THE CANADIAN NUMISMATIC RESEARCH SOCIETY



50th Anniversary *Transactions*2013

TRANSACTIONS OF THE CANADIAN NUMISMATIC RESEARCH SOCIETY



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2013
The Canadian Numismatic Research Society
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Canadian Numismatic Research Society – The First Fifty Years by Ron Greene

On August 17, 1963, at the CNA Convention in Vancouver, nine Canadian numismatists met to discuss the formation of a research group, the idea for which had been promoted by Larry Gingras. Larry had asked Leslie C. Hill for a list of those actively researching Canadian coins, tokens, and medals because Les was in correspondence with most of those active in the field. The outcome of the meeting, chaired by J. Douglas Ferguson, was the formation of a small society to be called the Canadian Numismatic Research Society. Fellowship in the Society was to be "limited to those who have made a worthwhile contribution to Canadian numismatics through research and publication in a recognized numismatic journal of the results of such research and who are now actively engaged in Canadian numismatic research." The founding membership included those collectors present at the Vancouver meeting, Fred Bowman, Sheldon S. Carroll, J.D. Ferguson, Larry Gingras, Ronald A. Greene, Leslie C. Hill, A. Mitchell MacDonald, Cecil C. Tannahill, and Robert C. Willey, along with several who were unable to attend, Eddie Echenberg, Chris Faulkner, Scott Simpson, Donald M. Stewart, and J-J. Prenoveau. Larry Gingras acted as president and Sheldon S. Carroll as secretary. Les Hill and Sheldon Carroll were to serve as a Constitution Committee. A draft constitution was brought to the Society for acceptance at its next meeting in August 1964 at the CNA Convention in Halifax, where it was duly approved.

In January 1964, Larry Gingras, as president, suggested that the Society compile a list of unattributed Canadian store cards, tokens, medals, paper money, etc. By April 1964, a survey of current projects under way indicated a wide range of activity in this regard: Fred Bowman was working on Ontario trade tokens; Sheldon Carroll was gathering information on Canadian banknotes and scrip; Chris Faulkner was listing countermarked Canadian coins and tokens; Larry Gingras was working on the tokens and medals of the Hudson's Bay Company; Ron Greene was trying to photograph all known BC tokens and medals and was working on a listing of paper money issued in BC; Les Hill was gathering information on the BC gold pieces of 1862; Mitch MacDonald was listing the tokens and medals of Nova Scotia; Scott Simpson was preparing a slide set on Yukon tokens and working on the Yukon and Dawson overprinted notes of the Canadian Bank of Commerce; Don Stewart was working on Alberta Tokens and offered to help anyone interested in listing Manitoba tokens; Cec Tannahill was working on Saskatchewan tokens, banknotes, scrip and their history; finally, Bob Willey was at work on an article on the Vexator Canadiensis tokens.

In July 1964 Larry Gingras initiated plans to produce the Society's own publication. The *Transactions of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society* – generally referred to as the *Transactions* – debuted as a quarterly in January 1965. In May 1965 a controversy arose about selling subscriptions, with the editor and a majority of the Fellows against selling subscriptions to non-members. One non-member complained that the Society was withholding information. There was a stated intention that the editor of *The CN Journal* should be permitted to print any articles which appeared in the *Transactions*, but at the time the editor of *The CNJ* was not prepared to use any of the articles. It was assumed that many of the articles would be of little interest to the average CNA member. The outcome of this controversy was a motion by the Society to make

¹ Appendix A, Circular Letter No. 1, September 12, 1963.

annual sets of the *Transactions* available for purchase at the end of each year. The number of pages printed peaked at 199 in 1973.

In 1965 Ron Greene suggested that the CNRS offer an annual prize for the best article on Canadian numismatics which involved original research. Because of the financial circumstances of the CNRS, the suggestion was not taken up at the time. Greene also suggested that biographies of the Fellows be collected and published in the Transactions. Unfortunately, only a handful of Fellows submitted their biographies. The year 1965 also saw the nomination of two new members, Gordon Dickie, who accepted, and Guy Potter, who declined. When, towards the end of the year, two more people were nominated, one was rejected by the membership as he had not published sufficiently. This rejection triggered a look at the process of vetting potential Fellows and a clarification of the process. All future nominations were to be supported by a record of the nominee's publications. After three more numismatists were nominated in 1967, membership reached 20 Fellows. In 1968, discussion returned to the matter of an annual award to a non-Fellow for the best article on Canadian numismatic research, and the following year the first certificate was presented to James Haxby for an article on "Die Varieties of the Canadian Decimal Coinage of Queen Victoria." Haxby became a CNRS Fellow in 1970. In 1970, books were also made eligible for the award, which was renamed in honour of Fred Bowman when he passed away in 1978. The award was now called "The Canadian Numismatic Research Society Fred Bowman Award for Literary Excellence."

In January 1968 Doug Ferguson had initiated discussion of a proposed numbering system for local tokens. A CNRS committee was therefore formed to develop standard abbreviations and symbols for shapes, materials and colours. The committee's recommendations have been widely used, notwithstanding the impossibility of absolute standardization because of the inevitability of some unique shapes, materials or colours. From time to time in the early 1970s concerns were raised about Fellows who were inactive. President Paul Siggers even sent around a memo: "Standard Procedure Instructions on the Death of Fellows. It has been recently brought to the attention of this Society that some Fellows have been dying (while supposedly doing research) for no apparent good reason. Furthermore, the same Fellows are refusing to fall over after they are dead. THIS PRACTICE MUST STOP AT ONCE. ..." The debate on the activity of Fellows was never resolved. For every Fellow who felt that only active researchers should remain in the Society, another allowed that there would be fallow times for every researcher, and that older Fellows might be justified in taking a rest or even retiring from research.

In 1972 it was decided that dealers, if they qualified through their research and publications, could become Fellows. By the next year there were 29 Fellows, more than double the number at the Society's founding. In 1974 Ken Palmer took over the secretary-treasurer's position from Bob Willey, who had served in that capacity since 1964, and in 1978 Ross Irwin took over the editor's position from Larry Gingras, who had been the *Transactions* editor since its inception in 1965. Inflation finally hit the Society in 1978 and annual dues had to be raised to \$10. In 1980 there was a major change in the criteria for CNRS membership. After considerable debate, it was decided that in addition to anyone researching and publishing works on Canadian numismatics, Canadians researching and publishing work on non-Canadian numismatics would be eligible for Fellowship. Because this wider field meant that all Fellows might not have the knowledge to judge the quality of work of a nominee, a committee was formed to vet each nominee's publications. The Society had 35 Fellows on its 1982 roster.

² Paul Siggers, "Memorandum to all Fellows," May 11, 1973.

In 1986 Ron Greene became the secretary-treasurer and in 1993 Harry James became editor of the *Transactions*. In 1986 there were 39 Fellows. In 1988, in response to the growing awareness of bilingualism in Canada, and the presence of francophones in our membership, it was decided that articles received in French would also be presented with an English title and a short English language summary. In fact, a number of French language articles in the 1990's were translated by the secretary-treasurer and published in both languages. In this period, there was also some discussion as to whether the Transactions should be reprinted. To handle longer articles that might suffer from being run across several issues of the *Transactions*, a decision was taken to publish Occasional Papers when warranted. The first Occasional Paper, published in 1993, was *The Tokens* of Greenwood and Phoenix, British Columbia, by Ron Greene. When Bob Willey passed away at the end of 1993, Jérôme Remick suggested that his Dictionary of Canadian Medallists would make a fine Occasional Paper. It was published in 1997. In response to a case of plagiarism from the *Transactions*, the copyright symbol © was added to all issues, with the proviso that the CNRS would allow a blanket release of material for nonprofit purposes where credit to the author and the *Transactions* is given, unless marked "All rights reserved."

In 1995 the Society instigated its most ambitious project, the *Canadian Numismatic Bibliography* (CNB), with a view to creating a first class reference. Much credit for the foundation of this project goes to William H. McDonald. Darryl Atchison volunteered to be the editor, and later Paul Petch became the layout editor and systems advisor. A number of Fellows were asked to survey the literature in their field of interest. The rights to the CNB were given to the J.D. Ferguson Historical Research Foundation, which undertook to publish and distribute the work. The project took twelve years and resulted in a two-volume, 1200-page, illustrated reference of great value to any numismatic researcher. Almost fifty copies were distributed by the Ferguson Foundation to major university and public libraries in Canada and the United States.

By 2001 the numbers of Fellows had been steady at about 44 or 45 for several years. The *Transactions* was being distributed to approximately another fifty non-Fellows and institutions. However, the editor, Harry James, was also the editor of the Cee Tee, the publication of the Canadian Association of Token Collectors (CATC). Some articles were being printed in both publications. The thought arose that if the two publications were amalgamated, articles would receive a wider readership, which might encourage more collectors to research and write. After discussions with CATC members, a new publication was launched in 2002, Numismatica Canada, which replaced the Transactions and the Cee Tee. Another change which occurred in 2001 was that the criteria for the Fred Bowman Literary Award were changed to permit CNRS Fellows to win the Award, although non-Fellows were to be favoured if their works were of relatively equal value. Discussions at the 2003 AGM included retaining digital copies of articles (where these existed) for future use, as more and more authors were submitting An effort was made to improve the quality of photographs and work by e-mail. illustrations. The editor's report for 2008 stated that there were 209 pages in *Numismatica* Canada covering 56 articles, submitted by 21 authors. Of these, 44 articles were written by Fellows. The number of Fellows finally exceeded 50 in early 2009, with wide-ranging interests and research activities. Of the original fourteen charter Fellows, four still maintain their membership fifty years later. These are Les Hill, Donald M. Stewart, Chris Faulkner, and Ron Greene. With increases in postal costs, many organizations, such as the Canadian Paper Money Society and the Royal Canadian Numismatic Association, offer digital versions of their journals with notable savings passed on to their members. Perhaps this will be the way that we have to go in the future as we enter our next 50 years.

Fellows of the CNRS

1963	Bowman, Fred	1974	Becker, J. Richard	1990	Fournier, Jeff
	Carroll, Sheldon S.		Copan, Leslie D.	1991	Waychison, William
	Echenberg, Edwin	1975	Burry, Ralph R.	1992	Brunk, Gregory G.
	Faulkner, Christopher		Longley, Charles F.	1993	Charlton, James E.
	Ferguson, J. Douglas	1976	Curry, Michael R.		Laevens, Larry
	Gingras, Larry		Eisenhauer, Harry M.	1995	Boddington, Jack
	Greene, Ronald		McQuade, Ruth	1996	Bird, Richard
	Hill, Leslie C.	1977	Wells, Norman E.		Giroux, Jean-Luc
	MacDonald, Mitchell	1979	Graham, Robert J.	1997	Jacobs, Wayne
	Prenoveau, Jean-J.		Levesque, Jean C.		Ryan, Christopher
	Simpson, Scott		Parker, Charles E.		Salterio, Earl
	Stewart, Donald M.	1981	Clarke, William N.	2000	Kyle, Melvin
	Tannahill, Cecil C.		Esler, Graham	2001	Berry, Paul
	Willey, Robert C.		Fesco, Frank		Leighton, Eric
1965	Dickie, Gordon C.		James, Harry N.	2002	Atchison, Darryl A.
1966	Allen, H. Don		Uman, Barry	2003	Puddester, Robert
	Gould, Maurice M.	1982	Willis, Norman	2004	Buth, Leonard
	Palmer, Kenneth A.	1983	Wojtiw, Dr. Lubomir	2005	McCreery, Christopher
1967	Boltz, Nelson	1984	Banning, Edward B.	2006	Astwood, James W.
	Irwin, Ross W.		Brace, Bruce R.		Douglas, Scott E.
1968	Siggers, Paul		Cornwell, R. Brian		Renwick, Barrie
1970	Allan, Walter		Fraser, George		Roebuck, Donald
	Haxby, Dr. James A.		Remick, Jérôme H.	2007	Brace, Dorte
	Mabee, Ray	1985	Gilboy, Dr. Christopher	2008	Baker, Warren
	Rowe, C. Francis	1987	Leitch, Ted	2009	Bergeron, David
1971	Bell, Geoffrey G.		Paré, JP.		Nienhuis, Henry
	Petrie, Alfred E. H.	1988	Dickieson, Ralph		Turner, Robert
	Williams, Norman W.		Kennedy, Earle K.	2010	Deyell, John
1972	Clowery, Freeman	1989	Brouillette, Pierre	2011	Clute, Stanley
	Harding, Frank		Denman, Brian	2013	Cheek, Ronald
	McDonald, William H.		Moogk, Peter		
	Veffer, Jack				

Officers of the CNRS

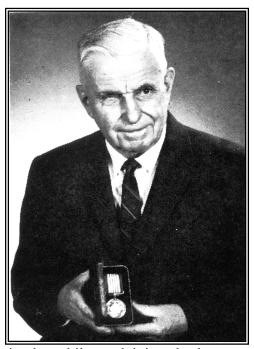
Years	President	Vice-President	SecTreasurer	Editor
1963-1964	Larry Gingras	(none)	Sheldon Carroll	
1964-1966	Larry Gingras	Cecil Tannahill	Robert Willey	
1965				Larry Gingras
1966-1968	Cecil Tannahill	Donald Stewart	Robert Willey	Larry Gingras
1968-1970	Donald Stewart	Mitch MacDonald	Robert Willey	Larry Gingras
1970-1972	Douglas Ferguson	Paul Siggers	Robert Willey	Larry Gingras
1972-1974	Paul Siggers	Ray Mabee	Robert Willey	Larry Gingras
1974-1976	Robert Willey	Ross Irwin	Kenneth Palmer	Larry Gingras
1976-1978	Ross Irwin	Geoffrey Bell	Kenneth Palmer	Larry Gingras
1978-1980	Geoffrey Bell	Richard Becker	Kenneth Palmer	Ross Irwin
1980-1982	Richard Becker	Ronald Greene	Kenneth Palmer	Ross Irwin
1982-1984	Ronald Greene	Ruth McQuade	Kenneth Palmer	Ross Irwin
1984-1986	Ruth McQuade	Robert Graham	Kenneth Palmer	Ross Irwin
1986-1988	Robert Graham	Graham Esler	Ronald Greene	Ross Irwin
1988-1990	Christopher Gilboy	Graham Esler	Ronald Greene	Ross Irwin
1990-1992	Graham Esler	Ted Leitch	Ronald Greene	Ross Irwin
1992-1994	Ted Leitch	Brian Cornwell	Ronald Greene	Ross Irwin
1993				Harry James
1994-1996	Brian Cornwell	Christopher Faulkner	Ronald Greene	Harry James
1996-1998	Christopher Faulkner	William Clarke	Ronald Greene	Harry James
1998-2000	Lubomir Wojtiw	Peter Moogk	Ronald Greene	Harry James
2000-2002	Peter Moogk	William Waychison	Ronald Greene	Harry James
2002-2004	William Waychison	Earl Salterio	Ronald Greene	Harry James
2004-2005	Earl Salterio	JP. Paré	Ronald Greene	Harry James
2005-2006	Paul Berry		Ronald Greene	Harry James
2006-2008	Leonard Buth	Darryl Atchison	Ronald Greene	Harry James
2008-2010	Darryl Atchison	Harry James	Ronald Greene	Harry James
2010-2012	Harry James	Scott E. Douglas	Ronald Greene	Harry James
2012-2014	Scott E. Douglas	Robert Turner	Ronald Greene	Harry James

Fred Bowman (1889-1978) by Chris Faulkner

A meeting can be transformative.

For a year or so, in 1956 or 57, I collected Canadian decimal coins in the familiar, blue Whitman folders. However, that changed in the course of a number of meetings of the Montreal Coin Club, where I heard Fred Bowman speak about pre-Confederation tokens. I was entranced, introduced myself to Mr. Bowman, and quickly sold my meagre decimal collection. Mr. Bowman became my mentor on a fascinating journey of discovery.

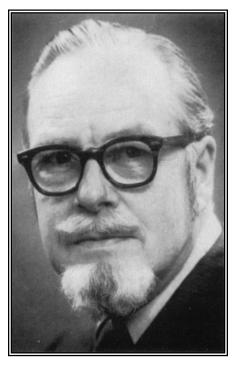
Mr. Bowman – he was always *Mr*. Bowman to me – lived at 210 53rd Avenue, Lachine, just outside of Montreal, and I lived nearby in Pointe Claire. On Saturday mornings I would phone him up and ask whether he was free for a visit that afternoon. Many, many Saturday afternoons were spent in Mr. Bowman's upstairs study during which I asked innumerable



questions, no doubt naive, which he answered patiently, while explaining the bouquet sous to me (his preferred series), or showing me a handsome bank token, or a magical Lesslie 2d. If I brought him something unusual, he would photograph it or make a rubbing for an entry in one of his famous ledgers. Those ledgers, now in the Bank of Canada, are Mr. Bowman's greatest legacy, an indispensable encyclopedia of the entire field of Canadian coins and tokens. He also talked of the collectors he knew or had known, such as L.A. Renaud, of whom he was very fond, Octave Pelletier, Victor Morin, and Guy Potter. In the course of the afternoon, Alice, Fred's wife, would bring us both a sandwich and me a glass of milk. Mr. Bowman would light up one of his White Owl cigars. The smell of cigar smoke still lingers in some of the duplicate pamphlets he gave me and ignites my memories of time spent in Mr. Bowman's company. I will never forget the expedition we made one long summer weekend to visit Doug Ferguson in Rock Island, Quebec. Mr. Bowman drove, with me a little apprehensive in the passenger seat, inasmuch as he had only one good eye (about which I never asked). We spent three memorable days talking about tokens and looking at Ferguson's vast collection. I took the occasion to record every one of his countermarks. That was more than fifty years ago. Fred Bowman was a gentle, kind, and shy man by whom I can truly say I was formed numismatically through meeting him at the Montreal Coin Club.

Sheldon Scott Carroll (1914-1998) by Graham Esler

Sheldon Carroll was a person of strong convictions. He was the first person whom I heard state most emphatically that Canada did not have dimes, quarters or half-dollars, but ten, twenty-five, and fifty-cent pieces. And woe betide anyone who referred to a paper money collector as a "rag-picker." Sheldon had a broad understanding of most numismatic fields and an in depth knowledge of others, such as pre-Confederation tokens and Canadian paper money. He compiled meticulous records in both areas and his notebooks form an integral part of the National Currency Collection Library. Sheldon believed that serious collectors should not collect coins, tokens or paper money in a vacuum. He was widely read and built his library with the same care and enthusiasm as he did his own collections; later he built the National Currency Collection Library in the same way. As one of the founding members of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society in 1963, he drew up the aims of the



Society and the criteria for admission. With his background at Normal School (Teacher's College) and as a graduate of The Canadian Army Staff College, Sheldon's insistence on accuracy and his organizational skills were not surprising.

