THE CANADIAN NUMISMATIC
RESEARCH SOCIETY

Transactions
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TRANSACTIONS
OF
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Biographical Notes

A Farewell to James Edward Charlton 1911-2013

Jim Charlton was born July 26, 1911 in Toronto, Ontario. Charlton attended Balmy Beach and Williamson Road public schools before furthering his education at Malvern Collegiate. In the early 1930s he attended the Central Technical School earning a fourth class and then, a year later a third class certificate as Stationary Engineer. Eventually, Jim would attain First Class Engineer status. A stationary engineer is an individual qualified to operate heavy machinery which provides heat and power. Jim Charlton was most proud of this achievement. Between 1930 and 1945 Jim used his engineering skills at Roselawn Dairy (1930-1933) before heading to northern Ontario to work for the International Nickel Company in Copper Cliff and then briefly in Levick (1933-1940). He then accepted a job with Defense Industries Limited of Nobel, Ontario (1940-1945) eventually attaining the position of Chief Engineer in charge of operations. In August of 1945 Jim became power house chief engineer with the Atomic Energy Plant in Chalk River, holding this position until April 1948 when he became chief engineer at the *Toronto Star*. It was during his time at the *Star* that Charlton entered numismatics as a commercial venture, forming Canada Coin Exchange from his home in Toronto in 1949. He was able to balance both endeavours for the next 12 years until the fever of coin collecting set in during the 1960s, forcing him to make a decision as to which job held the most reward in his life. Although he truly enjoyed working for the *Toronto Star* he left them in 1961.

In 1949 Charlton set out on a journey that would earn him a distinguished reputation as the dean of Canadian numismatics. In 1952 Charlton published his first title, *Catalogue of Canadian Coins, Tokens & Fractional Currency*, a 34 page booklet containing many token illustrations and a few plates of coins and fractional currency. A numismatic publishing empire grew from this 34 page beginning into the various catalogues that still retain the Charlton name to this day even after the business was sold to Bill Cross in 1980. After 20 years Charlton began to unwind his three main coin businesses, the Charlton Coin and Stamp Supply in 1967, the Arcade Coin Store in 1968 and Canada Coin Exchange in 1969. In 1967 Charlton received, from the Ontario Numismatic Association, their highest acknowledgment, the Award of Merit. In 1972 the J. Douglas Ferguson Foundation honored Jim Charlton with the J.D. Ferguson gold medal, the most distinguished award in Canadian numismatics.

Jim Charlton became a Fellow of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society in 1993. Jim's life was remarkably multi-faceted, but then again he lived for 102 years. In the numismatic world we can be thankful we were able to experience one of those facets of Jim's life. In my letter to the Fellows of the CNRS last September informing them of Jim's death I stated in part, "Jim always represented himself with dignity, honesty and integrity" and "Jim Charlton is a numismatic legend. His legacy will live on in all who knew him." Later, my words were often times quoted in numismatic journals and websites. Afterward, Jim's son, James R. Charlton, said in *The Canadian Numismatic Journal* for October 2013 that "My father James Edward Charlton lived to be 102 and had a wonderful life. For that I will always be thankful that I had him in my life for as long as I did". Amen, James.

Jim Charlton (front row, 3rd from the right) at the 2011 CNRS meeting in Windsor, Ontario. Jim was being celebrated as numismatic's newest centenarian.

Introducing Ryan Lawson

Ryan Lawson is the Canadian Numismatic Research Society's most recent Fellow, elected in 2013.

Ryan was born in Collingwood, Ontario on July 4, 1979. He graduated from the University of Waterloo in 2003 as a Mechanical Engineer.

Ryan began collecting around age six. His earliest recollection is hunting through jars of odds and ends at his Grandparent's home in Edmonton in search of missing dates for his cent collection. These cents, along with some world coins his Grandfather had given him, are still treasured by Ryan today. Later, metal detecting with his father helped to enhance Ryan's coin collecting interest, filling books with large cents and silver coins recovered from these treasure hunting episodes. Today, Ryan focuses his attention on bread and military tokens as well as the tokens listed in McColl's 1903 sales catalogue. Ryan's primary numismatic research and writing is on the tokens from Simcoe County and the surrounding areas of Dufferin County, Muskoka District and the District of Parry Sound.

Scott E. Douglas

LONDON ONTARIO'S EARLIEST NUMISMATIST:
WILLIAM BOWMAN Sr. (1820 – 1909) or WILLIAM BOWMAN Jr. (1846 – 1872)?
by
Len Buth, FCNRS

A copy of a letter recently obtained from the noted collector and dealer Warren Baker of Montreal provides us with the name of an early London, Ontario (Canada West), coin collector, and perhaps London's earliest numismatist. The letter is reproduced below, followed by a transcription.

London. C.W

July 27th / 65

R. McLachlan Esq.

Dr Sir

I see an advt of yours in S.C.M. Gazette and would like to know what provincial coin you want and what you would give for them and also if you have any foreign or provincial coin to sell or exchange, as I have a large collection and would like to add to it. Is there any book published about provincial coinage.

Yours Respt.

W. Bowman [Jnr?]

London C.W.

I have a few duplicates – please answer soon.

Firstly, and of much interest, it will be noted that the letter is addressed to the well known and respected Canadian numismatist, Robert Wallace McLachlan (1845-1926). In the second line of the letter are the letters "S.C.M.", followed by the word "Gazette". After some difficult research it has reasonably been determined this refers to *The Stamp Collector's Monthly Gazette.* The first issue of this magazine to promote the hobby was produced on June 1, 1865, by Wm. M. