \$50,000 from the Bank of Montreal the following year.(14)

Cross' next step was finding a suitable site. The refusal of his request for a tax exemption by the city may have influenced Cross to look outside the town boundaries for a location. More likely, however, he was concerned with finding a reliable source of water and the proximity of the rail line. He and his partners purchased a triangular plot for \$1700 from Colonel James Walker and William Pearce, the biggest landowners of east Calgary.(15) It was perfect for his purposes, being adjacent to the new Calgary - Edmonton rail line, and with a river fed aquifer under the property. Interestingly, Cross may not have known the (extant of this underground aquifer, which came to supply the brewery, when he bought the property. Although it is likely that he knew that there was a good well water supply, as late as September 1893 he sought the advice of government chemist Frank Shute about building a diversion pool from the river, and using that as his water supply.(16) The chemist replied that he thought it would be too murky, and advised using well water as his samples indicated it was well filtered and very pure. It may have been serendipity which gave Cross a supply of water so perfect for brewing that the company's slogan became "It's the water!"

Construction began on the brewery as soon as spring arrived. In April labourers were hired to begin digging the cellars.(17) After considering another architect's offer, Cross purchased plans in May for a Malting Kiln and Malting Room from Wolf, who had a lower fee as well as an impressive resume.(18) A local architect and engineering firm, Child and Wilson (consisting of James T. Child, who later became the city engineer, and John Llewellyn Wilson, later of Lang and Wilson and who also designed the Cross residence) were hired to oversee the construction of the site and most likely design the buildings not covered in Wolf's drawings.(19)

Local contractors H.J. Rheinholt and Goodman built the original cellars and foundations.(20) There was pressure to complete the brewery quickly: Cross received a letter in August from G.L. Clarke, a brewers supplier from Montreal, telling him that a Winnipeg brewer was very interested in establishing himself in Calgary.(21) To add to his anxieties, there were difficulties in finding adequate building material, brewing machinery, as well as barley and malt to start the brewing.(22) Even with John Lineham for a partner, sufficient lumber was scarce that year, with mills in British Columbia sending Cross bad news throughout the summer. The CPR also proved less than helpful over setting up a spur line, initially refusing and then asking for a premium.(23) This set the stage for decades of squabbling between the two companies over spur lines and shipping rates. Despite these obstacles, the buildings were completed, and sufficient equipment procured and installed for brewing to begin in 1893.

With a staff of eleven, Cross began brewing beer on March 9, 1893.(24) Charles W. McMillan and fellow investor Herbert Samson came on to help manage the brewery. Although Cross is often credited with being the brew master as well as head of the company, in reality he must have realized his own relative lack of experience, especially with lager beer, which he felt would be a good product for the Calgary market. In August 1892 he had entered into negotiations with Frank Scofield, one of several brewers who had inquired as to openings at the new operation.(25) Scofield was hired in November, conditional on an interview with Frank Barton in Montreal, although there is no record of his arrival in Calgary. In any case, the first beer, an ale, was produced in March of 1893, and became a matter of local legend. As the story goes, Cross was approached by a group of Irishmen wishing to procure beer for St. Patrick's Day. Although it was not ready, he was persuaded to give them some of the "green" beer. Word got out that the beer was ready and a stampede of citizens to the brewery ensued, resulting in the entire town being hung over the next day. Several versions of this story exist, with and without the Irish. Whatever the historical truth, it would seem Calgarians were eager for the brewery's product.

The Growth of the Company

Although the company is often portrayed as an immediate success, in reality there were many obstacles to overcome. Cross and his partners were fortunate to have launched their brewery so quickly, as it gave them an edge in procuring customers. The brewery began producing lager as well as ale in 1894.(26) The local market was theirs from the beginning, and orders for beer soon came in from the surrounding area, from ranches as well as hotels.(27) Cross also began immediately and aggressively marketing his beer in the rest of Alberta, and quickly moved into Saskatchewan and BC. Showing a good instinct for advertising, he had the distinctive Buffalo Head logo registered as the company trademark in 1893 and had it used on all their products. McMillan was sent to Edmonton and later to Saskatchewan with samples, and was able to bring back orders immediately. These orders unfortunately exceeded the brewery's limited capacity. The logistics of transportation were also very formidable: in 1895, McMillan was forced to build rafts with his own two hands to ship beer down the North Saskatchewan from Edmonton to the NWMP post at North Battleford.(28) Despite the excellent start, troubles began to surface in 1894, starting with the beer itself. Quality was very uneven, especially with the lager, and spoilage in shipping was a major problem. Many complaints and cancelled orders resulted, particularly in the British Columbia market, where competition from local breweries was much stiffer.

The response of Ernest Cross was typical. Obviously, the brewery's product needed to be improved. He decided to bolster his own knowledge of the technical side of brewing, especially lager, and went to New York in the latter half of 1894 to take a brew master course at the United States Brewing Academy. He also began looking for another brewer, probably to replace Scofield. A new man, John Henry Engel, was hired for the first six months of 1894.(29) He also set about expanding the brewery. A soft drink plant was built and the beer was augmented by a line of soft drinks and aerated waters. This was a pattern which Cross repeated several times with the brewery, and is characteristic of his outlook. He was a relentless modernizer, and tried to keep up with developments in brewing techniques. His correspondence includes a great many letters from other brewers, particularly Frank Barton, discussing new developments. Cross tried to be an innovator, and his contracts with his brewers include clauses to protect his own brewing system from being copied.(30) His other instinct was to confront difficulties by expanding his operation at every chance, rolling any profits back into the company, and hope for better times.

This did not always sit well with his partners. Although he held the largest block of stock, Cross did not control the company outright. His investors had also changed by 1893. Hull, Cochrane, Lineham and Samson were still in, but A.H. Eckford, another ranching friend, had replaced McPherson, and J.R. Hull was no longer involved.(31) Although patient initially, as the end of the century approached, his investors became increasingly critical and the main sore point was dividends. Cross insisted on using profits to either pay down the company's debt load or to expand the brewery.(32) In his correspondence with Billie Cochrane, Cross' promise in each annual report of a dividend next year became an increasingly bitter joke, and eventually provoked a falling out in 1904.(33) Hull also began threatening to sell his stock.(34) Despite this dissension, his partners never tried to wrest control of the company from Cross. This may reflect the gentleman's nature of their partnership, or that fundamentally they trusted his judgment.

The company quickly recovered from its growing pains. A new brew master was hired from New Jersey in 1895.(35) Carl Weiting was a German immigrant with wide experience in the industry. Whether from his talents or the additional training Cross himself took, the beer began to improve. Thanks to the efforts of Charles McMillan, a network of agencies began to take form to distribute Calgary beer, especially in the BC interior, and the company began a program of building cold storage facilities in strategic centres in Alberta, BC, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Economic conditions also began to change; after a nasty recession in the mid 1890's western economy began to expand, accompanied by a new wave of settlement. By the end of the decade, the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company had assets valued at over \$100,000 and was earning a tidy profit of over \$10,000 a year.(36) It was also falling behind in orders. A rash of building at the brewery was undertaken, beginning with a new barley elevator in 1899, and then an expansion of the Malting House, Fermentation Cellars and Storage Cellars, finishing in 1901. Although the company lost Carl Weiting to the hotel trade in 1902, Cross quickly hired a new brew master, Percy Barton, a relation of his old friend and mentor Frank Barton. By this date, the brewery employed 34 people and had become the centre of a thriving neighbourhood called, appropriately enough, Brewery Flats.(37)

This expansion did not prove enough to keep up with demand. Beginning in 1903, an even more extensive renovation of the brewery began. Cross evidently planned to take the brewery to an entirely new level. By this time the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company was not the only brewery in Alberta, and Cross most likely wanted to thoroughly modernize his facility to face the competition.

Thoughts of expansion are probably what took him to Chicago in 1904 to the Wahl-Henius Institute of Fermentology. Cross had major plans, and doubtlessly wanted to refresh his knowledge of brewing, become familiar with the latest techniques and technology, and find an architect for his brewery. The appearance of his new brewery buildings may have been influenced by his time in Chicago.

A new Fermentation Cellar was built in 1903, but the major expansion began the following year. A Chicago architect specializing in breweries, Bernard Barthel, was commissioned to design the new buildings and visited Calgary in 1904.(38) The old brew house was demolished and replaced by a new Brew House in 1905, with the coal burning Boiler House substantially increased in size and a chimney stack added. Two entirely new buildings, one for the Bottling House and another for the Wash House, were built on the east side. The Malt House was expanded again and a second Malt Kiln added. It was the Brew House, however, that gave the complex a distinct new look. A narrow rectangle five stories tall, built with irregular but smooth faced sandstone blocks procured from Owen's quarry near Okotoks and with rows of large square windows, it presented a clean functional facade. Along with the Bottling and Wash Houses, the new Brew House featured a wonderful amount of natural light. It was quite unlike other breweries of the time in Alberta and elsewhere, which typically featured a variety of architectural detailing such as pilasters, parapets or cornices. While Cross might merely have been dispensing with expensive frills, he may have been inspired by the modern industrial architecture he saw in the United States, bringing it to Calgary and combining it with local sandstone.