Sheldon was a great believer in the fellowship of collectors and an active supporter of local coin clubs. He felt that these clubs formed the foundation of numismatics in Canada and he seldom refused an invitation to be a speaker at a regular meeting or an annual banquet. Sheldon was a born raconteur and he enjoyed telling stories about his experiences, such as the time he and Guy Potter came to the 1956 CNA convention in London and decided to visit Lorne Wilson, a token collector who lived near Bright, Ontario. These two stalwarts of numismatics drove out to see him only to be told on their arrival that Lorne was too busy to see them because he was studying die varieties of the Bank of Montreal sideview tokens. Sheldon also had a wicked sense of humour. At the 1965 ONA convention in London, much to his delight Sheldon discovered an employee whose surname was Arts. The poor fellow must have wondered what was going on when Sheldon organized individual photo opportunities for all the numismatic luminaries to have their pictures taken with the employee whose name tag read F.ARTS.

Sheldon Carroll possessed an enquiring mind and was always generous with his time, advice, knowledge, information, experience, and guidance.

J. Douglas Ferguson (1901-1981) by Warren Baker

To write a short biography of a numismatist so long associated with the hobby as Doug Ferguson is not an easy task. I wondered what I could add to those wonderful reminiscences Doug recounted in his interview with his great friend Sheldon Carroll, the results of which were published in *The CN Journal* in April and May 1978.

Doug joined the ANA in March 1922, and in 1942 was only the second Canadian to become the Association's President. Mention should be made of his dear wife Bess who accompanied him to many numismatic conventions, and who was ever the charming hostess when Doug had visitors to his Rock Island residence. I was there on many occasions when Doug permitted me to purchase parts of his collections after he had sold the main part to help form our national collection at the Bank ofCanada The Riveredge

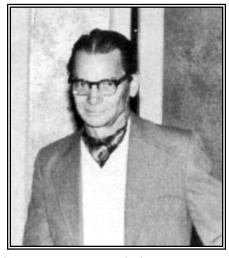


(Glenbow) Foundation in Calgary subsequently secured Doug's fabulous medal collection.

The first time that I met Doug was in 1958 or 1959, at the Snowdon Coin Shop in Montreal. I had purchased my first medal, a rather common but attractive piece, and I well remember how pleased I was with Doug's encouraging remarks. Our correspondence, a reasonably regular one, started in May 1966, and ended with his last letter of October 3, 1981, a couple of months before he passed away. Doug corresponded with hundreds of numismatists in a more than sixty year period, and it can truly be said that he was the face of Canadian numismatics throughout North America. Letters from collectors such as Courteau, dated as early as April 6, and 24, 1922, show that Doug was already advanced at that early date. Courteau's first letter is accompanied by two of his publications, ordered earlier on by Doug. His prolific archives are in the National Currency Collection, but I was delighted to procure a good number of his letters. It is of particular interest to note that most of the old-time collectors, when it came time to sell their collections, first offered them to Doug. R.M. Bateman, W.D. Tennant, W.A.D. Lees, L.A. Langstroth, Ludger Gravel, and Victor Morin were but a few of those collectors. Such was the respect he had in the numismatic community for so many years.

Lawrence Lee Gingras (1915-1986) by Ron Greene

In 1962 the field of British Columbia tokens was largely unknown. Breton had only listed four Three members pieces. of the Vancouver Numismatic Society, Leslie C. Hill, Scott Simpson, and Larry Gingras, formed a Research Committee to consolidate and update token and medal listings for BC. Bob Eveleigh, Norm Williams and I joined this committee at the second meeting. I believe that this activity started Larry thinking along the lines of a national research organization. Les Hill therefore provided him with a list of about sixteen people who might be interested in such an organization. A meeting was held in the Hotel Vancouver during the 1963 CNA convention, which resulted in the



founding of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society. Larry served three years as President. In 1965 he became the first editor and typist of its gestetner-produced *Transactions*. He remained the editor until 1978. Apparently, he was a very fast typist, using only two fingers, and his daughter, Judy Gingras-Fox, thinks he would have loved searching for information on the Internet. In addition to British Columbia tokens, Larry was also interested in transportation tokens and the tokens and medals of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was a good researcher and produced several works, with his 1975 booklet on the Hudson's Bay Company tokens, medals and paper money still the standard. In 1971 Larry had a medal struck stating that he had been in numismatics for 35 years. He received the J.D. Ferguson Award in 1979.

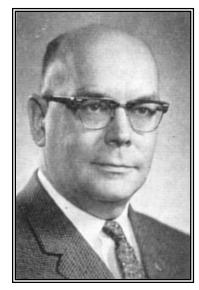
Larry was not always an easy person to get along with. He was very aggressive in his quest for material and information, and stepped on a few toes along the way. He put his technical skills together and became quite proficient at making electrotype copies of rare tokens and medals – not to deceive anyone, but to have three dimensional examples of pieces that weren't available otherwise.

Larry was born in the tiny village of Leross, Saskatchewan. In Vancouver, with his wife, Lillian, and twelve children, Larry tried his hand at a number of jobs to make a living until he finally settled into work as an aircraft mechanic for Pacific Western Airlines for twenty-five years. Larry lived in Richmond, B.C., until he retired and moved with his second wife, Laura, and her large family, to Point Roberts, Washington.

A. Mitchell MacDonald (19??-1970) by Chris Faulkner

I don't recall ever meeting Mitch MacDonald, but we did correspond in the early 1960s. One of his projects was a comprehensive listing of post-Confederation Maritime tokens and in October, 1962, he wrote to say: "I have made up the attached basic list giving all the names of the merchants I know of and the number of tokens they issued." A follow up letter thanked me for my comments and said that he was also working on a list of unattributed tokens he believed to be Canadian which he hoped to have ready in the New Year. Sadly, that research was never published, as his papers and correspondences appear to have been lost shortly after his death in March 1970.

Mitch MacDonald was there at the beginning, when the Fellows of the CNRS, spread out as they were across the country, set out to compile the first catalogues of the merchant tokens of their various regions. After the



devotion by collectors from the 1880s to the 1930s to cataloguing our pre-Confederation tokens, the 1960s inaugurated the second great wave of Canadian numismatics when researchers set out to list our hitherto largely neglected post-Confederation token series. Here Mitch MacDonald was in his element, inasmuch as absolutely nothing had been done with the tokens of the Maritime Provinces.

Mitch was first of all devoted to the history of his home province of Nova Scotia and did not neglect its pre-Confederation token issues. He wrote about the extremely rare Halifax National School medal, the enigmatic Blakley & Co. token (Breton 901), the semi-regal tokens of the 1820s and 30s, and that mythical little beast the Halifax Ferry token, in an article appropriately titled, "Halifax Steamboat Token Fact or Fiction?" which has frequently been reprinted.

He was President of the CNA from 1965 to 1967, first President of the Halifax Coin Club in 1958, Chair of the 1964 Halifax CNA Convention, Past President of the Nova Scotia Heritage Trust, and Vice-President of the CNRS from August 1968 until his death. The life of a good and cheerful man and a fine and promising numismatic researcher was cut short by his untimely death.

Scott A. Simpson (1906-1994) by Ron Greene

Scott Simpson was a steel worker and later a template maker for Western Bridge. By 1963 he had left that work to join R.A. "Bob" Levy at Continental Coins in Vancouver. While it is not known exactly when he began collecting, he was an early member of the Vancouver Coin Club (later the Vancouver Numismatic Society) and in January 1957 he joined the Canadian Numismatic Association as number 1294.

He was active in the Vancouver Numismatic Society as club auctioneer and was one of the original members of the club's Research Committee. Scott's task on the Committee was researching and cataloguing the Yukon tokens. His most important work was two articles on the Yukon and Dawson overprints of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, which appeared in *The CN Journal* and the *Canadian Paper Money Journal*



in 1964 and 1965, respectively. He resigned from the CNRS in 1971 and retired from most numismatic activity at the same time. However, he later collaborated with Leslie C. Hill on the 1990 publication *Yukon Numismatica*.

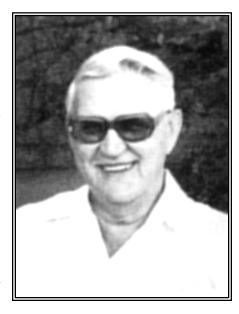
One of Scott's more unusual discoveries came about while he was waiting for a bus to take him to a CNA convention in Vancouver for the day. He noticed a glint of metal on the ground, which turned out to be half of a New Dominion Bakery token of Vancouver. To this day, it remains the only one known.

Scott passed away at age 88 in May 1994. He was survived by his wife Jean, son Keith, and daughter Myra, as well as five grand-children and eight great-grand-children.

Cecil C. Tannahill (1912-1997) by Ron Greene

Cec Tannahill started collecting when he was 18. He found an 1882 US dollar and an 1893 Columbian 50 cent piece when the sod shack in which his parents had homesteaded was torn down. Later, Cec became interested in tokens and started on the Breton series. However, he came across some Saskatchewan pieces and started looking for information on them. A numismatic researcher was born.

Between 1972 and 1986 Cec produced a number of catalogues on tokens, wooden money, scrip, banking and paper money from Saskatchewan. Several of these catalogues broke new ground by adding historical information. I was especially impressed by his Saskatchewan Numismatica: An Illustrated Edition of Banking, Trade Tokens, Paper Money and Scrip Used in the Territory and Province

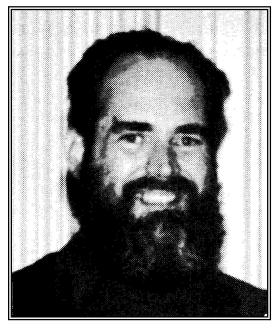


of Saskatchewan (1980). Another of his works was Banks of Early Saskatchewan: Private-Chartered Banks in the Territories of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan and the Province of Saskatchewan 1880-1936 (1986). His long catalogue titles are reminiscent of Victorian authors. In 1974 his Saskatchewan collection was purchased by the Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth for the Western Development Museum. After the sale he helped prepare the collection for display, which involved a tour of many communities throughout the province. Cec Tannahill joined the CNA in 1950 as member 108, later becoming Life Member No. 11. He became the first western president of the CNA in 1959. He was president of the Regina Coin Club on two occasions and during his second term the club hosted the 1985 CNA convention.

Cec was born in Liberty, Saskatchewan, where he first took up farming. After farming, he became involved in a number of other business enterprises and occupations in Regina and Saskatoon, some of which he was forced to abandon because of ill health. Another bout of ill health saw him take a year's leave of absence from work and spend most of that time on the west coast. By 1976 he and his wife Isabel had moved to White Rock, BC. They moved several times after that because of Isabel's allergies, ultimately settling in Vernon where their son, Gary, resided. Cec received the J.D. Ferguson Award in 1981. Since he was unable to receive the award at the annual convention, his numismatic friends from British Columbia treated him to a lunch and presented him with the medal on that occasion.

Robert C. Willey (1927-1993) by Warren Baker

Bob Willey was devoted numismatist, well-known for his many articles and descriptions of the colonial series and the decimal coins of Canada, versions of which were published in serial form in *The* CN Journal in 1958 (in 5 issues), considerably expanded in 1960/61 (in 15 issues), and expanded yet again in 1979-83 (across four years). He further popularized our colonial series and Canadian decimals south of the border in a fine series of articles in the Whitman Numismatic Journal from 1965-67, offered up in twenty-two issues, along with three more articles in 1968. Bob was one of the first Canadians to submit articles to Coin World (1962), which had the widest circulation of any numismatic periodical. The colonial series was certainly



his greatest passion in Canadian numismatics, but he esteemed even the humblest of coins and medals. It can be said, with little fear of contradiction, that he was a disciple of R.W. McLachlan, whose work Bob closely followed.

In order to write this small tribute concerning another good friend I started with my correspondence files, and I see that his first letter to me dates from May 15, 1966, and very appropriately concerns the Vexator coppers. The last of his letters was written from Victoria on March 25, 1993, nine months prior to his passing on Christmas Eve, 1993. When I visited Victoria to see my numismatic friends late that year, Bob was already too ill to meet with us.

If there is an anecdote that most reflects the good will of this man, it has to do with something that affected both of us, and Bob was the bigger loser thereby. In response to my letter advising Bob that the brass and copper specimens of Breton 1008 which he had loaned to me for my article had been stolen, along with several other valuable pieces, at the Torex show in March 1973, he replied: "Dear Warren: Damn! These things must happen to the likes of us!? You certainly are leaving no stone unturned in trying to recover the pieces. If you can procure other specimens of comparable condition to replace them, this will satisfy me and, should the others turn up, some sort of reverse settlement can be worked out ..." I replaced the copper piece, and we made a settlement on the other. What a good man he was!

The Slinn Brothers – Bakers to Ottawa 1870 - 1913 by Paul S. Berry

Introduction

The Slinn family were bakers of long standing in Ottawa. For over 40 years, from the early 1870s to the First World War, family members sold baked goods and confectionery in Ottawa and the surrounding suburbs. Their efforts were largely centred on the actions of three brothers: Stephen B(reary), Samuel (Skinner), and Breary. Each man worked in a different part of the city in a period that witnessed the transition of their bakeries from small family firms to larger mechanized operations capable of producing thousands of loaves of bread a day. Three other brothers, William, Charles, and Richard also worked for a time at Ottawa in the baking business, but their efforts were short-lived and amounted to no more than the provision of support to their better known brothers who form the subject of this work.

Baking in 19thC Ottawa

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in Canada, prepared from testimony before the commission as it toured the country in 1888, is very informative about the life and business of Canadian bakers during the late 19th century. A typical bakery of this period consisted of a storefront where baked goods were sold, the bakery with its ovens, heated by wood or coal, at the back of the building or on another level, storerooms, stables for horses, and a carriage house if the bakery made deliveries. Some bakeries limited themselves to producing bread; others also baked cakes or biscuits. Sometimes, this business was combined with a confectionery. The confectionery was closely related to a bakery, which perhaps explains why the two businesses were often twinned in one establishment. Both business lines sold baked goods such as buns and breads made on the premises. The confectionery also sold biscuits, fine pastries, and other sweet delectables like candies, ice cream, and sodas. In addition to the wider range of goods, a confectionary often offered a table section, where patrons could rest and eat their orders.

Bakeries employed upwards of five staff: two labourers or journeymen bakers who baked the bread, a foreman or first-hand, two store clerks (who oftimes were women), and perhaps a driver to deliver bread. The proprietor was called a master baker. Some firms also used the services of indentured boys, or assistants, and trained them in the business in return for their labour. One Ottawa baker reported that the agreements were upwards of three years in length, though few stayed that long.² The life of a baker, whether in a bakery or confectionery, was not easy. Bakers worked long hours. According to testimony before the Royal Commission, journeymen bakers in Ontario, and particularly Ottawa, worked on average 9 to 10 hours a day, beginning at 5 or 6:30 in the morning, upwards of 6 days a

¹ Located in Centretown, New Edinburgh, and Janeville in east Ottawa.

² Testimony of Henry Barrell, baker, Ottawa, before the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in Canada; see the *Report of the Royal Commission* (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1889): 1120.

week.³ Prior to 1888, bakers started work about 5:00 pm and worked 12 hour days for the same pay at the end of the week. In 1888, the Knights of Labour, a trade union movement originating in the United States, unionized many Ontario bakers. In Ottawa, this ended the evening starts, much to the chagrin of hotels and other customers who wanted fresh bread or fresh rolls for their guests' breakfast tables.⁴ Employees were paid in cash or in cash and board. In the late 1880s, bakers made from \$8.50 to \$12.00 per week depending upon the establishment, foremen a dollar or two more, and the female clerks about \$1.50 to \$2.00 a week. This level of remuneration afforded men a reasonable lifestyle. A house of six rooms in New Edinburgh, a suburb in north-east Ottawa, cost about \$10 a month to rent.⁵ There also was a seasonal component to the work in Ottawa, Quebec, and Nova Scotia. During the winter, the demand for bread was lower than in the spring or summer. With less demand, there was less work and consequently the bakers were paid a little less (\$9.50 a week in winter as opposed to \$10.50 a week in summer).⁶

Relations between the master baker and his employees could at times be strained. Workers were known to foul a batch of cakes intentionally by adding a bad egg to the mix. On other occasions, the offense was unintentional, as in the case of John Reilly who worked in Ottawa for R.C and J.E. Jamieson in the mid-1880s. George Aitkenhead, another prominent Ottawa baker, worked with Reilly at Jamieson's during this period. He recounted how one day Reilly was so busy charming the female customers that he forgot to turn off the spigot to a large container of kerosene that he was filling, thus flooding the basement floor and the contents of the potato cellar beneath the floor. This would not have been so bad had not bakers used potatoes to make their own yeast. In the following week, Jamieson's customers complained of the odd tasting bread they received.

The bakery business was regulated during the late 19th century. One writer claimed facetiously that the governing laws "...must have originated sometime during the bondage in Egypt." Although not of such antiquity, regulations governing the weight and price of bread were among the first passed in British North America. In January 1760, a scant four months after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, James Murray, Governor at Quebec, proclaimed that bakers needed licenses to sell bread. At the same time, he set the price of bread at 5d or 10 sous a pound for white bread and 3d or 6 sous a pound for brown bread. In 1762 Thomas Gage fixed the weight and price of four pound loaves of white bread at 10 coppers and six pound loaves of brown at 12 coppers. The town mayor in Quebec and the captains of the militia in Montreal were empowered to ensure the observance of these regulations. 12

³ These hours and rates of pay were not restricted to bakers but common among many trades in Ottawa at this time. As onerous as this sounds, conditions in Ottawa were far better than elsewhere in the Dominion. In Halifax, bakers usually worked from 4:00 am to 3:00 or 4:00 pm every day for \$6 to \$8 a week: *Royal Commission on the Relations* ...: passim.

⁴ Years later, George Aitkenhead reminisced about how he had worked from midnight to noon in 1883. Perhaps he was remembering a different time. See the *Ottawa Citizen*, October 10, 1936.

⁵ Testimony of J. Sherwood, sawyer, Ottawa, Royal Commission: 1126.

⁶ Testimony of Thomas S. Hetherington, baker, Quebec, *Royal Commission*: 866.

⁷ Testimony of S. Slinn, baker, Ottawa, *Royal Commission*: 1114.

⁸ See Kirkland 1908: 224, for an explanation of the use of potatoes.

⁹ Ottawa Free Press, Monday, March 25, 1872: 2.

Doughty 1920: 41-43, an extract dated January 15, 1760, from Murray's letter book.

¹¹ The price was exactly in line with the average price at that time for the same loaf in England. See Kirkland 1908: 31.

¹² Kirkland 1908: 155.

Municipal governments and local police forces were heavily involved in the regulation and enforcement of the bread business in Canada. During the late 19th century, municipalities used local bylaws to dictate the weight of loaves and the process of inspection and enforcement. Ottawa bylaw 1082, enacted in 1890, stipulated that local bakers were only to use the most "wholesome materials" to bake bread weighing four or two pounds The same bylaw empowered the police to enter a business and search unhindered the building and its contents to ensure that the vendor lived up to his or her responsibilities. Failure to do so resulted in the confiscation of product and the laying of charges which, if upheld, resulted in a fine of not more than \$50 for each offense. If a fine remained unpaid, the court could order the imprisonment of the baker in the Carleton jail for a period of not more than six months. Enforcement was not restricted to the baker's place of business. Police were also empowered to stop delivery carts and sleighs. Apparently, the statutes governing weight did not bind fancy breads, as demonstrated when another Ottawa baker, James Warnock, was acquitted of selling lightweight bread on the grounds that the bread in question was fancy and not regular bread. 14 Officers carried their own scales, but apparently there was no established process to conduct inspections. George Aikenhead recounted an occasion when the police weighed the bread on the sidewalk and were unconcerned that the scales sat at an angle.¹⁵

Despite the scrutiny to which their bread was put, bakers, unlike milkmen in this period, were not required to be licensed. Anybody could advertise as a baker. One has to wonder about the contents of the bread (remember Reilly) and the efforts made to ensure that it was sound. By 1913, concern over the product led to calls for licensing of the business in Ottawa. As in many areas, controls finally were established during the First World War. In 1918, the federal government prohibited certain styles of loaves (including the popular twist loaf) and set limits on the weight of bread as that related to traditional usage in each province. The law was rescinded in 1919.

In addition to the police, a baker's competitors could be counted upon to bring to light unscrupulous behaviour. In 1874, there was a rather heated exchange of views in a local Ottawa paper between Thomas Illif, who operated a bakery in Centretown and issued tokens (Breton 735, 736), and Stephen B. Slinn, whom Illif accused of selling lightweight loaves. Slinn retaliated by accusing his competitor of using dirty ingredients in his products. No further reference to this matter appeared in the paper. Today, the comments of these two bakers would be considered libellous but, apart from making spicy reading for the audience, they tell us something about what, aside from taste, was of real concern for people buying bread in this era – fair value and a healthy product. There are several advertisements in period papers for bread made only from the purest white flour.

Bread came in various shapes and sizes, each with its particular price and specifications. A standard loaf in the 1880s weighed four pounds, twice the weight of what was generally available by 1910. Half loaves, depending upon the period, weighed either two

13 Revised By-Laws of the City of Ottawa as Reported by the By-Law Committee for the Year 1890: 222.

¹⁴ Ottawa Free Press, February 16, 1875: 4.

¹⁵ Ottawa Citizen, October 10, 1936.

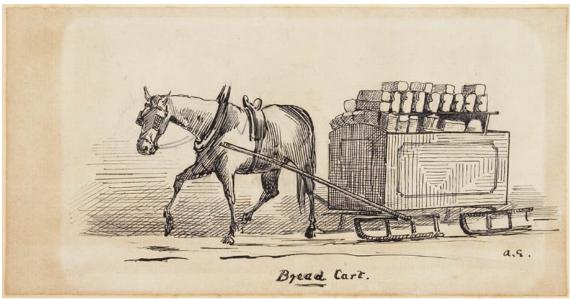
¹⁶ Ottawa Citizen, January 6, 1913: 1.

¹⁷ *The Canada Gazette*, Vol. 52, Extra No. 1 (February 15, 1918): 1-2. In Ontario, bakers were allowed under this order to bake bread in weights of 12 or 24 ounces and in multiples thereof.

¹⁸ There may have been some truth to Illif's allegation as Stephen was convicted of selling lightweight bread in 1898. See the *Ottawa Citizen*, January 3, 1898: 1.

pounds or one pound. White bread was generally less expensive than brown. In 1881, a four pound loaf of white cost 16 cents, whereas a brown loaf of the same weight was two cents cheaper. By comparison, a standard loaf of white or brown bread today weighs 675 grams, or about 1½ lb., and costs \$3.59. Prices differed by as much as two cents a loaf between home delivery and bread sold to grocers, with retailers receiving a wholesale discount for volume purchases. Price was influenced by the cost of flour. Flour came from Ontario, Manitoba, or the Northwest. Popular forms of bread included "twist" loaves, which were pointed at each end, and "cottage" loaves, which consisted of a small round loaf atop a larger round loaf. Loaves were baked in tins or directly on the brick floor of the oven. This latter group was called fancy or scone loaves. 19

In addition to selling over the counter, bakers also made deliveries on account to stores and private residences. Carts were used to haul bread in the summer months and sleighs in the winter. Originally, the carts were two-wheeled affairs. These were replaced in the mid-1860s by four-wheeled vehicles with large box-like structures on which the bread was carried, fully exposed to the climate and to any dust from the road. By the end of the century, wagons completely enclosed the product. Bread originally was sold as is, but by the First World War bread appears to have been wrapped for sale (see illustrations).



Bread Sleigh 1881/2, drawing by Arthur Elliot Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. R9266-2742R

During the 1870s, the driver did not go from door to door but followed a set route, stopping periodically to announce his presence by ringing a bell. Those wishing to buy bread gathered around the wagon. The driver was responsible for collecting accounts. A photograph of B. Slinn's carts and drivers taken about 1900 shows two drivers wearing a satchel over their shoulders, presumably to hold account books and payments. People paid with cash, tickets, or tokens. Court action sometimes ensued over non-payment, as in the case

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¹⁹ Ottawa Citizen, October 10, 1936.

²⁰ Ottawa Citizen, November 17, 1928: 2.

of John Neilen versus Mrs. Little, heard in the Ottawa Police Court July, 1871. Neilen was a driver for R.C. Jamieson.

Ottawa bakeries faced other, more serious problems than deadbeat clients, flirtatious staff or overzealous police. There was the risk of theft. Thomas McGuire was convicted and imprisoned for 18 months for stealing two bags of flour from Stephen B. Slinn on December 22, 1897. There also was the risk of physical injury in a town as rough as 19th century Ottawa. One evening in July 1879, a group of vagabonds accosted Slinn (probably Stephen B.) and broke his arm as he walked along Montreal Road. Fire, however, was the most devastating circumstance to befall a baker. The need to heat ovens with coal or wood for extended periods in buildings largely made out of wood often led to chimney fires or worse. Between 1893 and 1902 Ottawa firefighters responded to the equivalent of almost one bakery fire every year (Table 1).



Selling Bread, Belleville, Ontario, 1913
Topley Studio, Library and Archives Canada, PA-010505

²¹ Ottawa Free Press, July 14, 1871; 3. The charge against Mrs. Little was later dismissed without costs (July 15, 1871: 3).

²² The Mail and Empire, May 10, 1898: 5.

²³ *La Gazette d'Ottawa*, July 25, 1879: 3.

Bakery Fires in Ottawa (1893-1902)²⁴

Year	Date	Time	Location	Damages	Cause
1893	March 28	7:25am	G.W. Shouldice	none	Sparks from chimney on roof
	August 5	3:50 am	D. Lee	\$750 (building and contents)	Overheating oven
1895	July 6	3:00 pm	V. Labelle	Upper floor of building	Not stated
1898	May 28	1:52 pm	A.J. Dompierre	\$200 (building and contents)	Bread Room fire – cause unknown
1899	January 2	5:35 pm	G. Marineau	\$70	Stove too near partition
	February 7	6:35 pm	R.E. Jamieson & Son	none	Overheated oven
1902	August 29	12:55 am	T. Burns	\$3,200 (building and contents)	Cause unknown

One of the most disastrous fires to afflict an Ottawa baker was suffered by G.W. Shouldice the morning of April 19, 1871. Persons unknown started a fire in back of his stable, and although his workmen removed the horses they were unable to extinguish the flames. Within minutes, hot cinders from the stable fell into the manger igniting the hay. The fire spread to the bakery and the coach house, destroying the buildings and their contents, including some pigs. The loss was estimated at \$2,000. To add insult to injury, a miscreant, one Joseph Price, seized the opportunity afforded by the confusion surrounding the fire and robbed the till of Shouldice's shop, taking \$8.50, a bread ticket, and a package of screws. The following day's paper reported that two gold watches had also been stolen during the commotion. Shouldice was out of business for about two months until his premises were rebuilt 26

Floods brought on by ice jams in the Rideau River during the spring thaw in early or late March also proved costly for one Ottawa baker. During the morning of March 14, 1898, sometime between 2 and 3 am, an ice jam formed in the Rideau River which caused the water to flood low lying areas of New Edinburgh to the north. Breary Slinn's home, stores and business were inundated. None of the 100 odd loaves being baked at that moment could be saved. Losses were estimated at \$2,500 and included furniture, flour and, most importantly, the baking ovens.²⁷ These had to be rebuilt and it was some time before the Creighton Street facility (now called Crichton Street) was again in operation.

Avoiding the problems brought on by human design and natural disaster still did not guarantee that the late 19th century baker would be successful. Good will alone could be a baker's undoing. As Stephen Slinn explained, extending credit was a custom of the 1870s when people had little or no money. He claimed to have lost thousands of dollars in this period because he extended credit to those who could not pay.²⁸

²⁴ Compiled from the *Ottawa Citizen* (1895) and the "Report of the Chief of the Fire Department" appearing in successive issues of *The Annual Departmental Reports of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa*.

²⁵ Ottawa Free Press, Wednesday, April 19, 1871: 3. The reference to the bread ticket is particularly interesting as one would assume that it was issued by Shouldice, although no tickets with Shouldice's name are known today.

²⁶ Ottawa Free Press, June 10, 1871: 3.

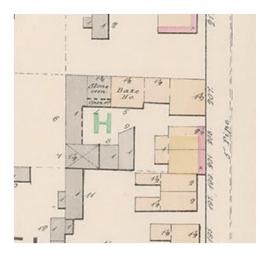
²⁷ Breary's loss would have been worse had he not moved his horses to nearby stables the evening before.

²⁸ Ottawa Citizen, November 17, 1928.

Stephen Breary Slinn (East End Bakery)

Stephen Slinn was the first of the Slinn brothers to arrive in Ottawa. Born in 1846, he was married, had a family, and was already an apprentice baker when he chose to leave Bedford, England, for Canada in 1870.²⁹ Stephen had saved for several years in order to make the journey. Taking passage on the steamer *Midway*, he landed at Quebec City and journeyed to Ottawa where he found employment with the baker George Shouldice as a driver serving grocery stores. He did not stay long in Ottawa, but as he recounted many years later, went to Brockville, again to work as a baker, and then on to Chicago, where he resided until the great fire of 1871 destroyed everything he owned. At this point, he returned to Ottawa. Census records suggest that his wife Harriette and daughter Mary followed in 1880, but this must be in error as Stephen's second daughter was born in Ontario about 1872/3.

The first record of his return to Ottawa appears in a city directory of 1872-3, which places him on the west side of Ottawa Street between Daly and Wilbrod. Sometime shortly thereafter, the long-time Ottawa baker George Shouldice told Stephen that he planned to retire and offered Stephen his own bakery in exchange for paying a substantial debt (\$400) that he owed the miller Thomas MacKay. Slinn approached MacKay and arranged to expunge the debt in exchange for regular deliveries of bread to MacKay's home. With this arrangement in hand, Slinn accepted Shouldice's offer sometime in 1874-75 and took over the business on the north side of York Street (205) between Cumberland and King.



S. Slinn, 205, 207 York Street³² 1874-1879 (1878)

²⁹ The date of his arrival is uncertain. The 1911 census indicates that Stephen immigrated to Canada in 1875, yet he is mentioned in a local newspaper article of May 7, 1874, and he appears in the Ottawa city directory of 1873/4. As his second eldest daughter, May A., was born in Ontario and was 18 at the time of the census in April 1891, Stephen must have been here at least since 1872/3. His eldest daughter, Winnie, was born in the U.S. in 1870.

³⁰ City of Ottawa Alphabetical, General, Miscellaneous and Subscribers' Classified Business Directory, August, 1873, to

City of Ottawa Alphabetical, General, Miscellaneous and Subscribers' Classified Business Directory, August, 18/3, to August, 1874: 135.

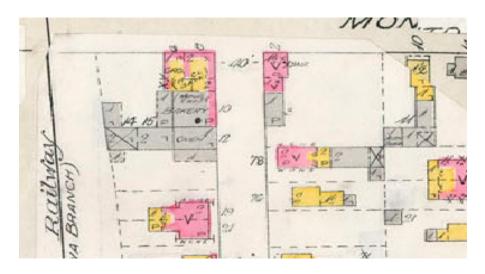
³¹ George Shouldice worked in Ottawa from at least the late 1830s. The author of an article which appeared in the *Bytown Gazette* of March 2, 1837, praised Shouldice for lowering the price of bread in response to a drop in the price of flour.

³² Maps here and on the following pages were copied from fire insurance plans of the City of Ottawa prepared

³² Maps here and on the following pages were copied from fire insurance plans of the City of Ottawa prepared by Chas. E. Goad, Civil Engineer, Montreal and Toronto, and scanned for Library and Archives Canada. Dates in parentheses are those of the insurance plan; date ranges indicate the approximate years the baker occupied that location.

According to an article that appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen* on November 17, 1928, it was about this time (1874) that Stephen sent to England for his five brothers: Samuel, William, Breary, Charles, and Richard.³³ He must have been persuasive as the brothers all arrived in Ottawa on the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway. Once here, Stephen employed his brothers as bakers or drivers. Only Samuel and Breary stayed in the area. William and Charles moved west a few years later to the Regina-Moose Jaw District of the Northwest Territories. Richard appears to have returned to England.

In 1877, Stephen left 205 York and moved next door to 207 York. Then, two years later, he moved east to Janeville and built a new bakery on the south side of Montreal Road near Cummings Bridge. Apart from some short-lived forays back into Ottawa proper, for the rest of his career Stephen centred his business, now known as the East End Bakery, in Janeville. For one year between 1887 and 1888, he also opened a business at 217 Rideau Street, on the north side between Dalhousie and Cumberland. The reason for this short-lived expansion is unknown.



Montreal Road, East End Bakery 1879-1914 (1912)

From 1893 to 1895 he worked in partnership with his brother Breary. Their firm was called S.B. and B. Slinn but their tokens are marked Slinn Brothers. They started out at Stephen's bakery at Montreal Road in Janeville and within a year expanded the business to include a location at 45 O'Conner Street in Ottawa. After the dissolution of the partnership, Stephen opened a confectionery at 283 Bank Street while maintaining his principal business in Janeville. Within a year, the Bank Street location was closed, possibly because it infringed upon his sister-in-law's business at 163 Bank Street. By 1911 Stephen had moved his residence to the south side of John Street, and then from 1912 to1916 he resided with his

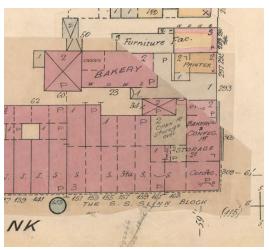
³³ Mike Slinn's website (http://www.mslinn.com/index.jsp?sites/mike/genealogy/d0001/g0000089.html) has the following to say about the brothers' trip: "Left Liverpool, England on April 29, 1875, aboard the SS Scandinavian, of the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company. The ship stopped at Londonderry, Ireland, and landed at Quebec City on May 11, 1875, at 2:30 pm. The ship's list showed that Samuel was 23 years old and a

farmer. He travelled with four of his brothers: William (22 years), Breary (20), Charles (17), Richard (12)." ³⁴ Ottawa City Directory 1893-1894: 133. The brothers' business is located in Janeville. The O'Connor Street location is described as vacant.

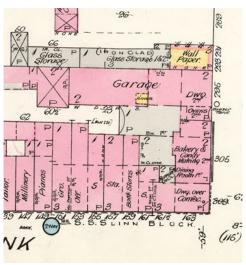
family at 142 Arlington Street. Directories continue to list his occupation as a baker until 1914. The year 1916 brought about a profound change in Stephen's business. So long a fixture in the east end of Ottawa, Stephen moved his business west that year to the small community of Westboro and opened a confectionery on the north side of Wellington Street. By the mid 1920s he seems to have closed the confectionery but continued to work as a baker living close by in City View. No tokens or tickets are known to have been issued for use in the west end.

Stephen was a Baptist and had a large family. According to the 1891 census he and his wife lived with their seven daughters, who ranged in age from 21 years to three months old. His second eldest daughter, Mary (18) worked as a clerk in his store. At the time of the 1901 census, his brood had increased by another four children, three girls and one boy, aged seven to three years old. Stephen died October 18, 1934, and was buried in Beechwood Cemetery in Ottawa.

Samuel Skinner Slinn (Victoria Bakery, Palace Bakery)



A.E. Slinn Co., 163 Bank Street (1901)



Slinn-Shouldis Ltd., 163 Bank Street (1913)

Given the absence of Ottawa city directories for the last half of the 1870s, it is not known where Samuel lived or what he was doing during the period immediately after coming to Ottawa with his brothers. In 1879 he opened a bakery at 142-144 Bank Street between Slater and Maria (now Laurier). Newspaper ads in the *Ottawa Citizen* for November and December of 1880 put Slinn's Victoria Bakery at 146 Bank Street, after having taken over the business of James Mitchell, a fancy bread and biscuit maker. By 1885 Samuel had moved across the street to a building at the corner of Bank and Maria Streets (formerly listed as a grocery operated by a Mrs. Nicholson). Perhaps in this period a partnership was formed with Mrs. Nicholson, as the 1887 directory lists Slinn as a baker at the corner of Bank and Maria although the street listing only records Nicholson & Co. at this address. By 1888-89 all reference to Nicholson disappears and Slinn is now shown living and working at 161-163

³⁵ The date appears in an ad for the Palace Bakery on page 15 of the 1899 *Directory of the Members of the Sons of England for the City of Ottawa and the Ottawa Valley*.

Bank Street. Sometime during this period he renamed his business the Palace Bakery. ³⁶ The bakery was a three story brick building on the north-east corner of Bank and Maria. It had three large store windows, one on Maria. The front of the building faced Bank and north of the front entrance was an access to the apartments above. There was a two story flat roofed extension at the back which presumably held the ovens. Adjacent to the bakery, running northward up Bank Street, was a block of five stores which Slinn had built in the summer of 1888 (see illustrations). The business seems to have grown quickly, to the extent that by 1889 Samuel employed several workers.³⁷ The bakery business must have attracted an itinerant workforce; otherwise Slinn was hard on his employees or did not pay enough to retain their services. Within a year the above workforce was almost entirely replaced.³⁸ In any event, Slinn's business must have been prosperous enough to employ so many workers. This prosperity must have been due to something other than the quality of his product. In 1885 a sample of his bread was tested by a provincial analyst and described to be of "fair quality." This was a mediocre rating, because the same report describes the bread of other bakers as "good or "very good."39

Samuel Slinn was civic-minded. The 1887 Ottawa city directory lists him as an officer of the YMCA. In 1888-89 he was vice-president and a member of the board of management. He also ran unsuccessfully as an alderman for Central Ward during the municipal election of 1890. As fate would have it, had he won, he would not have been able to complete his term in office. Samuel Slinn died April 24, 1890, for reasons as yet unknown to the author, and was buried in Beechwood Cemetery. The business did not, however, end with his death. His widow, Annie E. (Borthwick), continued working out of her home at 163 Bank Street along with Addie (Adelaide), her niece, and Breary (then living at Cummings Bridge), her husband's brother. She also relied upon her siblings for some assistance.⁴⁰ The business operated under the name A. E. Slinn. She is not known to have issued any tokens. Sometime before 1901 Annie remarried, this time to a local grocer named Milton H. McVeity. Together with her daughter Jenny, the couple lived at 163 Bank Street and maintained the business under Annie's former name. 41 Annie appears to have continued to work at this location until about 1909 when the Ottawa directory lists an A.E. Slinn Co. Ltd at 163 Bank Street under the management of W.H. Dwyer. In 1910, A.E. Slinn and Co. merged with G.W. Shouldis.⁴² At amalgamation, A.E. Slinn & Co. was one of Ottawa's largest bakeries with 14 delivery wagons as compared to the eight wagons operated by Shouldis. Further entries in subsequent years at this location are in the name of Slinn-

³⁶ Slinn called his firm the Palace Bakery in a report dated December 27, 1888, to W.H. Sullivan of the Central

Experimental farm on the results of baking bread using flour made from laghoda and fife wheat.