This would fit Cross' character as an innovator. His expanded brewery was fitted with the latest modern equipment, much of it obtained with the help and advice of Barthel.(39) He and his company are credited with being the first industrial users of natural gas in western Canada. In 1902, he was making enquiries in the U.S. about methods for drilling for natural gas, and in 1905 he wrote Dr. Dawson of the Geological Survey of Canada for his opinion on finding oil and gas deposits in Alberta.(40) Although his new boiler house had been built to use coal, by April 1910, Cross was definitely using gas from a pipeline to the gas well on Colonel Walker's estate, and may very well have begun using it earlier.(41) The company also established barley as a crop in Alberta, in order to secure a more reliable supply. Cross offered farmers premium prices for barley if they would plant it, and imported seed which he distributed to willing growers.(42) The Company stuck with this project despite several disastrous early harvests and could take credit for what is now a major agricultural product in Alberta. Another first in the province was a dry feed operation, using dried grains from the brewery plant which were rejected for brewing. This became a profitable sideline for the company, as well as changing the way local stock growers raised their cattle by providing them with a supply of affordable high quality feed. Never one to let a potential opportunity slip by, Cross also attempted to turn his malting operations into an export business, and was able to export malt to Australia for a short time.(43)

The brewery and the company continued to expand in step with the great boom that had begun in Calgary. Cross had shown good instincts by modernizing and increasing his plant's brewing capacity in time to meet the growing demand. A large network of agencies had been established to sell the company's beer and the company invested in building cold storage plants throughout western Canada.(44) The company took further steps to make its market secure by buying hotels or financing mortgages for new hoteliers. This was a notion which had already occurred to Cross in 1901 - in the company's annual report for that year, he talks of the desirability of acquiring a hotel "in order to fix the price of beer at five cents a glass".(45) In 1908 this project was begun, with the purchase of two hotels.(46)

The Calgary Brewing and Malting Company eventually controlled over fifty hotels throughout Alberta. They included such landmarks as the National and Empress hotels in Calgary and the Grand Hotel in Edmonton. The company also started acquiring other breweries. The small Golden West Brewery in the Nose Creek area of Calgary was bought out by the company in 1910, and it began investigating small breweries in British Columbia for other takeover targets.(47)

Another sign of the company's prosperity was a new office building, designed by the firm of Hodgson and Bates and featuring sandstone carving of the now famous buffalo head logo, built in 1907. The brewery itself was expanded once again in 1912-13. This coincided with a major restructuring of the company. A bond was issued through the Royal Trust to raise money, not just for brewery construction, but to pay down its outstanding loans and allow the financing of hotel properties and the storage facilities maintained by the company throughout the west. A subsidiary company, the Ranchmen's Trust was set up at this time to finance hotel purchases.(48) It also made A.E. Cross a millionaire on paper. With the new bond capital, a stock dividend was declared for the shareholders, who by this time consisted of Hull, Billie Cochrane, A.H. Eckford and the Honourable F.A. McNaghten. Both Samson and Lineham were no longer stockholders, and their stock presumably had been bought out by the others. The original \$52,000 of capital became \$1,500,000, and the shareholders were given a proportionately higher share of stocks.(49) A \$75,000 cash dividend, the first in the history of the company, was also declared to keep his partners happy.(50) True to form, Cross himself was more interested in expansion of his brewery. A new Engine Building and a Grain Drying building were added, the main Fermentation Cellars expanded, and additions were put on the Bottling House and Wash House. The brewery complex now had the shape it would maintain for the next twenty-five years. It was realizing a net profit of almost \$400,000 annually, and employed 137 people, a scant forty less than it would employ in 1967.(51)

Prohibition

Unfortunately for the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company and A.E. Cross, the heady years of the great boom in Calgary were rapidly drawing to a close. With the beginning of World War I, the economy in western Canada went into a depression. Wartime austerity and the departure of men to war diminished sales of beer considerably, and rapidly rising taxes to finance the war effort put further strain on the company. However, the most devastating blow was the return of Prohibition in 1916.

Prohibition had been a continual threat from the beginning of the brewery. Although the federal government had ended prohibition in the North West Territories in 1892, temperance groups continued to lobby for new legislation. In 1894, Cross' correspondence shows that prohibition was a real threat, and in his 1901 annual report he discusses strategy if prohibition should be declared in Manitoba: "should the prohibition act in Manitoba be enforced, it should not affect us very much, as it will either close out or so weaken the principal opposition that the lost trade will be counterbalanced, but all such legislation is a distinct detriment to our business and should be fought hard against...".(52) Towards the end of the decade he helped support an anti-prohibition newsletter and lobby group, and undoubtedly lobbied himself through his own political connections.(53) Unfortunately, these efforts were for naught, and Prohibition was declared for Alberta in July 1916. At first, the company was able to survive on export sales to British Columbia and the United States, but when these regions also enacted prohibition, the situation became more dire. One popular story has Cross asking his workers to miss a month or several months pay in 1918 while he tried to raise money to keep the company afloat. In a letter to Lord Beaverbrook that same year, Cross raises the possibility that the company would not be able to make the payments on the maturing bonds from the 1913 issue.(54)