37 James Duval and William Hamilton bakers, William Gray and Frederick Stevenson (also '89-90) drivers, all boarding at 161 Bank Street; W.H. Jessop, a baker, residing at 93 Nelson; Elie Renaud Jr., a baker, living at 325 Clarence; John Sinclair, a baker, living at 88 Besserer; Thomas Lowe, a driver from Mount Sherwood.

³⁸ To the list of employees, the 1889-90 Ottawa city directory adds Edgar Dewale, baker, at 161 Bank Street, Alphonse Durocher, baker, residing at 569 St. Patrick, Maxwell Keifil, baker, 473 Wellington, Thomas Moffat, baker, 176 Murray, William Stewart, baker, boarding at Bank and Queen, Joseph Fawcett, driver, 295 Albert, Thomas Low, driver, on Sherwood, William J. Smith, driver, 382 Albert (note James Duval no longer appears in the directory).

³⁹ Sessional Papers, Volume 7, First Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1887:

⁴⁰ In the Ottawa City Directory 1893-1894: 208, John R. was a baker and Margaret a clerk in Annie's store.

The 1901 census erroneously identifies Annie as "Hannah."

⁴² The spelling Shouldis is used alternately with Shouldice in Ottawa newspapers and directories.

Shouldis Limited, R. E. Calhoun Secretary-Treasurer and Manager. This firm operated a confectionery at 163 Bank Street and a bakery at 458 Catherine Street. By 1911, the couple lived alone at 161½ Bank. Mr. McVeity operated an automobile company and Mrs. McVeity, now 51 years old, had no occupation at the time of the census. Annie died November 17, 1917, and was interred alongside her first husband and her parents in Beechwood Cemetery.

Victoria Bakery

SAMUEL S. SLINN

Wishes to inform the inhabitants of Ottawa and neighborhood that he has taken the business lately carried on by James Mitchell, as Fancy Bread and Biscuit Baker, and, by strict attention to business, hopes to morit a share of public patronage.

All orders will receive prompt attention.

146 Bank Street.

Ad from the Ottawa Citizen, December 15, 1880

Established 1879.

Palace Bakery, e. Cor. Bank and Maria Sts.

Business always conducted personally.

OUR MOTTO

"Good goods, square dealing."

THE RESULT

Largest baking business in Canada.

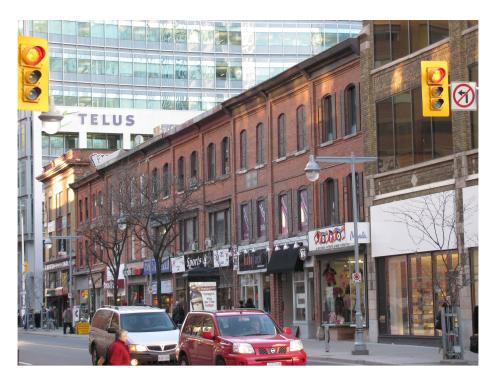
Phone 267.

Mrs. A. E. Siinn

Ad from *The Directory Of the Members of the Sons of England for the City of Ottawa and the Ottawa Valley*, March 1899

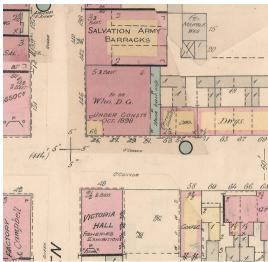


Current view (2010) of the northeast corner of Bank and Laurier Streets, the former location of Samuel Slinn's Palace Bakery. The Slinn Block is the red brick structure visible on the left.



The Slinn Block was erected in 1888. The grey cement marker that identifies the block is visible between the second and third stories of the central segment of the five stores which make up the structure.

Breary Slinn / Slinn Bros. (Victoria Bakery and Confectionery)



Slinn Bros 45 O'Connor St. 1893-1896 (1901)

Born in England, December 22, 1855, Breary Slinn was a teenager when he came to Canada. Census records are not in agreement as to the exact year of his arrival. It is identified as either 1869 or 1873. According to his brother Stephen, as reported in a newspaper article in the 1920s, Breary emigrated to Canada in 1875 and worked for a time in Stephen's bakery. Breary was living in Janeville and working as a baker when he married Isabelle Lillico of East Gloucester on September 20, 1881. The earliest reference to Breary appears in a Carleton County directory of 1884. At that time, and for at least the next three years (possibly until 1890), he lived as a tenant on a farm on the 5th Concession, Rideau Front, Lot 3, Carleton County, and worked as a baker in Hawthorne, a small village in Gloucester township, south-east of Ottawa, on the Canada Atlantic Railway Line.

City directories give a variety of information about Breary. In 1890 he left Hawthorne and started working as a bookkeeper/baker, manager, or clerk (depending upon the source) in a bakery owned by his sister-in-law, Mrs. Annie E. Slinn, widow of Samuel Slinn. This shop was located first at 161 Bank Street (1890-91) and then at 163 Bank Street (1891-92). The move and Breary's arrival were probably prompted by Samuel's death early in 1890 and Annie's need for an experienced baker to manage affairs temporarily. About 1893/4 Breary left Annie's shop and formed a partnership under the name of S.B. & B. Slinn with his brother Stephen B. in Janeville. This is the Slinn Brothers found on brass tokens of the period. The partnership operated the Victoria Bakery and Confectionery at 45 O'Conner Street in Ottawa, on the south-east corner of O'Conner and Queen Street, and another bakery

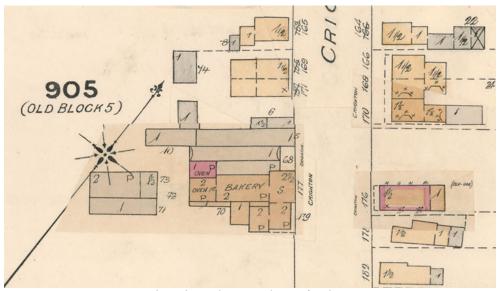
⁴³ The 1869 date is from the 1911 census, Rideau Ward, sub-district 58, page 8, lines 10-23; the 1873 date is from the 1901 census.

⁴⁴ http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~maryc/carl81.htm

⁴⁵ The last entry for Breary's brother was in the 1889-90 city directory which lists Samuel S. Slinn as a baker and confectioner operating out of his home at 161-163 Bank Street on the east side between Slater and Laurier (today the location of Murale).

on Montreal Road. During this period, Breary resided on Russell Road. Like Samuel, Breary was civic minded. From 1893-1896 he served as treasurer of Earnscliffe Lodge no. 238, the local chapter of the Oddfellows lodge in Janeville. He was also a trustee of the Public School Board in Janeville, serving as secretary-treasurer for eight years. 46

The partnership with Stephen lasted until late 1895.⁴⁷ The following year, Breary moved north from Janeville to New Edinburgh. His brother continued in business on his own at Janeville. Breary appears to have retained management of the O'Connor Street premises while opening a new establishment at 177 Creighton Street in New Edinburgh. He may have been attracted to the Creighton Street property as it had been used as a bakery for many years by F.H. Martelock, another issuer of tokens in Ottawa (1235a/b). This location served as his home and principal place of business. In 1898, Breary vacated the O'Connor street location. The entire corner of O'Connor and Queen was under re-development by October 1898. In its place, Breary took possession of a building at 547-49 Bank Street in south Ottawa, on the



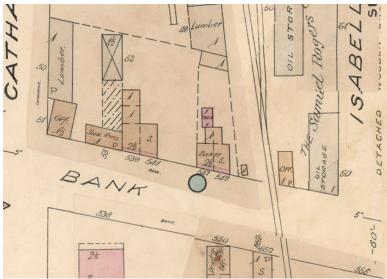
Victoria Bakery and Confectionery 177 Creighton Street 1896-1906 (1901)

east side of the street between Catherine Street and the Canada and Atlantic railway crossing. Insurance maps describe this structure as a 2½ story building with the ovens located in a separate extension at the back. Breary operated six delivery wagons at this time. The expansion to Bank Street may have been prompted by the need to vacate the O'Connor Street location or by the destruction of the New Edinburgh facility. During the early morning of March 14, 1898, sometime between 2 and 3 am, an ice jam formed in the Rideau River causing the water to flood low lying areas of New Edinburgh. Breary's home, stores, and business were inundated. None of the 100 odd loaves being baked at that moment could be saved. Losses were estimated at \$2,500 and included furniture, flour and, most importantly,

⁴⁶ The Business Directory of the Sons of England for the cities of Ottawa and Hull, 1898.

⁴⁷ The last ad for Slinn Brothers to appear in the *Ottawa Citizen* is dated December 6, 1895.

the baking ovens.⁴⁸ These had to be rebuilt and it was sometime before the Creighton Street facility was again in operation.



Victoria Bakery and Confectionery 549 Bank Street 1898-1906 (1901)

Breary's personal life also underwent change. The move to Creighton Street put him in touch with a community of which he would be a part for the rest of his life. His children attended the Creighton Street Public School across the road from his house and he worshipped at MacKay Presbyterian Church, barely a block away, where he was elected an elder in 1897. In this period, he also served as president of Russell Lodge No. 56, the local chapter of the Sons of England Benevolent Society. 49 Even after selling the business in 1912, he only moved one block west to 204 Stanley, within sight of his former residence and bakery. Breary also engaged in municipal politics, standing for election late in 1897 as an alderman in Rideau Ward. After his election in January 1898, the Ottawa Citizen described him as a practical, conscientious businessman. 50 Between 1898 and 1908, his last year on council, he served eight terms as an alderman in Rideau Ward, which encompassed New Edinburgh. As a member of city council he served at different times on the Board of Works, the Finance Committee, the Fire and Light Committee, the Property Committee, and the Public Library Committee. His approach to public office, enunciated during the campaign of 1901, was "strictest economy...consistent with efficiency." Influenced by the disastrous flood of 1898, he advocated improvements to flood control on the Rideau. Even as an ex-alderman, he lent his voice to projects he felt would improve Rideau Ward. In 1910 he proposed that a bridge be built connecting Porter Island in the Rideau to St. Andrews Street in the west and Dufferin Street in the east. His intent was to create an avenue by which traffic could access

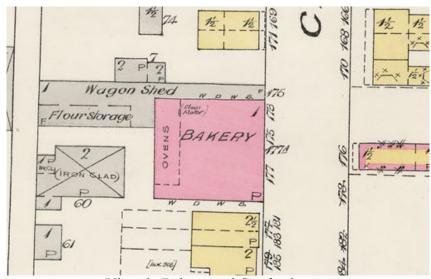
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⁴⁸ Breary's loss would have been worse had he not moved his horses to nearby stables the evening before.
⁴⁹ The Sons of England Benevolent Society (SOEBS) was formed to provide financial or medical relief to its members when they were in need. As the name of the organization indicates, the membership consisted of new immigrants from England. Breary Slinn is listed as president in the 1898 business directory and the 1899 membership directory.

⁵⁰ Municipal elections at the beginning of the 20th century were held in January.

Beechwood Cemetery without having to go on Beechwood Avenue, "which for several months of the year ... [was] almost impassable with mud."⁵¹

By 1906 Breary had disposed of the Bank Street location and consolidated business in New Edinburgh at Creighton Street. The reasons behind this consolidation are unknown. However, business must have still been good because sometime during this decade Breary enlarged the Creighton Street establishment by adding a large wagon shed and flour storage area out back and expanding the main structure at the road. ⁵² Breary offered a variety of products. He won popular acclaim at the Central Canada Exhibition in 1896 and 1897,



Victoria Bakery and Confectionery 177 Creighton Street 1912-1913 (1912)

receiving the diploma for best wedding cakes and bread. His business peaked about 1910/11 when a large ad for Breary Slinn Co. Ltd. appeared in the Ottawa city directory. The bakery was a family business, with Breary as the managing director, son Robert the manager, and daughters Jeannie and Mary E. clerks. In this same period, the family moved from Creighton Street to 204 Stanley Avenue, on the north side of the road between Keefer and Dufferin. By this point, Breary Slinn seems to have been scaling down his business. The company listing in the 1912 directory is more modest than before. The large ad extolling Breary's products disappears and in its place the listing reads simply "Breary Slinn Company Ltd. 173-177 Creighton." Robert, Annie, Jeannie and Mary continue to work for their father, as does a newcomer, son Shirley Slinn, who is listed as a driver for the firm. Within a year the company was sold under letters patent dated November 4, 1912, to a group of Ottawa businessmen operating under the name of the Ottawa Bakery Limited, headed by Edward Cushing and Alphonse Edmond Provost. Breary seems to have stayed on into 1913 as a foreman at the new business. The new concern operated a store at 177 Creighton and used

⁵² See the fire insurance maps of 1901 and 1912 which show a marked expansion of the facility.

⁵¹ Ottawa Citizen, April 7, 1910: 1.

⁵³ The ad reads, "First Prize and Diploma for Home Made Vienna, Cream Fourex, and Boston Brown Bread and Our Whole Wheat Bread, is what the doctors recommend."

⁵⁴ The Canada Gazette, Vol.46, no.20 (November 16, 1912): 25.

173 Creighton as its office. None of his family appears to have worked for the new firm. ⁵⁵ By 1914 there was no connection between Breary and the Ottawa Bakery. In Ottawa city directory alphabetical listings he is identified only as a baker living on Stanley Ave. This separation was perhaps a good thing, because by 1916 the Ottawa Bakery disappears entirely from the city directory and is replaced by a fruit dealer named Abraham Zeeb operating out of 173-177 Creighton Street.

No doubt the sale of his business was in part prompted by his age. However, a small controversy in which Breary became involved at about the same time may also have hastened his departure from the business. In 1912, he won a contract with the city to provide bread to the Civic Isolation Hospital. The low rates of his tender compared to the higher, retail prices charged to the public caused a stir. The Allied Trades and Labour Association urged city council to call upon the Department of Labour for an enquiry under the Combines Act into the actions of Ottawa bakers. 56 Perhaps Breary was just fed up and felt that it was time for a well-deserved vacation. According to the 1911 census, Breary Slinn (age 55) and his wife Isabelle (age 51) lived with their eleven children, six sons, five daughters, and sister-in-law Jessie Lillico, at 204 Stanley Avenue. Two daughters, Mary E. (age 28) and Jennie (age 24) were bookkeepers at their father's bakery, for which each girl made \$520, per annum. By 1936 Breary was still living at 204 Stanley along with his wife, and children Mary C., Jessie, and G.L (Gordon? or Gerald?). Presumably he had retired, as no profession is given. He died December 9, 1945. Both Breary and his wife were buried in the Bethany United Church Cemetery at Ramseyville in Gloucester Township, south-east of Ottawa near his wife's childhood home.

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⁵⁵ The 1914 city directory shows Shirley working as a driver for Slinn-Shouldis, Jessie is a clerk in the Post Office.

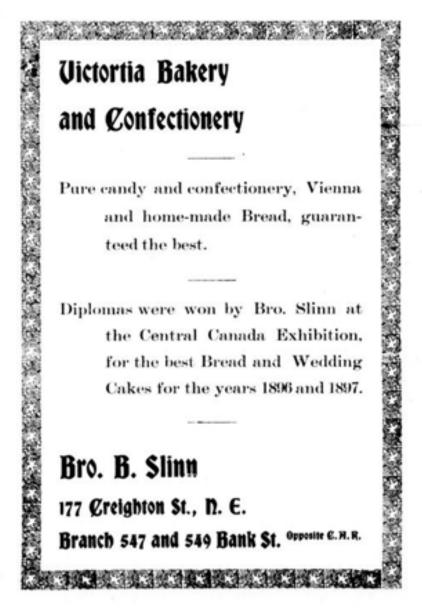
⁵⁶ Ottawa Citizen, May 11, 1912: 1.



B. Slinn, Victoria Bakery, 177 Creighton Street, a photograph of the family, staff and delivery wagons, taken from the south side of Creighton Street c.1900 with the bakery in the background. Courtesy of City of Ottawa Archives, CA6194.



Detail showing Breary Slinn on the right in the light suit holding the young child's hand.

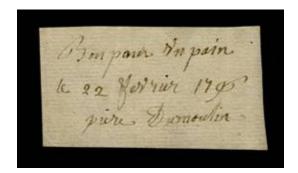


Ad, March 1899, from *The Directory Of the Members of the Sons of England for the City of Ottawa and the Ottawa Valley*. Note the spelling error in the name of the bakery.

Bread Tickets and Tokens

From an early period, Canadian bakeries embraced the idea of issuing private, monetary substitutes for official coinage. The advantage was twofold. First, these substitutes oiled the wheels of commerce, allowing it to operate despite the general shortage of a circulating medium; second, they freed the merchant from having to use real money and in so doing allowed him to use a product which, in theory at least, guaranteed publicity and return business. The first Canadian bread tickets consisted of paper *bons* like those distributed by other Canadian merchants in Canada's cash-starved economy of the late 18th century. The earliest known examples were issued by Pierre Dumoulin of Longueuil from 1794 to 1796. They consist of irregular scraps of paper on which were jotted Dumoulin's name, the date,

and the number of loaves for which the chit could be redeemed. Undoubtedly, there were other such *bons* which have not survived; some probably were printed scrip like that pictured from the Quebec Brewery.





Other, early examples which appear marginally more planned date from the early 19th century. They consist of handwritten chits prepared from segments of playing cards, again bearing the name of the baker and the number of loaves for which the chits could be redeemed. Known issuers of this form of ticket include John Ramsey, a military baker at Chambly south of Montreal, and John Hautson, who operated a woodyard in Montreal.⁵⁷ In all likelihood, bakers continued to issue paper tickets until the distribution of metal tokens by



Canadian merchants became more widespread in the 1880s. Paper chits could be procured readily, produced locally, and at minimal cost in comparison to metal tokens. There were also legal implications. The new federal act of May 22, 1868, prohibited the importation or

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⁵⁷ Jeffrey Hoare Auctions, Catalogue Number 10, Fall 1988: 78.

manufacture of copper or brass coins and tokens.⁵⁸ The supplement to Leroux's 1883 *Numismatic Atlas of Canada* mentions that certain parties, in order to evade the law, started issuing brass tokens with incuse legends. These would have been along the lines of the earliest Slinn tokens issued by Stephen Slinn from the East End Bakery.



Two early brass tokens c.1884: John Glass, Quebec City; and J.J. Scriven & Son, Halifax.⁵⁹

The first known reference to a bread ticket in Ottawa appears in the *Ottawa Citizen* on April 19, 1871, in the article noted above about the fire which destroyed George Shouldice's bakery. Ten years later, in 1881, there is a record of T. Iliffe giving 1 dozen bread tickets valued at \$1.50 to the Ottawa Firemen's Benevolent Association. By the end of the decade several Ottawa bakers were issuing metal tokens. Leroux's catalogue of 1888 lists pieces by Dompierre and Iliffe (Leroux 1021, 1022, 1029, 1030). The December 1888 sale of the Gerald E. Hart Collection (lots 1369, 1372) includes brass shells of A. J. Dompierre, both the ½ and 1 loaf, as well as several varieties of the T. Iliffe pieces in brass and in German silver.

⁵⁸ 31 Victoria Cap. 47, An Act respecting the Manufacture or Importation of Copper Coins and Tokens. Statutes of Canada Passed in the Session held in the Thirty-first Year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Being the First Session of the First Parliament of Canada. Part Second (Ottawa: Malcolm Cameron, 1868).

⁵⁹ The two pieces illustrated, although undated, can be assigned to the early 1880s. The Glass piece appears to have been manufactured by the same party that produced the J.H. Smith token (also from Quebec City) illustrated in the supplementary pages (37-40) to Leroux's *Numismatic Atlas* (1883). About 1885/6, J.J. Scriven and Son was renamed J.J. Scriven and Sons to accommodate a new addition to the partnership.

⁶⁰ Pamphlet entitled *To Subscribers in Aid of the Ottawa Firemen's Benevolent Association* (Ottawa: C.W. Mitchell, 1881): 9.

Tokens Issued by the Slinns

The earliest documented use of a monetary substitute by one of the Slinn brothers occurs in December 1884, when a Mr. Slinn gave "3 dozen bread tickets" as a Christmas donation to the Orphans' Home in Ottawa. Unfortunately, it is not known which brother made the donation or whether these tickets were made out of paper or metal. Sandham in the 1870s used the terms ticket and check interchangeably. 61 In the 1890s, token manufacturers like Pritchard and Andrews described their products as "checks." Popular numismatic references adopted similar terminology. If we assume this is a reflection of then current popular speech, the Slinn "tickets" probably consisted of paper chits which have not survived. 62 In the late 1880s both Stephen and Samuel distributed such tickets. Only two Slinn brothers in Ottawa are known to have issued metal tokens. Stephen Slinn issued pieces bearing his name and that of his establishment, the East End Bakery, in Janeville. Breary issued pieces for his Victoria Bakery at O'Conner Street and New Edinburgh and later at Bank Street and New Edinburgh. The two brothers also jointly issued a token during their short-lived partnership as Slinn Brothers. Counterstamped examples of the East End Bakery and Slinn Brothers pieces probably represent short-lived issues for specific purposes. No contemporary documentation describes how the Slinn brothers distributed their tokens or reimbursed parties tendering them for product. Although, as noted above, some pieces probably were distributed free of charge to encourage business, it is assumed that the tokens typically were sold in quantity at a discount like milk tokens to encourage sales and to relieve people of the need to have exact change on hand when the breadman came down the street. Presumably, they could have been purchased at the bakery or directly from the deliveryman.

All of the pieces, with the possible exception of the so-called "square" or diamond shaped token from Victoria Bakery, likely were made by Pritchard and Andrews, Ottawa's local manufacturer of tradesmen's checks. ⁶³ This firm's name appears on several tokens. Given what can be construed from period records, the Slinn tokens may be arranged in the following chronological order:

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⁶¹ See Sandham's description of the Montreal and Lachine Railroad Company tokens in his *Coins, Tokens and Medals of the Dominion of Canada* (Montreal: Daniel Rose, 1869): 40.

⁶² This is particularly unfortunate as Stephen Slinn's donation of "tickets for 204 pounds of bread" to the General Protestant Hospital in 1889 would be the earliest for that baker. Likewise, Samuel Slinn is not known to have issued any tokens, but his donation of two dozen bread tickets to the Protestant Orphans' Home in December 1888 is a matter of record (*see Ottawa Citizen*, January 5, 1889: 7).

⁶³ McColl, the only early cataloguer to list this token, described it as a square, even though it should be called a diamond, given its orientation.

Token Check List⁶⁴

Α.	S. Slinn	East Er	nd Bakery			
A.1	½ loaf	brass	uniface, blank rev. die	1886-1893	Rd. 21.7 mm	2.9g
A.2	1 loaf	brass	uniface, blank rev. die	1886-1893	Rd. 28.18 mm	5.7g
A.3	½ loaf	brass	uniface, ctsp. OTTAWA	1887-1888		, ,
			(token unknown)			
A.4	1 loaf	brass	uniface, ctsp. OTTAWA	1887-1888	Rd. 28.18 mm	4.2g
A.5	½ loaf	brass	Pritchard & Andrews rev. (token	1886-1893		
			unknown)			
A.6	1 loaf	brass	Pritchard & Andrews rev.	1886-1893	Rd. 28.18 mm	5.2g
A.7	½ loaf	brass	ctsp. OTTAWA Pritchard & Andrews rev. (token unknown)	1887-1888		
A.8	1 loaf	brass	ctsp. OTTAWA Pritchard &	1887-1888	Bowman's	?
			Andrews rev.		"Encyclopedia"	
A.9	½ loaf	brass	bi-face	1886-1893	Rd. 21.6 mm	2.87g
A.10	1 loaf	brass	bi-face	1886-1893	Rd. 28.0 mm	5.46g
A.11	1 loaf	brass	bi-face; double-struck, 15 to 90° rotation	1886-1893	Rd. 28 0 mm	5.40g
			Totation			
В.	Slinn Br	others	Victoria Bakery and Confect	ionerv		
ъ.		others	Victoria Bakery and Confect			
B.1	½ loaf	brass	(token unknown)	1894-1895		
B.2	1 loaf	brass	,	1894-1895	Rd. 28.2 mm	6.1g
B.3	1 loaf	brass	ctsp. OTTAWA large letters	?	Rd. 28.2 mm	6.81g
B.4	1 loaf	brass	ctsp. OTTAWA small letters	?	Rd. 28.4 mm	6.8g
B.5	1 loaf	brass	ctsp. B.SLINN	1896	Rd. 27.9 mm	6.09g
C.	B. Slinn	O'Con	nor St. & New Edinboro' Coi	nfectionery		
C.1	½ loaf	brass		1896-1898	Oct. 24.0 mm	3.6g
C.2	1 loaf	brass		1896-1898	Rd. 27.7 mm	5.0g
C.3	½ loaf	aluminum		1898	Oct. 24.4 mm	1.5g
C.4	1 loaf	aluminum		1898	Rd. 27.8 mm	2.1g
C.5	½ loaf	aluminum		1898	Rd. 24.8 mm	2.0g
D.	B. Slinn Victor		ia Bakery and Confectionery	Bank St. &	New Edinboro	,
D.1	½ loaf	brass		1898	Rd. 24.7 mm	4.02g
D.2	1 loaf	brass		1898	Rd. 27.7 mm	6.8gg
D.3	1 loaf	brass	ctsp. VOID	1898	Rd. 27.8mm	6.84g
D.4	½ loaf	aluminum		1898- 1906	Rd./Oct.	1.86g
					24.8 mm	
D.5	1 loaf	aluminum		1898- 1906	Rd. 27.8 mm	2.4g
D.6	1 loaf	aluminum	ctsp. VOID	1898- 1906	Rd. 27.8 mm	2.55g

⁶⁴ Small differences in the weights and diameters of similar pieces may result from the environment in which the equipment was used to take measurements.

E.	B. Slinn	Victori	a Bakery			
E.1	½ loaf	aluminum		1898-1903	Diamond	1.78g
					24.7 mm	

Appearances in the Numismatic Literature

Despite the rather large variety of Slinn tokens known today, only five types were listed in contemporary catalogues. The first numismatic reference to list a Slinn token is F.X. Paquet's *Illustrated Catalogue and Price List of Medals, Checks & Communion Tokens of Ottawa & District* published in January 1893. The author includes both the 1 loaf brass token issued by Slinn Brothers (as no. 74) and the ½ and 1 loaf brass tokens from the East End Bakery (nos. 93 and 94). Paquet's serialized catalogue, *Canadian Numismatist*, released from September 1893 to September 1894 inclusive, also referenced the Slinn Brothers' piece (no. 101). No mention, however, is made of the East End Bakery issues despite the fact that they were known and had been included in Paquet's other work. Perhaps he considered the incuse pieces from Ottawa to be inferior and unworthy of mention. In his *Illustrated Catalogue*, he grouped together all of the incuse tokens from Ottawa.

After Paquet, only Leroux, in 1897, and McColl, in 1903, mention Slinn tokens. Both list the brass Slinn Brothers token, but whereas Leroux also mentions one of Breary's 1 loaf tokens from New Edinburgh (1072u), McColl only lists the unusual square ½ loaf. The absence of any reference to the Slinn Brothers' pieces in either Breton (1894, 1912) or Leroux is puzzling and evades any logical answer. The Ottawa photographer, later coin dealer, Emily D. Gibson, also included rubbings of some Slinn pieces in her scrapbook of 1909. Given her profession, one might expect her work to include all of the Slinn tokens issued to that date. This is not the case, as she includes images of only four different tokens: the ½ and 1 loaf pieces from the East End Bakery, the 1 loaf East End bakery counterstamped OTTAWA, and the Slinn Brothers 1 loaf token. Surprisingly, despite their relative availability today, no tokens issued by Breary Slinn appear in her scrapbook.

None of the Slinn tokens is particularly common. If one were to arrange them from most common to most scarce, the Breary Slinn tokens in aluminum from either O'Connor or Bank Street would be first on the list, followed by the Slinn Brothers 1 loaf token, brass versions of the Breary pieces, and then the two East End Bakery tokens. The three counterstamped pieces are rare, as is the unusual diamond shaped piece issued by B. Slinn. In his "Encyclopedia," compiled in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Fred Bowman recorded only a single example of each of the counterstamped tokens and the diamond shaped piece among the holdings of five major collections. 65

East End Bakery Tokens

Paquet listed these pieces in his work on Ottawa tokens; the ½ loaf and 1 loaf appeared in the original 1893 edition (no. 93) and (no. 94). However, the tokens almost certainly predate their listing. As discussed above, the incuse lettering seems to have been a common feature among merchant tokens in the 1880s (see illustrations) and the fact that the

⁶⁵ Those of Dr. Dent in Ottawa, Fred Bowman, Allan Fargeon, J. D. Ferguson, and the Château de Ramezay in Montreal.

tokens only exist in brass and not in aluminum, the most popular metal in which to make tokens after 1892, would suggest that they were produced before the early 1890s, possibly as early as the mid-1880s.⁶⁶ The extent of their use after the early 1890s is more difficult to establish. They do not appear in any of the standard token references in this period. Rubbings of all three varieties were, however, included in Ottawa dealer Emily Gibson's scrapbook of February 1909.⁶⁷ It is likely that these represent Stephen's first and only independent issue. It is also likely that they were replaced by the Slinn Brothers pieces in 1893.

The ½ and 1 loaf denominations exist both in uniface and two-sided form. Blank dies were used to strike the reverse of the uniface pieces (A.1 and A.2 in the Table). On some examples, a partial outline of the numeral 1 is visible on the blank reverse at right angles to the numeral on the obverse of the token. Weight differences of as much as 1.2 grams have been observed among the uniface 1 loaf tokens. This suggests that there were at least two orders of this piece. In the case of the lighter version, a reverse image of the obverse lettering is visible on the reverse of the token. The obverse design of the two sided tokens is the same as that of the uniface pieces. The reverse of the two-sided pieces consists of either the name of the manufacturer, Pritchard & Andrews (A.5 and A.6), or the same design as appears on the obverse (A.9 and A.10). In all instances, the main design is incuse and consists of the legend "East End Bakery / ½ (or 1) / S. Slinn". Significant differences in the lettering in the obverse design suggest that the dies were cut by hand rather than being built up using letter punches. In the case of tokens with the same design on the obverse and reverse, a new, better executed die was used for the reverse. Two double-struck examples are known with a rotation of about 15 and 90 degrees respectively between strikes (A.11). Both tokens are part of the National Currency Collection at the Bank of Canada. One came from the collection of J.D. Ferguson and the other from a large lot of Slinn tokens transferred to the NCC from the Public Archives in 1965. It is likely that these were struck in error and were preserved as something of an oddity by the original owner.

One loaf tokens counterstamped OTTAWA exist (A.4 and A.8). Although the counterstamp seems to be part of the overall incuse design of this token, it certainly was added at a later time as it appears on slightly different areas of the obverse on the few examples examined during the preparation of this paper. These counterstamped tokens were probably issued to service the short-lived expansion to 217 Rideau in 1887-1888 or to serve as temporary expedients until new tokens could be ordered for the fledgling Slinn Brothers establishment at Queen and O'Connor early in 1894. It is less likely that they were meant for use in the confectionery at 283 Bank St. in operation from 1896 to 1897. No counterstamped examples of the half loaf are known. Ottawa check maker Pritchard & Andrews probably made all of these tokens. A rubbing from Bowman's "Encyclopedia" of an example counterstamped OTTAWA bears the firm's name on the reverse.

⁶⁶ Within a few years after Charles Martin Hall of Ohio invented the process to produce affordable aluminum in 1888, this metal was widely used in the production of everyday items. Tokens were probably not produced out of this metal until about 1892 when aluminum could be purchased for less than one dollar a pound.

⁶⁷ It is unlikely that these tokens were made for the collector market because examples that appear for sale today often show wear. McLachlan does not include them in his famous exposé on fraudulent tokens, "Canadian Coins and Medals Issued in 1892," *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, 3, Second Series (1893): 56.



The crudity of the lettering (note the N and D of END) and the lack of similarity among the same letters is evident in the above illustration and would suggest that the die was cut by hand rather than being built up using letter punches.





Slinn Brothers

The period of the partnership between Breary and Stephen, from 1893 through 1895, narrows the time frame as to when these pieces were produced. As noted above, the partnership did not expand to include the O'Connor Street premises until early 1894 so the tokens must date from this year. This would seem to coincide with the available numismatic literature. The earliest reference to these pieces is in the Paquet supplement of June 1894 (no. 101). They were also listed by Leroux in his 1897 supplement (1072t) and by McColl in 1903 (993). The major question about these pieces, however, is why there are only tokens of 1 loaf (B.2 in the Table). Where are the half loaf pieces (B.1)? Did the brothers use the ½ loaf tokens from the East End Bakery? This might have been an occasion to use the East End Bakery ½ loaf tokens counterstamped OTTAWA but, as noted above, these are only known from a rubbing in Bowman's "Encyclopedia." The counterstamp B. SLINN (B.5) was probably applied about 1896-7, after the two brothers had parted company but before Breary had arranged for tokens to be produced in his own name. There is no logical reason to account for the piece counterstamped OTTAWA (B.3 and B.4), given that the tokens already bear an Ottawa address. Perhaps the counterstamp was conceived as a measure to prevent the tokens from being tendered in Janeville at Stephen's main bakery. The OTTAWA counterstamp exists with either large or small letters. The former rather resembles that appearing on the East End Bakery pieces.



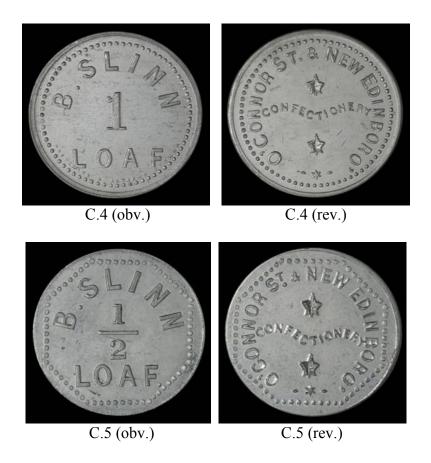
B. Slinn - O'Connor St. & New Edinboro'

The O'Connor address on these pieces sets them in that narrow period between the end of the Slinn Bros. partnership (late 1895) and the opening of the Bank Street location (1898). Leroux included a reference to the 1 loaf piece in his 1897 supplement (1072u), unfortunately he did not mention of what the piece was made. Tokens occur in both brass (C.1 and C.2) and aluminum (C.3 and C.5) and the ½ loaf exists in both octagonal and round form (C.3, C.5). It is not known why two different metals were used nor in what order they were issued, if there was any intentional sequence. Since brown and white loaves were commonly distributed, it is possible that the two metals were used to differentiate product. A business operating out of two locations also might argue for two different tokens, assuming Breary wanted to track the usage of the tokens. Then again, the impetus might have been economic and reflective of nothing more than two separate token orders. Perhaps the aluminum tokens were cheaper to purchase than their brass counterparts. Alternatively, the reason may have been social, because when aluminum tokens were first introduced they were touted as a clean alternative to brass and copper checks. This would have sat well with clients who desired clean ingredients in their product. Unfortunately, without documentary corroboration, all of the above is supposition.

Given the general scarcity of the brass pieces from 45 O'Connor and the Victoria Bakery at Bank Street, it is possible that the brass tokens were produced before their aluminum counterparts. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that Breary might have ordered tokens in brass for his first issue as an independent baker given his experience with earlier

brass issues both by and with his brother Stephen. Pritchard & Andrews almost certainly struck all of these pieces for Slinn. The firm's name appears in small, fine letters just above the lower beading on the obverse of the 1 loaf piece in both brass and aluminum (C.2, C.4).



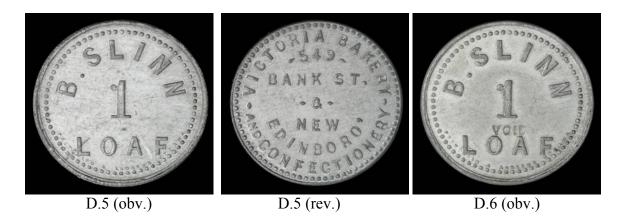


B. Slinn - Bank St. & New Edinboro'

The Bank street issues are similar in design and form to the O'Connor Street pieces. The ½ loaf tokens occur in both brass (D.1) and aluminum (D.4) and are round or roundish in form. The aluminum pieces in particular do not seem to have been crisply blanked, with the result that they appear round toward the top but show definite sides of an octagon toward the bottom. Perhaps this was due to some technical fault in the blanking process for one particular order. The 1 loaf pieces again occur in both metals (D.2, D.5) but are not identical in design to the half loaf tokens. The name of Breary's firm, Victoria Bakery, is now included in the legend. As there is no other 1 loaf token and, likewise, there is no ½ loaf token matching the design of the 1 loaf piece, these two tokens most probably were issued together. The obverse dies are the same as those used to produce the ½ loaf and 1 loaf in the previous group from O'Connor and Bank Streets. Diagnostic features on both the brass and aluminum 1 loaf tokens include a half bead above the right stroke of the first N in SLINN, a hollow in the bottom of the L in LOAF, and a rough bump on the top of the middle extension in the F of LOAF. Again, the brass issues probably predate their aluminum counterparts. Interestingly, while their period of issue would be among the longest of all the Slinn pieces, ranging from about 1898 to 1906 when Breary disposed of the Bank street facility, none of the numismatic references mentions them. They do not appear in McColl, or the Breton and Leroux supplements.