Under prohibition, the brewery was still allowed to manufacture near beer for local consumption. Chinook Beer had a low alcohol content and was marketed as a temperance drink. The company's soft drink operation also brought in some revenue. The production of beer continued as well, but for export only, and the company put some effort into expanding these markets. One famous story involves the opening up of a market in Mexico by an intrepid company salesman, Frank Clarke, armed only with labels and letters of introduction. However, historian Sherrill MacLauren, in her book Braehead, puts a rather different spin on this story. She claims that much of this supposed trade never actually reached Mexico, but was quietly diverted to other points in Canada and the US and sold on the black market.(55) The extent to which the brewery may have engaged in illicit trade will always remain a matter of conjecture - the only concrete fact is that the brewery did not go bankrupt. Publicly, Cross complained bitterly that other breweries bent the rules to an absurd extent, and in his correspondence he certainly expressed the opinion that bootlegging was a very risky activity, and that he was not keen to jeopardize his company's name.(56)

The Depression

Prohibition was repealed for Alberta in November of 1923. Even before repeal the company had begun to recover, and even profit from prohibition by purchasing hotels on the verge of bankruptcy and refurbishing them, and greatly increasing its hotel holdings. From this point the hotels became an important part of Calgary Brewery's operations. Although not owning all the hotels outright, by 1930 over 47 hotels were controlled by company.(57) It was a complex operation. Some hotels were owned and operated by the company, others owned and leased to operators, while others were controlled through the mortgages the company held on the property. To complicate matters further, the hotels were each incorporated in a subsidiary company, likely for taxation reasons and probably also to disguise the degree to which the company controlled the market. The chain of hotels certainly gave the brewery a large captive market for its products, but its addition to the brewery's profitability is hard to judge. During Prohibition and later through the depression they were a drain on the company. Even in better times, the net profit from hotel operations and leases was usually ten percent or less of the company's earnings, but some of the profitability was likely hidden in the overall earnings for beer sales.(58) As beer advertising was heavily restricted in Alberta, the hotels may have also been useful in marketing the company's beer.

The company did not limit its expansion to hotels. In 1925 it also purchased the bankrupt Silver Spray Breweries, the only other large brewery in Calgary, which was most likely driven to insolvency by the strain of prohibition. It was renamed the Big Horn Brewery, and continued to operate until the 1970s. At the same time, the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company itself was in some disarray. Sir Francis McNaghten, one of the shareholders, insisted in 1924 that an audit be done by a chartered accountant, who found the brewery's bookkeeping and administration to be in a state of anarchy.(59) James Braehead Cross, the oldest son of A.E. Cross, having entered the company in 1927, also found problems with employee theft and corruption, for which he blamed lax practices during prohibition. Although it made him unpopular with employees, leading to accusations of union busting when men were fired, J.B. Cross worked hard to tighten up operations, reduce wastage and theft and make the facility more efficient.(60)

A.E. Cross died in 1932 at the age of 71, after a career and accomplishments that had made him one of the first citizens of Alberta. The company remained in the hands of his family. J.B. Cross became president and his brother, and Alexander "Sandy" Cross was made operations manager. Jim Cross had originally wanted to go into ranching and take over operation of the A7 Ranche. His father prevailed upon him to take over the family business instead. He prepared to do so with characteristic Cross thoroughness. Like his father he attended the Ontario Agricultural College, then went on to the Birmingham University in England and studied chemistry and brewing. He also attended the Jorgensen Institute in Copenhagen, Denmark, studying European methods of beer making. Although only 23 and having never worked in his father's brewery, J.B. started as a director and Vice-President of the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company.

His own abilities as a businessman were put to the test almost immediately. Although the company returned to profitability after prohibition, with additional revenue from its expanded hotel chain, the Depression began soon after, and conditions rapidly went from bad to worse. In 1933, only a year after taking control of the company, he was forced to send a bleak letter to the shareholders. Although optimistic of improvement, in the manner of all such letters, it gave an honest picture of the problems facing the company, especially with the hotel properties. Salaried employees took a voluntary 10% pay cut.(61) The underlying financial stability of the company, a result of its long standing policy of investing its profits back into the brewery, and its still extensive holdings of real estate allowed it to survive. J.B. Cross sold various properties, and allowed others to go into tax arrears. This allowed him to raise money which went back into the company.(62) Unlike the prohibition crisis, the company was able to continue to sell its main product, and still realize some revenue. Even during the Depression, people continued to drink beer.

The Post War Recovery

Conditions improved through the thirties, and the brewery once again came through the crisis. The war continued to disrupt business, but with a return to peace, another boom began. The company looked hard at its facilities as the post war economy got into full swing. Another program of upgrading began, which continued into the fifties. A large modern Bottling Plant, designed by J.M. Stevenson, Cawston, and Stevenson, was built on the east side of the brewery property in 1948. This began a relationship with this rising architectural firm which would encompass all major changes at the brewery over the next decade. A new Grain Drying Building was added by 1950, and another Fermentation Cellar on the north side of the Brew House in 1954. Spaces between the buildings were enclosed by the late fifties and the interior of the plant was considerably changed and modernized. In 1956, an addition was built on the original office building. The expansion ended in 1960 with the building of the Aquarium, which later housed the Horseman's Hall of Fame Museum and an expanded fish hatchery. The complex had attained the appearance it would maintain for the next twenty-four years.

The fact that the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company was feeling strong is exemplified by its takeover of Northwest Breweries in Edmonton. Canadian Breweries, a fast growing conglomerate of eastern Canadian breweries run by E.P. Taylor, was trying to acquire the Edmonton operation. Canadian had already made takeover overtures to the Calgary Brewery. In a somewhat defiant west versus east gesture, Cross beat him to it and purchased Northwest, renaming it the Bohemian Maid after its most popular brand of beer. It was clear that the control the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company had over local markets was now being threatened, and the addition of Bohemian Maid was inspired by fear as well as bravado. Since the late twenties, beer in Alberta was sold first to the Alberta Liquor Control Board, which then sold it to retailers and the public.

The system was governed by quotas mandated for the different Alberta breweries by the government, with the larger breweries receiving a proportionately larger share. Cross was certainly not adverse to this guaranteed market; indeed, it complemented his hotel monopoly very well. He lobbied hard to prevent Canadian Breweries from acquiring a larger quota for the Red Deer brewery it controlled, arguing presciently that the quota system protected locally owned breweries.(63) In 1955, Taylor made a more determined attempt to buy out Calgary and Brewing Malting Company.(64) Being essentially a private company and with the Cross family controlling most of the stock, the Calgary and Brewing Malting Company was able to resist. However, the interest of Canadian in Alberta was also signaling a change in the industry. That company had grown relentlessly for twenty years by taking over breweries in Canada and the USA, and had become a large and increasingly international corporation. This was the direction the entire industry was taking. Due to inter-provincial trade barriers, establishing or acquiring breweries in each province was often the most efficient way to market beer. As long as the Calgary brewery was financially sound, it was relatively safe, but it was a desirable acquisition.

Unfortunately for the Crosses and the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company, a change in provincial regulations suddenly made it vulnerable. In 1957, the Alberta Liquor Control Board brought in a ruling requiring all breweries to sell their hotel holdings. This was a game which other breweries had also played, but none so well as Calgary Brewing. This ruling was not a surprise, and in fact the brewery had been fighting against it for over a decade. As early as 1946, they had secured the assistance of the Northwest Traveller's Association and the Associated Canadian Travellers in lobbying for the continued brewery ownership of hotels.(65) In 1956 they commissioned a public opinion survey to bolster their position. These lobbying efforts were for naught. Overnight, their hotel chain, which had been a major investment for the brewery, became a crippling liability. The market for such properties was instantly glutted, and the company was facing a major loss. Apparently unable to absorb the loss, Cross decided to sell out to Canadian Breweries. A terse press release of January 18th, 1961, citing "mounting problems in perpetuating a private family business", announced that "a major change in the ownership of shares" had taken place, but did not name the purchaser.(66) Cross stayed on as President of the company, to ensure continuity and probably also to reassure the public and government. The importance of the brewery in the eyes of both can be seen in a letter Cross sent to Premier Manning, reassuring him that the operations of the brewery would continue almost unchanged under the new owners.(67)

The Brewery and the Community

This concern is not surprising given the position of the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company as a corporate citizen in Calgary. Over the years the brewery had attained the status of being a local institution, not just a business. The fact it was a large industrial concern and major employer automatically made it significant to the community, but the character and public spirit of the Cross family added another dimension. While some of the stories which are commonly circulated about the Cross family and their company are probably apocryphal, they were held in high regard by the local community

The relatively smooth relations between the owner and its employees were probably the basis of much of the company's good reputation. A.E. Cross' daughter, Mary Dover, remembered her father having many friends among the workers at the brewery.(68) Certainly, for many years the brewery was a small place, and the elder Cross probably spent much time in the early years among the vats and brew kettles. James Cross, upon joining the company, felt his father was perhaps a bit too soft hearted with some employees, particularly the brew master, Percy Barton.(69) The brewery was also a leader in providing a sickness and accident plan for employees, and is claimed to be the first company to establish a pension plan in Alberta. During both wars, men who enlisted were guaranteed their jobs and the company even made up the difference between their military and peacetime pay.