B. Slinn - Victoria Bakery

Because Breary was not in business in Ottawa before entering into partnership with Stephen, all tokens in Breary's name alone must postdate the period of the partnership and must have been issued no earlier than 1896. Tokens with the O'Conner Street address would have only been issued for a very short time, perhaps no more than 18 months before the closure of that outlet. This would explain the good condition in which these pieces are generally found. All pieces, with the exception of McColl no. 1002, are known in both brass and aluminum. If Breary did indeed replace his brass issues with another in aluminum, then it is likely that this diamond shaped piece was issued after 1898. The ½ loaf in aluminum (McColl 1002) is a mystery. Stylistically, the diamond shape and fancy font set it apart from Breary's other issues. It almost certainly must have been struck between 1898 and its appearance in the McColl listing of 1903. The fact that all known specimens show some degree of wear would suggest that it is not a fantasy such as were being produced for sale to collectors in the early years of the new century. The relative rarity of the piece would suggest that it was a special purpose issue. Given Breary's political aspirations, perhaps the token was circulated as a memento of his election campaign. Alternatively, it may have been used to advertise his business at the Central Canada Exhibition. Barring further information, the token will remain a mystery.



Postscript

Although by 1914 the three Slinn brothers and their families were largely out of the bread making business, the citizens of Ottawa and Hull continued to associate the Slinn name with bread well into the 1920s. Slinn-Shouldis Limited, created in 1910 out of the amalgamation of A.E. Slinn and G.W. Shouldis, became one of the city's largest bakeries. It continued to operate a store front out of Annie's old Bank Street location and built a large facility at 438-446 Catherine Street (1915) to bake bread and other goods. These included its flagship product, "Mother's Bread," as well as "Quaker Bread" and, during the First World War, "Victory Bread." A newspaper ad from late 1918 claimed that the firm baked 50,000 loaves daily using dough that was mixed by machinery and therefore untouched by human hands. Cleanliness, it seems, was still uppermost among the minds of the firm's clients. Under letters patent dated July 25, 1919, the assets of Slinn-Shouldis Limited were acquired by a consortium of Ottawa businessmen headed by W.H. Dwyer. Called the Slinn Bread Company, this new firm had a capital stock of \$500,000. It was purchased by the Canada Bread Company in August, 1923, for about \$300,000 and dissolved in November 1927. At the time of the takeover, *The Globe* in Toronto reported that the Slinn Bread Company "is the oldest and largest bread business in Ottawa. It operates 24 wagons and does a big shipping business."68 Neither Slinn-Shouldis nor the Slinn Bread Company is known to have issued tokens or tickets for bread.



Ad from the Ottawa Citizen, November 2, 1918.

49

⁶⁸ The Globe (Toronto), August 10, 1923.

THE WISEST MEN

Eat the Rest Bread,

The Best Juages

Have decided that Slinn Bros. Bread is the best. The proof of their decisions Sound in the fact that they have it delivered at their homes every day. Cream, Jiemma and Home-made Bread.

Tel. 1005.

O'Connor & Queen St.

Ottawa Citizen, July 3, 1895.

Sold on its Merit SLINN BROS.

· Cream, Vienna and Home Made Bread. Our Graham Bread Doctors Recommend it.

Wholesale and Retail,

Ask Your Grocer for it.

NN BROS.

Tel. 1005

O'Connor and Queen St.

Ottawa Citizen, October 1, 1895.

Muffins and Crumpets.

Our Cream Puffs are Unsurpassed. Genuine Home-made, Cream and Vienna Bread.

VICTORIA BAKERY.

Corner Queen and O'Connor Str.

Telephone 1005

Ottawa Citizen, December 2, 1895.

THE A. E. SLINN CO., LIMITED

THE UNEQUALLED POPULARITY "MOTHER'S BREAD"

-Convincing y Proven by the Fact That-

23,487 LARGE LOAVES WERE CONSUMED IN ONE WEEK in the homes of the City of Ottawa. This is an average of 3,915 large loaves per day. Is any stronger evidence required of the superiorty of "Mother's Bread"? MODERN BAKING FACILITIES, FINE QUALITY MATERIALS, CAREFUL AND EXPERIENCED BAKERS,

CLEAN AND SANITARY METHODS

all combine to guarantee absolute satisfaction, wholesometers and purity in Mother's Br are the reasons for its enormous popularity. Leading hotels and restaurants and Ottawa insist on

MOTHER'S BREAD

15 DELIVERY WAGONS ARE REQUIRED from early morning until night to deliver if you haven't tried Mother's Bread, do so at once and you'll use no other By Appointment caterers to His Excellency, the Governor-General.

THE A. E. SLINN CO., LIMITED Cor. Bank St. and Laurier Ave. Phone.

Ottawa Citizen, November 7, 1908.



Slinn-Shouldis delivery sleigh, 1910. Reginald Symonds Timmis, Toronto Public Library, 995-1-9-30a



Ottawa Citizen, August 19, 1910.

SLINN-SHOULDIS BAKES FINE PIES AND CAKES

We are as zealous of our reputation as Fancy Bakers or producers of Cakes, Pies and Fancy Confectionery as we are of our prestige as Bread Bakers. Only the purest and most carefully selected ingredients handled with the same scrupulous care that characterizes the production of M-o-t-h-e-r's Bread are used for these tasty, toothsome items of the Table. Order your Sunday supply from us.

SLINN-SHOULDIS LIMITED

MOTHET'S RREAD!

Caterors to His Excellence

Ottawa Citizen, April 6, 1911.

Acknowledgements

Works are rarely done in isolation and this paper is no exception. First, I would like to thank the National Currency Collection at the Currency Museum of the Bank of Canada, and especially photographers Gord Carter and Glyn Davies for providing the various images of tokens and scrip featured herein. I would also like to thank staff at Library and Archives Canada, the City of Ottawa Archives, and the Ottawa Room at the Ottawa Public Library for being so helpful and making works available for my study. I appreciate the assistance Chris Faulkner has rendered in providing the wonderful photo of Breary Slinn and his fleet of bread wagons. I equally appreciate Scott Douglas bringing the story as it relates to Samuel's bakery to a close by providing me with the article from *The Globe* about the Canada Bread Company. Finally, I especially would like to thank the anonymous thousands who have worked to digitize so many newspapers, books and journals so that researchers can sit in the comfort of their own homes and do what formerly would have taken much longer and cost much more money.

Appendix A: Slinn Genealogical Table

A) Stephen + Harriette (b. March 19, 1855)

Winnie b. c.1870 Marv b. December 28, 1872 Christina b. 1879 Anna b. September 17, 1881 Elizabeth b. September 13, 1886 Henriette b. September 3, 1889 b. February 1, 1891 Marv b. January 20, 1893 Edna b. September 2? 1894 Dorothy Stanley b. March 28, 1896 Holice b. April 30, 1898

B) Samuel + Annie E. (b. May 4, 1860)

Jenny b. August 31, 1881

C) Breary + Isabella (b. March 8, 1860)

Mary E b. July 8, 1882 b. March 14, 1884 Robert Jenny M. b. April 14, 1886 William B. b. September 16, 1888 Annie E b. January 2, 1891 Jessie S. b. November 3, 1893 b. March 14, 1896 Shirley S. John T. b. February 14, 1898 Margaret E. b. May 11, 1900 Gordon b. August 1902 b. February 1905 Gerald

Appendix B: Dates and Locations of Slinn Bakeries

Owner / CEO	Bakery Name	Address	Date
S.B. Slinn	N/A	Ottawa St. (w. side btw. Daly & Wilbrod)	1872-1874
S.B. Slinn	N/A	205 York (n. side btw. Cumberland & King)	1874-1877
S.B. Slinn	N/A	207 York (n. side btw. Cumberland & King)	1877-1879
S.B. Slinn	East End Bakery	s. side Montreal Rd. btw CPR tracks and First Ave.	1879-1893
	N/A	217 Rideau (n. side btw. Dalhousie & Cumberland)	1887-1888
Slinn Bros.	Victoria Bakery	45 O'Connor (s.e. corner Queen & O'Connor)	1893-1895
S.B. Slinn	East End Bakery	s. side Montreal Rd. btw CPR tracks and First Ave.	1896-closing
	N/A	283 Bank Street (e. side btw. Cooper & Somerset)	1896-1898
S.B. Slinn	N/A	Westboro (n. side of Wellington)	1916 - ?
S.S. Slinn	N/A	142-144 Bank (w. side btw. Slater & Maria)	? -1879
S.S. Slinn	Victoria Bakery	146 Bank (w. side btw. Slater & Maria)	1880-1885
	Palace Bakery	161-163 Bank (n.e. corner Bank and Maria)	1886-1890
A.E. Slinn	A.E. Slinn Co.	161-163 Bank (n.e. corner Bank and Maria)	1890-1909
W.H. Dwyer	A.E. Slinn Co.	161-163 Bank (n.e. corner Bank and Maria)	1909-1910
R.E. Calhoun	Slinn-Shouldis Ltd.	163 Bank (confectionery)	1910-1919
		458 Catherine (bakery)	
W.H. Dwyer	Slinn Bread Co.	284 Bank Street (w. side btw. Cooper and Somerset)	1919-1927
		458 Catherine (bakery)	
B. Slinn	N/A	Hawthorn (s.e. of Ottawa)	1884-1890
Slinn Bros.	Victoria Bakery	45 O'Connor (s.e. corner Queen & O'Connor)	1893-1895
B. Slinn	Victoria Bakery	45 O'Connor (s.e. corner Queen & O'Connor)	1896-1898
	Victoria Bakery	New Edinburgh (177 Creighton)	1896-1912
	,	547-549 Bank (e. side btw. Catharine & GTR)	1898-1906
E. Cushing et al	Ottawa Bakery	New Edinburgh (177 Creighton)	1912-1916
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The Cranston Novelty Company of Toronto, Canada.

Adhertising Nobelties with Merit
and New Ideas for all classes of Advertisers
Rubber Stamps and Store and Office Specialties



James K. Cranston and The Cranston Novelty Advertising Co.

J. K. Cranston and The Cranston Novelty Advertising Company by Scott E. Douglas

James Kersel Cranston was born August 14, 1856, on the family farm five and a half miles from the town of Galt, Ontario. His first working situation came at age 15 as a junior clerk in the bookstore of A.L. Middlemiss of Port Hope, Ontario. After four years, Middlemiss sold out and Cranston took a similar position with Fleming & Co., of Galt. Cranston remained with Fleming until October 1880 when, at age 24, he partnered with H. Dickinson to purchase the stock of Woodstock, Ontario, bookseller F. Nesbitt & Co. The new firm was called Dickinson & Cranston and was doing very well until a disastrous fire struck a blow on November 24, 1880, while the store was preparing for a large Christmas trade.¹ Although not everything was lost, the damage to merchandise was \$20,000. While the two men set about selling what stock they had left, their creditors agreed to accept 66\(^2\)_3 cents on the dollar. When most of the remaining stock had been sold, both men found they could pay the debt at 100 cents on the dollar and notified their creditors of this fact. It was this single act of honesty that would stand both men in good stead for the rest of their working lives. This gesture was so unusual it was still being spoken of more than ten years later and was never forgotten by wholesalers. In January of 1885, with all debts paid up, Dickinson & Cranston dissolved. Dickinson remained in Woodstock and Cranston purchased the stock of Galt bookseller and stationer C. W. Youmans. Cranston's new business was located in Young's Block at 55 Main Street in Galt. For the next seven years Cranston built a business of good reputation but found it to be a trying experience.

Cranston spent day and night thinking of ways to bring his retail ideas to the public eye. He advertised extensively in local newspapers as well as in Toronto papers and trade magazines that were devoted to the retail seller and the book and stationery trade. Cranston set about having the largest bookstore in Galt, which had a population of 6,500 in 1885. In October 1885 Cranston set up a booth at the Waterloo Fair. The London Advertiser had this to say: "The exhibit of Mr. J.K. Cranston, the Galt bookseller, was about one of the finest in the main building. It consisted of all kinds of children's carriages, shoe shapes filled with dolls of all sizes and kinds, picture frame mouldings, albums, vases and drawing cases. Blank books, stationery and inks, were also to be seen." Cranston had a strict code in relation to what he would sell and if he felt an item was tainted in any way he would refuse to have it on his shelf. For example, he loved to carry games and toys for children, but refused to carry playing cards in case they were used for gambling. If Cranston had even the slightest notion the content of a book was suspicious, he literally burned it.³ However, Cranston was a progressive thinker and took pride in being one of the first retailers to bring new items to the Galt area. In 1897 he was the first to introduce the flat disk phonograph to southern Ontario. He was also the first to introduce the safety bicycle which had two low wheels.⁴ This was the successor to the penny farthing bicycle with the large front wheel and the small rear wheel.

¹ Books and Notions, IX, 8: 8.

² Reprinted in *Books and Notions*, II, 4: 62.

³ J. Herbert Cranston, *Ink On My Fingers* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1953): 2.

⁴ Waterloo Historical Society Report (1955): 12-13.



From 1885 to 1889 Cranston tried different methods to make his business a success. In 1889 he faced an unexpected distraction in the form of a personal inner crisis, a crisis that was the culmination of a twenty-year struggle with his religious identity. This episode involved his family, his friends, and the Presbyterian Church. When Cranston was just 13 years old a great religious upheaval took place in Galt. The Scottish Evangelists, Douglas Russell and Charles Carrol, came to town from Hamilton. From the time of their arrival in October 1868 until early 1869, the Evangelists held services, initially attended by 600 locals, in the district Wesleyan Church. When attendance swelled to over 1,000, the meetings were held in the Knox Presbyterian Church. These meetings called into question the scope of clerical authority and caused a great upheaval in all religious circles, but especially in Knox Presbyterian.⁵ This controversy stayed with Cranston always. When Cranston left Woodstock for Galt in 1885, he spent the next few years trying to make sense of his life. By this time he was married to Eva McLean, the daughter of an ardent, temperance Scotsman, Robert McLean, with whom he had two sons. In 1885 Cranston heard testimony of a more satisfactory Christian experience given by Presbyterian David Caldwell. The experience was so uplifting for Cranston that he sought a way to find "...the constant smile and approval of God." Cranston felt that up until this time he had "lived in a half-dead state." On September 4, 1887, Cranston met with Caldwell after hearing him speak again. Cranston felt it was time for action. As the leader of a group of seven earnest Christians, Cranston preached on street corners and held meetings in members' homes challenging the authority of the Presbyterian Church. This group of seven were deemed heretics and expelled by the Church, their doctrines considered contrary to the creed of the Presbyterian order. For most people, that would be the end of the matter. However, such was not the case for James Cranston. Over the

⁵ Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000): 69.

⁶ J.K. Cranston, *The So-Called Heresy Case at Galt* (Galt: J.K. Cranston, 1889): v – viii.

ensuing months, the expulsion became known as the "so-called heresy case" and affected church elders and synods from Galt to Kingston. James Cranston proved he was an individual who had the courage of his convictions. He also seized the opportunity to publish an account of the case in an eighty-eight page pamphlet entitled *The So-Called Heresy Case at Galt*. It should be noted that with all of the controversy resulting from the heresy case Cranston never lost his faith; it just shifted to the Baptist side of the room. Most observers might think that an episode such as the heresy case would ostracize an individual from the community, especially in a small town. However, Cranston moved forward with a renewed drive and determination and acted as if this specific incident gave him the validation he needed. Over the next ten years he built a solid reputation of honesty, integrity and a keen business sense. He held the esteem of many of Galt's citizens as well as the collective merchant retail community.

In 1890 Cranston attempted a new marketing scheme by announcing an "Original Poem" competition. There would be \$11 in prizes and the competition would be open to every scholar of any age attending any public, private or high school within 30 miles, north, south, east or west of the town of Galt. The time limit was set for December 1st. The prizes would be awarded on or by December 10th and consist of a choice in each category: 1st prize, \$5.00 writing desk or work box; 2nd prize, \$3.00, Milton's *Paradise Lost* with Dore's illustrations, or Album; 3rd prize, \$2.00, Bible or Book of Poems; 4th prize, \$1.00, Ink Stand or Hand Satchel. Cranston cleverly invited parents to bring their children to his store to see what goods were available so the children would know what to write about. The competition proved very popular, and when the results were in the winner was thirteen year old Olive Humphries of Sheffield, Ontario, with the following entry:⁷

The Books you get from J.K. Cranston, Are good enough for any mansion; If once you buy at this cheap store, You'll soon be back to get some more.

It is the place to get the Toys, That will just suit the little boys; And blue-eyed Dolls with lovely curls, That will delight the little girls.

There's Toys and Buggies for the babies, And fancy things to please the ladies; Such as Albums, Vases and Dressing Cases, In which they can see their pretty faces.

Young gents', it is the place to buy, Things to please your girls, Oh my! The ladies can get a game of crouet, And a nice fine book with which to crochet.

Papa and mama when you go shopping, Just stop and buy for the Christmas stocking Balls, Marbles and Horns, Mouth Organs and Whistles,

Work Boxes and Puzzles and little dishes.

There's such nice Bibles for dear grandpa, And Sacred Hymns for our grandma; The Bible is the only book that God has given, To guide us on our way to heaven.

Come here and buy, come one, come all, There's something nice for great and small; The things they sell are very cheap, Which when you get you'll have a treat.

Olive Humphries

⁷ Galt Summer Carnival, special issue, June 12th and 13th 1890, inside front cover.

It was some time in 1892 that Cranston came up with two of his most popular merchandising schemes. The first was "The Happy Thought Counter Check Book." This was a basic receipt book that did not require carbon paper but would leave a facsimile impression on the page beneath. Cranston did a brisk trade in this item for many years. His second idea was the "Cranston Trade Due Bill." First advertised in November of 1892, these due bills were made of coloured Bristol board and warned "Pat. Applied for J.K.C., Galt, Ont."8 In 1955, Cranston's grandson reminisced that his father had told him that the politicians had outlawed the use of the aluminum due bills which Cranston would later market successfully; however, I am sure he was referring to these Bristol board scrip pieces. Canadian patent law does not allow for a patent to be issued for printed matter with reference to a method of doing business. A patent cannot be obtained on a mere idea or suggestion. However, while waiting for patent approval, and for a \$20 fee, the applicant may market his or her invention



with the appropriate "Patent Applied For" protection statement. After one year from application, if a patent is not granted the applicant may no longer sell the invention under "Patent Applied For" protection. In Cranston's case, a patent was not issued, but the existing Bristol board due bills in circulation were allowed to continue in use. Later, around 1901, Cranston dedicated much of his time to promoting the aluminum trade due bill.

"The Happy Thought Counter Check Book" and the "Cranston Trade Due Bill" so fascinated Cranston that he immediately made up his mind to sell his book and stationery business and concentrate on promoting this sort of novelty idea. In March of 1893 Cranston announced that he was selling out to Mr. J. W. Hamly of Campbellford and relocating to Toronto. The business was to change hands officially on Saturday April 29. In Cranston's usual manner, he advertised a month-long going out of business sale through the local newspaper, keeping one and all abreast of events almost daily. As the final day approached, Hamly ran an ad in the Galt Reformer stating that he would continue to offer Cranston's great sale prices for an additional month as a way of introducing himself to the town folk in the hope everyone would stop by. James Cranston must have been feeling good as the deadline approached. Suddenly, on May 1, Cranston received a letter from Hamly stating that he had run into a problem obtaining the money that he had expected from the sale of his business interests in Campbellford. On May 6, another letter arrived from Hamly regretting to inform Cranston of circumstances that would make it impossible for him to go further in the transference of Cranston's stock and business. Worried about how this may appear to the citizens of Galt, Cranston had the correspondence reprinted in the newspaper with all the appropriate stipulations that Cranston's business was solid and not the reason for the failed transfer. Although both of these letters would explain things to the people of Galt, Cranston

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⁸ Books and Notions, 8, 11 (November 1892): 9; Dry Goods Review, 11, 2 (November 1892): 11.