Opened on August 25th, 1960, with E.H. Taylor as curator, it was an immediate success. Canada's largest inland aquarium, it could boast at its height 52 display tanks and over 150 species of underwater life. Canadian Breweries honoured their commitment to Cross' museum project and with Julian L. West overseeing the project and acting as the first curator opened the Horseman's Hall of Fame in 1964, with a rotating collection of antiques, documents and dioramas depicting personalities or aspects of life in the historic west. With only a nominal admission charge to the Aquarium and museum, the brewery grounds became a major tourist attraction and attracted an average of 350,000 visitors a year through the sixties.

The Brewery after the Crosses

Although the new owners continued J.B. Cross' work after his retirement, keeping the Aquarium open and opening the Horseman's Hall of Fame, the special relationship of the brewery and the local community inevitably changed. Calgary Brewing was now one operation in a large corporation, and after having been owned by the same family for 69 years, it changed hands four times in the next twenty years. Moreover, its next owners were all corporations with head offices and priorities far away from Calgary. Although Canadian Breweries continued to operate Calgary Brewing as an autonomous company, it was itself bought out by a much larger multinational, Rothmans, in 1969, and in 1973 renamed Carling O'Keefe. With this purchase the brewery plant lost its Calgary Brewing identity and was renamed after its parent company. This parent company was purchased in turn by Foster's Brewing of Australia in 1987. Scarcely two years later, it was absorbed by its final owner, Molson Breweries, who decided by 1994 the operation was redundant and closed the plant.

The end of the Calgary Brewing and Malting name cannot be blamed entirely on its change of owners. Canadian Breweries tried to keep alive the local character of the brewery long after buying it from the Crosses. Customer loyalty to a unique local product was still seen as a fruitful marketing strategy.⁽⁷³⁾ Changing demographics, however, were impacting the popularity of Calgary Brewing products. Calgary itself changed greatly in the sixties, and to some extent was leaving the brewery behind. A comprehensive marketing strategy put together for the Calgary operation in 1970 identified two rather major problems - the company image and the beer quality. The Calgary Brewing and Malting Company was "that tired brewery with the tired brands" and was seen as "old fashioned and conservative in its outlook...obsessed with the past...lacks vitality and youthful appeal... it seems to be more rural than urban, more blue collar than white collar and very definitely a highly masculine identity."⁽⁷⁴⁾ The beer itself was also perceived as having uneven quality and a heavy bitter flavour, and the market share of Calgary Export Lager was declining precipitously. Although Canadian Breweries supported the ideal of "proudly local in Calgary", a youthful, white-collar city did not have the same loyalty to the brewery as it had in the past.

With its image as a local institution fading and increasingly overshadowed as a force in Calgary's economy, the brewery rapidly became just another industrial concern in the city. Relations with their workforce steadily deteriorated in the seventies and annual strikes became a summer tradition. The brewery also cut the expensive community institutions created by J.B. Cross. The Aquarium was closed in 1972, and the collection donated to Quebec City. Although the Horseman's Hall of Fame was expanded into the aquarium space, its days were also numbered, and it was closed a scant three years later and its artifacts donated to the Glenbow Museum. By the eighties even the Brewery Gardens were off limits to the public. In 1984, the old brewery disappeared behind a new 40 million dollar expansion. A new structural steel Brew House and Fermentation Cellar was added and the 1947 Bottling Plant was greatly expanded. The street facades of the old buildings were covered by steel cladding to give the whole plant a cleaner, unified look, and visible stone and brick walls were painted gray. Finally, in 1985, citing poor sales, Carling O'Keefe - discontinued production of Calgary Export at the brewery and the horseshoe and buffalo label was no longer produced in Calgary. Although it remained in production in Saskatchewan and was resurrected briefly in 1988 for the Winter Olympics and by Molson in 1992 for the hundredth anniversary of the Brewery, in reality the last connection to the Brewery's past had been broken.

ORIGINAL CHRONOLOGY

Site History of the Calgary Brewing and Malting Company

This is a history of the major buildings which make up the Brewery. The various outbuildings found on the site over the years have not been detailed, partly due a lack of information on these structures, partly due to their relative historical insignificance, and partly because they are no longer extant. Much of the source material for the site history is included in the appendices of this study, and is referenced by their Appendices in the text for the reader rather than as footnotes.