Letter left, on leaving for Cambellford. J. K. Chanston, Dear Sir,—I am sorry to have to inform you that I may have some difficulty in arranging for the amount of money which I had expected to nell in the purchase of your stock. I may, howrever, make a satisfactory arrangement. I will let you know in a short time. I would like to inform your many customers, through the medium of this letter, that I found the stock in good condition, prices right, as far as we had taken stock and that stock had been fiftly kept and well assorted and was not depleted in any way. I make this statement that no blame can be attached to you seeing that the sale has not been completed. Hoping that my affairs may turn out all right, when we may re-commence and make a new beginning. J. W. HAMLY.

CAMPBELLFORD, May 6, 1863.

J. K. CRANSTON, Galt.

I regret to inform you that I find on arrival here that circumstances have so transpired as to make it impossible for me to go further in the matter of transference of your stock and busteness to me for the present. I regret exceedingly to have given you the trouble of going largely through stock-taking with me, but have to say that I found stock in good condition, not depleted in staples, well bought, and there were no misrepresentations. You have been fair and honorepresentations. You have been fair and honorepresentations of the hornomes for a good business is very encouraging. Nothing on your part of values in your rock has contributed to the change of my plans. I therefore must be content to lose the prospect of a good business, and will hope for leniency in a monetary way for loss sustained by you. I trust you may not be seriously inconvenienced in any arrangements made in your contemplated Toronto husiness, and that the future may be more successful with you than the past has been.

Yours.

J. W. HABILT.

must have been crestfallen. The last line in this second letter is curiously telling when Hamly offers the hope "...that the future may be more successful with you than the past has been."

Exactly why Joseph Warren Hamly changed his mind is unclear, even given the explanation of difficulty with finances. With the advantage of history, what is known to us now is that in August of 1893, less than three months after turning away from the Cranston business, J W Hamly secured a location and set up a bookselling business in Picton, Ontario. In 1899 Hamly writes of how he started his stationery business, the smallest in town, and in six years has been compelled to move into the largest store (150 x 26 feet) in town. Hamly was now carrying wallpaper, art shades, curtain poles, toys, games, fancy goods, and music. This was an exact duplication of Cranston's business model. Hamly was also a news agent, made a specialty of picture framing, and conducted a book and job printing business. It would seem that Joseph Hamly found a successful formula in Picton, Ontario, a town less than 200 miles east of Galt.

If Cranston was disheartened about having to remain in Galt, it was not immediately apparent. For the next few years Cranston went about his business as usual. He even found time to engage in local politics. In 1897 and 1898 Cranston served as Alderman for Ward 2 in Galt. Cranston also set about 'spreading the word,' as is evidenced by a quip printed in *Harper's Bazaar*: ¹⁰

"They tell me that Cranston has gone off through the country giving readings from his own works."

"So I understand. He is to travel three thousand miles in sixteen days. Great test of endurance that."

"Great test of endurance! Why, I should think that just reading his own works would lay him out. It does me."

In 1898 Cranston moved to a new location on the Main Street of Galt. The description of his store is a most interesting look at what was thought of as an up-to-date retail business. The following is the report which was featured in *The Galt Reformer* on March 7, 1898:

⁹ Bookseller & Stationer, XV, 8 (August 1899): 2.

¹⁰ Reprinted in the trade journal *The Canadian Bookseller*, X, 12 (March 1898): 96.

James K Cranston is now settled in his fine new store in the Buchanan Block. It is a most commodious and handsomely fitted place, and well adapted to the requirements of Mr. Cranston's large and growing business. Mr. Cranston is now doing a big wholesale and retail trade, orders coming daily from all parts of the Dominion, which are promptly dispatched by mail or express.

The first thing that strikes one as they approach the new store is the attractive window. It is beautifully dressed with new books, ornamental novelties and fancy goods. There is also a turning platform driven by waterpower in the window.

Stepping inside, you see that the store is 20 x 90 feet in size, and filled to overflowing with a complete and choice assortment of goods of all kinds, including a large stock of wall paper. In the basement are the toy and game departments, the wholesale as well as the retail surplus stock. It is well filled, and is a light, airy and commodious place. Here are immense quantities of store supplies, such as paper bags, wrapping paper, twine, butter plates, etc., with which lines Mr. Cranston supplies our local as well as the country merchants. Children's carriages, wagons, carts, bicycles, velocipedes are all stored away here till summer comes. At the front end you see the small watermotor which runs the wheel in the window above. The motor is of 1.4 horsepower, but it only requires a stream of water the size of a pin to run the turntable.

It is worth one's while to go through this up to date store. You will be welcomed and shown through by Mr. Cranston or his clerks, no matter whether on business or only to see the sights and pass an hour of leisure time. This store is certainly an acquisition to the business interests of Galt.

If one were fully to believe the extent to which Cranston's business is said to have grown, then his fortunes would appear to have taken a substantial turn for the better. However, the truth was that the wholesale and retail trade in many of the small towns and villages of Ontario was in trouble and Galt was no different. The "departmental" store had made an appearance and was slowly capturing much of the local business. In November of 1898 Alderman James K. Cranston introduced a resolution at the meeting of town council. The object of this resolution was to secure the co-operation of the council, the board of trade, and the landlords in an effort to discover the cause of a perceived diversion of trade to Toronto and surrounding area. In effect, Cranston was not looking for blame anywhere beyond the merchants themselves. In a statement delivered to all local retail business Cranston alleged:

Men in business, who stick to the old methods and bank on a reputation made when the conditions of trade were vastly different from those of today, cannot hope to compete with the big departmental stores. Expert buying, a yielding to the desires of customers, whose tastes must be studied, a candid bid for trade through the newspapers — all these features should be recognized in the merchant's position before the buying public. It is not the province of The Reporter to say to each merchant what he should or should not do. The business of publishing and printing has undergone a revolution during the past

10 years, and men engaged in the trade have been compelled to bend to the conditions of the day. They know full well that the methods of ten years ago will not keep the pot boiling at the present time, and hence, they have either submitted to changed conditions or retired from business. The departments have 'caught on' as a result of aggressive action, and their methods must, in part, be copied by the merchants of such towns as Galt, to keep the leviathans from grabbing everything in sight. We do not wish to underestimate the ability of the local merchants. If, however, they feel the shoe of competition pinching, they cannot but see a way open to cope with the big fellows.¹¹

This declaration was in response to the uproar from the town retailers toward the local newspaper, *The Galt Reformer*, for publishing advertising for department stores from Toronto and Hamilton. Times were tough and competition for that elusive sale was great. As an example, a store in Hamilton advertised that it would pay the return train fare of any out of town customer purchasing from them. This was just one method used to get people to come through the door. In early February 1899, the Galt Retail Merchants' Association adopted a resolution moved by J. K. Cranston requesting that the members for South Waterloo support or introduce legislation in the respective Houses of Parliament "that has for its objective the illegalization of all stamp trading concerns, gift schemes and fake advertising, which attempts to do, gull, victimize and menace the honour of the purchasing public and mercantile traders of Canada." 12

On November 15, 1898, a bill of sale was registered with the Province of Ontario from J.K.Cranston to C. Cumming for \$1700. 13 Charles Cumming operated a furniture store in the other half of the building he shared with Cranston. Cranston needed some money, likely to offset the cost of his new establishment, but also due to a slowdown in business. Cranston had met with his creditors and had come to an undisclosed but satisfactory agreement. 14 This is the first indication of what was to be an inevitable outcome. In less than a year and a half later another bill of sale was registered with the Province on March 6, 1900. This time it was C. Cumming and J.K.Cranston selling to T. Ballantyne for \$2393. 15 Cranston was admitting defeat at the hands of the department stores and had sold out. Thomas Ballantyne was the retired ex-principal of the Dickson School in Galt. Ballantyne went into the insurance business during retirement and kept this connection even after becoming the proud owner of Cranston's book and stationery business. 16

After 15 years was Cranston finally fed up with the constant battle for the public's dollar? Or was it time for a change? Whatever the real reason for the sale, James K. Cranston would now begin the next chapter in his life. This was to be a most intriguing and arguably unique chapter in the future world of Canadian numismatics.

For 8 years, since 1892, Cranston had wanted to relocate his business to Toronto. When the sale to J.W. Hamly seemed certain to take place in 1893, Cranston announced his intention to relocate. In 1900, after the sale of his business to Ballantyne, Cranston reiterated this objective. However, possibly because of financial circumstances, he stayed in Galt until

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¹¹ Reprinted in the *Dry Goods Review*, VIII, 11 (November 1898): 48.

¹² Monetary Times, XXXII, 32 (February 1899): 1084.

¹³ The Canadian Journal of Commerce, 47, 21 (December 1898): 715.

¹⁴ Bookseller and Stationer, XIV, 12 (December 1898): 11.

¹⁵ The Canadian Journal of Commerce, 50, 10 (March 1900): 760.

¹⁶ Bookseller & Stationer XVI, 3 (March 1900): 18.

1905. It was during this period, 1900-1904, that Cranston set out to develop a market for the aluminum trade due bill. In 1901 Cranston officially became *The Cranston Novelty Company* and established a travelling workforce to take orders for due bills, advertising calendars. yardsticks, and rulers. If anyone understood the value of advertising, it was James Cranston. It should be noted that Victorian era travelling salesmen were a different breed than those of today. In those days a commercial traveller might represent more than one enterprise. He would board a train, laden with various samples for some outlying village or town, check in to an area inn or rooming house, and then visit every local retail trade in an effort to solicit orders for any or all of his wares. Payment was strictly on commission, so time was a factor. The more samples that could be shown, the better chance there was of a sale. Some salesmen lasted while others were part-time at best. The work was long and hard and competition was fierce. Even Cranston's eldest son, James Herbert Cranston, worked for a short time as a 'traveller' for him during his three-year hiatus between schooling at Galt Collegiate and Woodstock College. Although travelling sales representatives were often the best way for Cranston to get his ideas out to the masses, he still relied heavily on newspaper and trade journal advertising. In 1901 Cranston advertised in the Toronto Globe by soliciting orders for his "Checks and Due Bill Coins." He even went so far as to draw attention to the fact that Parliament had declared the paper and cardboard tickets for milk and bread to be germ riddled and unhealthy and illegal to use.¹⁷ He did this by placing an advertisement which appeared as an editorial:

Due Bill Colus.

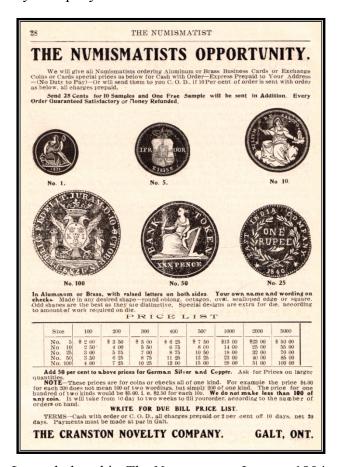
Elsewhere will be found an adver-tisement of Mr. J. K. Cranston, Galt. who has produced a series of valuable aluminum and brass checks for bakers. milkmen and other traders. During the last session of Parliament an act was passed to govern or prohibit the use of the ordinary pasteboard bread and milk checks, thus making it compulsory to use either metal checks or paper tickets, the last-named of which must not be removed from the homes. This act was passed in order to lessen the danger of carrying contagious and house to infectious diseases from house. Paper tickets, as is well known, will and do carry disease germs, and are the direct cause of many epidemics. The metal check can be sterilized and used again, whereas the pasteboard check cannot.



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¹⁷ The Globe (Toronto), July 1901.

In January 1902 Cranston began his first round of advertising in *The Numismatist*, the official voice of the American Numismatic Association. Interestingly, Cranston was not a member of the ANA, but it seems he was still able to advertise in their journal. Initially, he appealed to the collector with the idea that a personal business card or "exchange coin" of aluminum or brass was fashionable. Later, Cranston pushed the due bill as a cost effective way for the merchant not only to cope with a shortage of small change in the rural community, but also with 'the evils of credit'. In the beginning, the metals of choice were aluminum or brass. If copper or German silver were preferred, the cost was an extra 50%. This would explain why due bills are predominantly found in aluminum and brass. The retail charge to the merchant was \$20 for 1,000 due bills including die cost. This would consist of 200 each for the 1, 5, 10 and 25 cent denominations, and 100 each for the 50 cent and 1 dollar denominations. Of course, an underlying and implied advantage was that the merchant would effectively have \$232 worth of 'coinage' for the cost of \$20, or 2¢ per due bill. Anything lost or not redeemed by the public became a windfall for the merchant. It would not take the government too many more years to realize exactly the same thing. Cranston's last ad in *The Numismatist* was January 1904. Collectors and numismatists have a tendency to think of the token issuing part of Cranston's business as much larger than it really was. In fact, with the exception of the years 1902 to 1904, tokens and due bills were a very small part of The Cranston Novelty Company business.



Last ad placed in *The Numismatist*, January 1904.

In 1905 Cranston finally made his move to the city of Toronto. The Cranston Novelty Advertising Company was located in room 108, at 123 Bay St. This building was constructed for Fred W. Stair on the corner of Adelaide and Bay Streets after, and as a result of, the great fire of April 19, 1904, which destroyed much of Bay St. Cranston remained at 123 Bay for the rest of his

Remember us

The Cranston Noveity Advertising Co.

J. K. CRANSTON, Manager

Manufacturers, Importers and Dealers in

"Advertising—Specialties With Merit"

for all classes of Advertisers

Store and Office Specialties, Utilities and FixturePatents, New Ideas and Devices Exploited, Manufacturers Agents

Room 108 Stair Bidg., 123 Bay St.

Toronto, Canada

Rubber Stamps, Yard Sticks, Rulers, Clothing

Hangers and Fixtures

Tel. Main 6169

life. His home was located at 122 Pembroke Ave. from 1905-1910. He then moved to 80 Homewood Ave. in 1911. Cranston remained there until his death in November of 1916. His wife, Eva, continued to live in the home until her passing in 1922.

On April 8, 1916, an ad appeared in the *The Globe* classified section which read: "AGENTS WANTED: Salesmen for our FINE LINE ART calendars: now is the time to book orders for 1917: special contract guaranteeing weekly pay. Cranston Novelty Co. established 15 years. Queen and Victoria Streets, Toronto." Some of the things which stand out about this ad are the fact that J.K. Cranston always paid commission, never guaranteeing a salary, that the wording is a little sterile for a Cranston ad and, finally, that the advertising novelty company of F.E. Karn was also located at the corner of Queen and Victoria Streets in Toronto. It seems very likely that James K. Cranston had made his final sale just seven months before he passed away on November 7, 1916. He had been diagnosed with rectal cancer a few years earlier. This energetic, interesting, intelligent, God-fearing, never a dull moment personality was now finally at peace with a world that likely misunderstood but greatly respected him.

MR. J. K. CRANSTON'S DEATH.

Formerly Head of Advertising Novelty Company.

Mr. J. K. Cranston, who was until recently with the Cranston Advertising Novelty Company, and formerly of Port Hope, Galt and Woodstock, died at his home, 81 Homewood avenue For many years he conducted the Central Bookstore in Galt. He resided in Toronto for eleven years. His widow, who is a daughter of the late Robert McLoan of Toronto, and six sons survive him-J. Herbert; editor of The Toronto Star Weekly; Robert S., Donald C., and Fred L. of Grand & Toy, stationers, Toronto; Russell, a plumber in Alameda, Cal.; and Harry M., a farmer at Beaver Lodge, Peace River district, Alberta.

The Cranston Novelty Advertising Co. was destined to continue on in business for another 15 years without the aid of the genius behind the name. Located at 57 Queen St. West, the company had two managers until it ceased operation in 1930: Mr. J.S. Robertson from 1917–1919, and Mr. Charles A. Wilson, 1920-1930.

Numismatic Observations

J. Herbert Cranston, James Cranston's eldest son, was awarded the Governor General's medal for the highest standing in his class upon graduation from Woodstock College in 1901.¹⁸

James Ryrie, of the well-known Toronto medallist and manufacturing jewellery firm James Ryrie & Co. (1879-1897), was J.K. Cranston's brother-in-law. Cranston's wife, Eva McLean, was the sister of Catherine (Cassie) McLean, who married James Ryrie on October 11, 1877. The firm, later known as Ryrie Brothers (1897-1924), is known to have struck several high quality medals. The firm was eventually taken over by Birks.

In 1903 Cranston was approached by Truro, Nova Scotia, Canadian communion token collector Herbert L. Doane to supply a communion token for Efate, New Hebrides. (New Hebrides is now known as Vanuatu, pronounced Van-wah-to. It is located half way between Australia and Fiji.) This new token was to replace an older communion token that had been taken to New Hebrides from Pictou, Nova Scotia, in 1846 by Rev. John Geddes. The new token was made of aluminum and replaced the older white metal tokens still in use at that time. Ironically, New Hebrides was a foreign mission under the Presbyterian Church of Australia. 19

Closing Comment

Although James Cranston may appear to have missed out on much of what life had to offer during his relatively short 60 years, I feel differently on close examination. If anything, Cranston had what most of us crave, the freedom to have the courage of your convictions and to live your life as you see fit. Cranston's victories may have been small, but they were victories none the less. He lived every day with honour and integrity. He had respect, for himself, and everyone around him. He set out to help people in their daily struggles, whether it be with God or the department store. He had a soft spot for children and loved games and toys as much as he loved books.

Cranston was a born propagandist, an ardent temperance man, a strict parent and a hard working intellectual thinker. He was a book seller, a book publisher, a publisher of religious material, and a promoter of the power of the advertisement. He worked hard because he expected nothing for nothing. In short, he led by example. As a salesman, Cranston was a natural. He constantly contrived ways to bring new ideas to his store and his community. He felt a responsibility to share the joys of life as he saw them. The numismatic community owes Cranston a large debt of gratitude. His forward thinking and innovative advertising methods left us with a plethora of material to ponder. He was ahead of his time in many ways. I am sure had he lived another 20 years we would have seen more thought provoking ideas pour from his gifted mind. The Cranston Novelty Advertising Company and its tokens may seem an unlikely legacy to some, but a numismatist could not be more thankful.

¹⁹ Fred Bowman, *Communion Tokens of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Numismatic Association, 1965).

¹⁸ J.H. Cranston, *Ink On My Fingers* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1953): 31.