1892 - The construction of the original Brewery begins in April 1892. The excavation for the foundations is done in May, with the foundations and cellars still under construction in July. The first Brewery consisted of unified buildings with stone foundations and stone and brick walls - a four story Malt Kiln with a chimney, a Malt House which also included bottling facilities; the Engine & Brew House, a Boiler House, and the Lager and Ale Cellars. Other workshops and outbuildings are constructed on the Brewery grounds, including a boarding house, office building, stable, hay shed and cooper's shops. Plans for the Malt House and Malt Kiln were obtained from Otto Wolf, an engineer and architect from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania specializing in breweries and malting plants. The original plans, no longer extant, were modified in correspondence with Wolf as construction progressed. The local engineering and architectural firm of Child and Wilson supervised the construction of the buildings and most likely designed the sections of the Brewery not covered by Wolf's drawings. The cellar walls and foundations were built by Goodman and Rheinolt, local contractors. (See Fig. 2.01, 3.01 - 05, 4.01 - 4.02, 7.04 - 7.15)

1894 - A soda water factory was added in small separate building on east side. This building is clearly marked in the 1900 site plan. (3.07)

1898-1899 - A Grain Elevator is built with the advice of CPR engineer John Woodman, who prepares plans for the CB&M Co. of an elevator at another brewery. This building is constructed on the east side of the Brewery. (See Fig. 2.02, 3.06 - 3.07, 4.03, 7.19)

1899-1900 - The first expansion of the Brewery is undertaken, beginning in June 1899. The Malt House is extended east and doubles in floor plan, with the addition being used for the bottling works and stock cellar. This addition is only two stories, not as high as the original Malt House. The Ale Cellars east behind the Engine Room are also expanded, but remain one storey. Stone for the additions is brought from the Butlin quarry on the Elbow River. A new steam Boiler House, one story with a low-sloped shed roof, is added on west side of the complex. The original Boiler House becomes the Pump House. A new Wash House and Stock Cellar are added on north side, adjoining the Malt House extension. (See Fig. 2.02, 3.07 -3.08,7.20-21)

1903-1905 - The single largest expansion of the brewery is begun. A windmill is constructed sometime in 1903, probably to pump water from the first site well.(1) A larger Fermentation Cellar is added on north side, in front of the older cellars, also in 1903. The original Brewing and Engine house is replaced by a new Brew House, a five-storey sandstone and brick building with large windows. Two long, low buildings are added on east end of complex - the Bottling House and the cask and bottle Wash House - replacing the old soda water plant, which is rebuilt east of 15th Street SE. The sandstone for these buildings comes from Owen's Quarry at Okotoks, Alberta. The Boiler Building is expanded west and built higher as well, with a 150-foot chimney stack. A new Malt Kiln is added beside the original kiln, on the south side of the building. The Malting House is also expanded, with another two stories added to the 1900 addition. Finally, the Barley Elevator is remodeled and expanded, with a wooden building put on the roof of the Malt House and a Barley Storage Building added.

This entire expansion was designed by Bernard Barthel, a Chicago architect specializing in breweries: the modernization of the facility was doubtlessly too specialized for local architects. Barthel visited the Calgary site at least once, and along with plans for the new buildings also helped procure new equipment for the brew house, the boilers and the bottle house. Structural cast iron and steel for the buildings was provided by Dominion Bridge of Montreal. It is very likely that A.E. Cross went to Chicago and attended the Wahl-Henius Institute of Fermentology with the intention of also finding a designer for the modernization of his brewery. The clean, functional look of the new brewery buildings and their emphasis on natural light, especially the brew house, are unique in Calgary for this period and may reflect design trends in the USA. (See Fig. 2.03 -2.04, 3.09, 3.11 - 3.12, 4.03 - 4.08, 5.01, 7.23 - 7.30)

1907 - A new Administration Building is constructed to replace the original small brick office building. It is designed by William Stanley Bates of Hodgson and Bates, soon to become Calgary's most prestigious architectural firm of the prewar boom.(2) A small brick and sandstone office building, it features a wonderful relief sandstone carving of the buffalo head logo of the company. The 1903 windmill has been removed by this point. (Fig. 2.05, 3.10, 4.09 - 4.11, 5.01)

1909-10 - An additional storey is added above the ale cellars, housing a yeast room and increasing the cold storage facilities.(Fig. 2.06, 3.13 - 3.14, 5.01 and 5.02)