A Chronology of Events in the Life Of James Kersel Cranston

1856	James Kersel Cranston born five miles outside of Galt, Ontario.
1871	Cranston apprentices as a clerk with bookseller A.L. Middlemiss of Port Hope, Ontario. Middlemiss sells his business in 1875.
1875	Cranston returns to Galt and takes a similar position with Fleming & Co.
1880	He enters into a partnership with H. Dickinson in a bookstore in Woodstock.
1885	The Dickinson partnership is mutually dissolved and Cranston opens a bookstore at 55 Main St. in Galt.
1889	He becomes embroiled in a battle with the Knox Presbyterian church in a case that becomes known as "The So-Called Heresy Case at Galt."
1892	He applies for a patent for the Cranston Trade Due Bill made of multi-coloured Bristol board (cardboard). The patent is denied.
1893	The greatly anticipated sale of his business in Galt to Joseph Warren Hamly falls through.
1897	Cranston is elected as an Alderman for Ward 2 in Galt and will serve two consecutive terms.
1898	Cranston opens a new store at a new location a little farther up Main St. A short time later, Cranston has some financial difficulties. He tries to mount a local campaign against the new "departmental store" competition but the writing is on the wall.
1900	Cranston sells his business to Galt ex-school principal Thomas Ballantyne.
1901	He begins to market the aluminum trade due bill and remains in Galt, Ontario, four more years.
1905	Cranston finally makes his long anticipated move to the city of Toronto and locates at 123 Bay Street. His company is called the Cranston Novelty Advertising Co. James Cranston is now doing what he enjoys most.
1914	It is about this time that Cranston becomes aware that he has rectal cancer.
1916	Cranston sells his business early in the year. On November 7, 1916, James Kersel Cranston passes away from complications of his cancer.

IN MEMORIAM





James K. Cranston and his wife Eva are interred in Mount View Cemetery in Galt (Cambridge). Their grave is marked with a simple stone. Two of their sons with their families are buried beside them, Robert S., and Frederick L. Cranston.

The headstone reads:

In Loving Memory Of JAMES K. CRANSTON 1856 – 1916 EVA McLEAN His Wife 1858 – 1922

Acknowledgements

During the course of researching any of my past numismatic efforts it has always amazed me how quickly numismatists and collectors alike will step forward to offer assistance. Most of the time it is a willingness to share a part of their collection to be studied, scanned, and freely used in whatever way I see fit. This current project was no exception. I truly appreciate the trust placed in me by all of these people.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Paul Berry and the National Currency Collection at the Currency Museum of the Bank of Canada for the use of two images in the catalogue, specifically Bowman no.'s 404-I-A and 404-L-N. I would like to thank Rick Craig for allowing me to study the Cranston advertising pieces in his collection. In some cases if an obverse or reverse from Rick's collection was better than mine, I made use of that image and coupled it with a piece from my collection for illustration in the catalogue. I would like to recognize Warren Baker for his unfailing willingness to allow me to use items from his collection or library. In this case, a part of a Cranston bill of sale was used on the first page of this article.

Finally, I extend my gratitude to all who have endured my enthusiasm and have constantly encouraged me to carry on. Their kind words have such a positive impact on making all those hours of straining my eyes over microfilm well worthwhile.

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The Canadian Journal of Commerce, 1898-1900, various issues.

The Cranston Trade Due Bill





In November of 1892 J.K. Cranston unveiled "The Cranston Trade Due Bill." The due bills were available in denominations of 1 cent, 5 cents, 10 cents, 25 cents, 50 cents, and \$1.00. Each amount was printed on fine quality, different coloured, Bristol cardboard. Cranston claimed the due bills could be used like money and would last five years. He promoted the idea of using and reusing them until they were worn out. Cranston's price was \$5.00 for 1,000 pieces. As with all of his promotional schemes, Cranston offered to send a sample to any retailer who made a request. Today, very few examples are known to exist of the cardboard Cranston due bill. Since a patent was not granted, we might speculate that the pieces known today may have been samples. Cranston's religious nature would not have allowed him to consider their permanent use without being granted a legal patent.

Similar examples of cardboard scrip were used in Pokemouche, Shediac, and Sackville, New Brunswick, and in Rockland, Ontario. The New Brunswick scrip is known in denominations of \$2.00 and \$5.00, as well as the usual 1cent to \$1. These known examples show signs of circulating wear. None of them carries any of the markings of J.K. Cranston, but some state they are "Made by the R.J. Lovell Co. Ltd Toronto." It is very likely that Cranston used Lovell for his introductory version of the scrip and that the manufacture of the New Brunswick and Rockland pieces came shortly after and were possibly marketed by Robert Lovell. It also seems likely that the usage of this form of due bill was short lived, possibly from 1892 to 1896.

Cranston later promoted his trade due bill idea more successfully with aluminum tokens.



Cranston 'Bristol Board' scrip was introduced in 1892. As always Cranston offered to send a sample along with a price list. Cranston offered the cardboard scrip at \$5.00 per 1000. Given the scarcity of examples today and the fact that he was not granted a patent it is my opinion that the surviving examples are likely the samples that were requested.

The Cranston Novelty Co. Galt, Ontario









Aluminum

Brass

Copper

White Metal

Obverse 1:

New Ideas / In / Advertising / Coins and Due Bills / The Cranston / Novelty Co. / Galt, Ont. / 1902









Boer War - Clasped Hands series

Reverse 1:

British-Boer War / Peace / In / South / Africa / Oct. 11. 1899. TO May 31. 1902.

Bowman No.

104-G-A	A-R-28
104-G-Ax	B-R-28
104-G-Ay	C-R-28
104-G-Az	W-R-28

McColl No.

	848
	850
	849
	851









Boer War - Dove of Peace series

Reverse 2:

British-Boer War / Peace In / South Africa / Oct. 11. 1899. TO May 31. 1902.

Bowman No.

McColl No. 860

404-G-B	A-R-28	
404-G-Bx	B-R-28	
404-G-By	C-R-28	
404-G-Bz	W-R-28	









Aluminum

Brass

Copper

White Metal

Obverse 2:

New Ideas / In / Advertising / Coins and Due Bills / The Cranston / Novelty Co. / Galt, Ont. / 1902









Merry Christmas Turkey series

Reverse 3:

Wishing You A Merry Christmas / 1902 / 1903 / And A Happy New Year

Bowman No.

		McColl No.
404-G-C	A-R-28	872
404-G-Cx	B-R-28	873
404-G-Cy	C-R-28	871
404-G-Cz	W-R-28	874









Reverse 4:

International Saengerfest / Of The Lake Erie / & Canadian / Saenger Bunds

Bowman No.

McColl No.

		Wiecom 10.
Unlisted	A-R-28	882
Unlisted	B-R-28	883
Unlisted	C-R-28	884
Unlisted	W-R-28	885



Obverse 3: New Ideas / In / Advertising / Coins and Due Bills / The Cranston / Novelty Co. / Galt, Ont. / 1902



Reverse 5: Good For / 25 / In Merchandise

Bowman No.

404-G-D

404-G-Dx

404-G-Dy

404-G-Dy

404-G-Dz

W-O-25

890

891



Obverse 4: New Ideas / In / Advertising / Coins and Due Bills / The Cranston / Novelty Co. / Galt, Ont. / 1902



Reverse 6: Good For / 25c / On A / Cash Order / For 1000 / Due Bills / Or / Bread Tickets

Bowman No.

404-G-E
404-G-Ex
404-G-Ey
404-G-Ey
404-G-Ez
W-Sc10-31
869
404-G-Ez



Obverse 5: New Ideas In Advertising / Coins and Due Bills / The / Cranston Novelty / Co. / 1902 / Galt, Ontario.



Reverse 7: ONE / PENNY

Bowman No. McColl No. 404-H-A B-R-30 876 404-H-Ax C-R-30 875 404-H-Ay W-R-30 877



Reverse 8: ONE / PENNY

Bowman No.			McColl No.
	404-H-B	B-R-30	865
	404-H-Bx	C-R-30	864
	404-H-Bv	W-R-30	866



Obverse 6: Brass shell facsimile of 1868 US Double Eagle \$20 gold piece.

Reverse 9: Pat. Applied For / \$1 / J.K.C., Galt, Ont. Trade Due Bill

Bowman No.

404-I-A PB-R-34



Obverse 7: It Will Pay You / To Adopt / Our Coin Due Bill / System Send Order At Once To / The Cranston / Novelty Co / Galt, Ont.



Reverse 10: Good For / 25c / In Merchandise

Bowman No	0.		McColl No.	
	404-J-A	A-Sc10-31	856	
	404-J-Ax	B-Sc10-31	859	
	404-J-Ay	C-Sc10-31	857	
	404-J-Az	W-Sc10-31	858	



Advertising Novelties / Cranston / Co. / Galt, Ont. / Coins &c. (Line Incuse) Obverse 8:

The Cranston / 10 / Trade Due Bill. Reverse 11:

(Line Incuse)

McColl No. Bowman No.

> 404-K-A A-R-25 N/A



Advertising Novelties / J.K. Cranston / Galt, Ont. / Coins Etc. Obverse 9:



Reverse 12: Good For / 1.00 / In Merchandise

McColl No. Bowman No. 404-L-A A-R-35 886 404-L-Ax B-R-35 887

888 404-L-Ay W-R-35





Reverse 13: Good For / 1.00 / In Merchandise

Bowman No. McColl No.

 404-L-B
 A-R-35
 886

 404-L-Bx
 B-R-35
 887

 404-L-By
 W-R-35
 888





Reverse 14: Good For / 1.00 / In / Merchandise / Not Transferable

Bowman No. McColl No.

404-L-C A-R-35 902





Supply / \$1.00 / Check

Bowman No. McColl No.

404-L-D B-R-35 893 404-L-Dx W-R-35





Obverse 10: Advertising Novelties / J.K. Cranston / Galt, Ont. / Coins Etc.







Reverse 16:

Good For / 50 / In Merchandise

Bowman No. McColl No.

404-L-E A-R-31 404-L-Ex B-R-31 404-L-Ey W-R-31





Reverse 17: One Coin / Good For / 50c / On A Suit / Or / Overcoat

Bowman No. McColl No. 404-L-F W-R-28 905





Reverse 18: Good For / 50c / On Suit Of / Clothes / Or Overcoat

Bowman No. McColl No.

404-L-G W-R-25 899

897

N/A 898



Reverse 19: Good For / 25c / On One Dozen / Cabinets

Bowman No. McColl No. 404-L-H B-R-28 909

404-L-H B-R-28 909 404-L-Hx W-R-28 N/A



Reverse 20: Good For / 25c / On A / \$5.00 / Cash Purchase

Bowman No. McColl No. 404-L-I A-R-28 900

TEING AOLIE COOD FOR

Reverse 21: Good For / 10c / On A Dollar / Purchase

Bowman No. McColl No. 404-L-J A-R-25 906



Reverse 22: Good For / 10% / Cash Discount / On / Parlor Suits / & / Side Boards

Bowman No. McColl No. 404-L-K B-R-25 907







Obverse 11: Advertising Novelties / J.K. Cranston / Galt, Ont. / Coins Etc.







Reverse 23: Good For / 5 Per Cent / Discount / For Cash

Bowman No. McColl No.

 $\begin{array}{ccccc} 404\text{-L-L} & A\text{-R-20} & N/A \\ 404\text{-L-Lx} & B\text{-R-20} & N/A \\ 404\text{-L-Ly} & W\text{-R-20} & N/A \end{array}$





Obverse 12: Advertising Novelties / J.K. Cranston / Galt, Ont. / Coins Etc.





Reverse 24: Good For / One / Drink

Bowman No. McColl No.

404-L-M B-R-35 895 404-L-Mx W-R-35 896





Good For / 12 ½ C / In Trade At The Bar Reverse 25:

McColl No. Bowman No.

W-R-35 404-Γ-N^χ $\forall N$ 806 B-R-35 N-7-707







G.F. Heath. M.D. / Sec. & Editor / Monroe, Mich. The Numismatist / Official / Organ / \$ 1.00 Per Year /

Bowman No.

197 9819198

B-R-35	404-L-Ox
≿ Ε-35	404-L-O
	A-R-35







Vice Pres's / A.R. Frey / J. Gibbs / 1902 American Numismatic Association / Pres. / B.P. Wright, M.D. / Reverse 27:

\$\$8	W-R-35	z4-J-404	
823	C-K-32	404-L-Py	
<i>t</i> \$8	B-K-32	d^{-1} - d^{-1}	
827	A-R-35	d-7-₺0₺	
McColl No.			Bowman No.

The Cranston Novelty Advertising Co. Toronto, Ontario



Obverse 13: Return This Coin / To-Day / With Orders To / The / Cranston / "Add" Co. / 123 Bay St. / Toronto

Reverse 28: Good For / 25c / On Engagement, / Wedding Rings / And / Gold / Watches

Bowman No.

1048-D-A B-R-25



Obverse 14: Georgius V Rex A.D. 1910

Reverse 29: Souvenir / Remember / The Cranston / Novelty Adv. Co. / Art Calendars, / Advertising / Novelties / With Merit / Toronto, Can.

Bowman No.

1048-D-B B-R-25 A-R-25



Obverse 15: Return It To-Day / To / The Cranston Novelty / "Add" Co. /
123 Bay St. Toronto / Novelty Advertising / & / Trade Check / Specialties

Reverse 30: Return This Coin / To-Day / It Is Good For / 25c / On Your Next / \$5.00 / Cash With Order / Purchase

Bowman No.

1048-D-C A-R-29





Obverse 16: Remember / The / Cranston / Novelty Adv. Co. / Advertising / Novelties / With Merit / Toronto, Ont.

Reverse 31: Good For / 1 / Loaf of Bread

Bowman No.

Unlisted A-R-25





Obverse 17: The / Cranston / Novelty Adv. Co. / 123 Bay St. Toronto / Are / Business / Builders / & New Idea / Specialists

Reverse 32: Good / Luck / Go / To

(Reverse is missing the word 'For' at the beginning the wor

(Reverse is missing the word 'For' at the beginning).

Bowman No.

Unlisted A-R-28

Cranston Advertising Novelty Co. Samples



Obverse 18: Good For / 25c / On A Doz. / Cabinets / Or A / Family Groupe

Reverse 33: British-Boer War / Peace / In / South / Africa / Oct. 11. 1899. TO May 31. 1902.

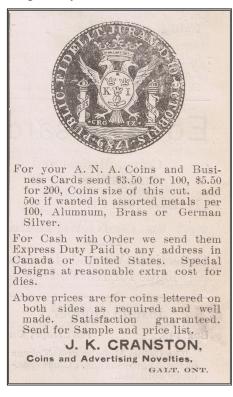
Bowman No. McColl No.

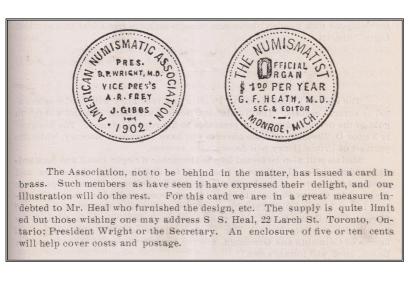
 Unlisted
 C-R-28
 560

 Unlisted
 B-R-28
 561

 Unlisted
 W-R-28
 562

J. K. Cranston's venture into metallic advertising tokens and trade due bills appears to have begun at the end of 1901. The January 1902 issue of the American Numismatic Association journal *The Numismatist* witnessed the first Cranston advertisement to supply collectors with "A.N.A. Coins and Business Cards". In the April edition of *The Numismatist* there was an illustration of the token struck for the American Numismatic Association through Cranston and designed by collector S.S. Heal of Toronto, Ontario.







Obverse 19: American Numismatic Association / Pres. / B.P. Wright, M.D. / Vice Pres's / A.R. Frey / J. Gibbs / 1902

Reverse 34: The Numismatist / Official / Organ / \$ 1.00 Per Year / G.F. Heath. M.D. / Sec. & Editor / Monroe, Mich.

Bowman No. McColl No.

N/A B-R-35 910 404-M-A C-R-35 N/A

Token Notes

We can substantiate that Cranston used the services of the Hamilton Stamp and Stencil Works of Hamilton, Ontario, to strike the tokens for which he and his commissioned sales force solicited orders. It is unclear if other token manufacturers were ever used, but that seems unlikely. Even when Cranston relocated to Toronto, home to several capable token manufacturers, he still retained the services of the Hamilton firm, as is evidenced by the following token:



A souvenir of the Toronto exhibition held in 1910.
The token on the left was issued by Cranston and the token on the right by Hamilton Stamp and Stencil Works.
Both share the common obverse of King George V as struck by Hamilton Stamp and Stencil.

It is also an established truth that Cranston was suffering from financial problems while located in Galt. In the five years before Cranston relocated to Toronto, he does not appear to have had a storefront operation and likely filled orders for his novelty products from a home base. When he established the Cranston Novelty Advertising Company in Toronto at 123 Bay St., it was in an office/salesroom, number 108, of the Stair Building. None of his business locations would have allowed for even the minimum machinery necessary to operate a manufacturing facility needed to produce due bills or souvenir items. The most cost effective solution was to use the services of another firm. It is my contention that Cranston jobbed his orders out to Hamilton Stamp and Stencil Works.

Cranston Token Identifiers



This 'bone' device is one way to determine a token that has been struck for J. K. Cranston. This device was used predominantly on the obverse of tokens 28mm - 35mm in size.



The 'horizontal teardrops' device is another common feature most often used on the reverse of tokens 25mm - 27mm in size.

Although other devices were used on Cranston tokens, these two are primary and can be found on the majority of his advertising pieces. Some issues display elaborate lines and stylised ornamentation built into the design, but most display the above signature marks.

¹ Toronto City Directories, 1907-1911. From 1912-1915 Cranston was located in the Stair Building in room 116.

Afterword

In the year 2013, when attitudes are predominantly short term for almost everything, it is particularly gratifying to be part of an organization that has not only existed but flourished for 50 years. When fourteen of Canada's elite numismatists made the decision to come together to form the Canadian Numismatic Research Society, it was to record and promote the study of Canadian numismatics. As individuals, they were and are accomplished numismatists. As a group, CNRS is the embodiment of their passion.

From the beginning, the *Transactions* has been the instrument used to record our Society's numismatic investigations. A little over ten years ago an economically based decision was made to discontinue the *Transactions* and merge our journal with the Canadian Association of Token Collectors quarterly, *Numismatica Canada*. Since a large percentage of the articles published in *Numismatica Canada* are in fact written by Fellows of the CNRS, the decision at that time had merit. However, recently a number of Fellows have expressed a desire to resurrect the *Transactions*, this time as an annual journal. You hold in your hands what is in fact the first of a new series of *Transactions*, a journal which the numismatic world has always associated with the Canadian Numismatic Research Society. Future issues of the *Transactions* will be published in concurrence with our annual meeting held in conjunction with the Royal Canadian Numismatic Association convention.

It is not an accident that the Canadian Numismatic Research Society has carried on a tradition of numismatic excellence for 50 years. Well thought out projects and ideas executed by intelligent and dedicated individuals is the reason why another 50 years for the CNRS is a certainty. A good example of the enthusiasm and commitment needed to prevail can be found in the pages of this very publication. The hard work and dedication of the CNRS editorial committee has made this volume possible. I especially want to applaud Chris Faulkner who spent countless hours proof-reading, editing and then proof-reading some more. It is people like Chris whose devotion to getting it right can make things happen. I would also like to thank all of the contributors to these pages. When called on there wasn't a single individual who responded with anything other than a willingness to help in any way possible.

On behalf of all of the Fellows associated with the creation of this edition of the *Transactions*, we sincerely hope you enjoy reading this numismatic endeavour. Who knows, maybe the next issue will contain a numismatic undertaking of your own.

Sincerely Scott E. Douglas