1913 - Another expansion of the Brewery is begun. Additions are put on the north end of the Bottling and Wash Houses, with building permits taken out in February 1913.(3) The Engine Room, which is also referred to as the machine shop, is built beginning in October as a separate building west of the existing complex.(4) The well cistern still found in that building was probably dug at this time, as fire insurance maps show that the original well was further east. The Fermenting Cellars are also expanded. A Grain Drying Building is added on the north side of the Boiler House. (Fig. 2.06, 4.19 - 4.25, 5.2 - 5.3)

1932 - Work on the Brewery gardens begins about this time. The gardens are gradually expanded, with fishponds added, throughout the thirties. (See Fig. 2.07, 4.30 - 4.37)

1937 - The original fish hatchery is added to the complex and opened in 1938.(5) There is some discrepancy as to its location. The 1947 fire insurance map has it positioned on west side of Brew House by the Pump House. However, 1943 site plans, prepared by Stevenson & Fordyce, the probable architects of the hatchery, show it to be on the west side of the Barley Storage Building. (Fig 2.07-2.08 3.19, 5.04)

1938 - By this year, the landmark Calgary Brewery sign has been added to the top of the Fermenting Cellars, facing north. A loading dock has also been put on the east side of the Bottling House.(6) George Fordyce, of the architectural firm of Fordyce & Stevenson and Reginald Peach, a local contractor, also design and build the first version of the Malt Room. Also known as the "Snake Pit", it is used as a meeting place and bar.(7) It is positioned in the rear of the old Malt House, which was by this date used for storage, malting having been discontinued in 1916.(8) (Fig. 2.08, 3.15)

1945 - Various internal changes are begun. Part of the malt house is converted from storage space into a cafeteria. The other major renovation started in 1945 is an addition of a storey onto the old alehouse.(9) (3.19 - 3.24, 4.38 - 4.54)

1947 - Construction begins in 1947 on a new Bottling Plant, designed by the architectural firm of J.M. Stevenson, Cawston and Stevenson, and built by Larwill Construction of Calgary.(10) The cornerstone is laid in December 1947 by Mrs. A.E. Cross, and the building is completed in 1948. This signals the start of another expansion and modernization program for the Brewery, which continues until 1960. A great deal of the internal floor plan is changed during this modernization. (Fig. 2.09, 3.26, 4.55, 4.57, 5.04, 6.02 -6.03)

1949-50 - A new Grain Drying Building is added to the west side of the plant.(11) This was also designed by J.M. Stevenson, Cawston and Stevenson, who have clearly become Calgary Brewery's architects. The first indication that a museum is being planned also appears at this date, on a site plan. The museum building was to be built using the existing structure of the engine room, although this is never carried out. (Fig. 2.10, 3.27 - 3.30)

1954 - Yet another Fermentation Cellar is added on the north side in front of the 1905 Brew House. This large addition, designed by Stevenson and Dewar in late 1953, is built in 1954. (Fig. 2.11, 3.31-3.32, 4.90, 5.05, 6.05)

1956 - The cornerstone is laid by Mrs. A.E. Cross for a large addition to the Administration Building on its east and north facades, designed by J. Stevenson & Associates. (Fig. 2.11-2.12, 3.33 - 3.35, 4.73 - 4.74, 4.89, 5.05, 6.05)

1957 - Site plans prepared by J. Stevenson and Associates show that spaces between the 1903 & 1913 Fermentation Cellars and the original Ale Cellars has been filled in by an addition to the laboratory and a new yeast propagation room. A new grain sacking facility has been built on the west side of the Grain Drying Building. (Fig. 2.12, 3.35)

1960 - The Aquarium is opened on August 25th, 1960. This building includes an expansion of the Fish Hatchery at the rear and space for the future Horseman's Hall of Fame museum on the second floor. The architects were once again J. Stevenson & Associates. 1960 site plans prepared by the architects also show that the driveway space between the old Bottling House and Wash House has been enclosed and used for storage space.(Fig. 2.13, 3.36, 3.38, 4.79-4.81, 4.84, 5.06, 6.06)

1962 - The Horseman's Hall of Fame is opened. (12)

1972 - The Aquarium is closed. The Hall of Fame expands onto the first floor.(13)

1975 - The Horseman's Hall of Fame is closed.(14)

1984 - The last major renovation of the site is carried out by Carling O' Keefe. A new Brew House and Fermentation Cellar are added on north side, an addition is built to the west side of the Bottling Plant, another addition connects the Bottling Plant to the old Bottle House and north facades were covered in steel cladding. At this time, the original 1892 Malt Kiln and Boiler House were removed except for the foundations, and the second Malt Kiln from 1905 is destroyed. This renovation is valued at over 40 million dollars.0 5) (Fig. 2.14)

1994 - The Inglewood Brewery is closed and decommissioned by the present owner, Molson Breweries.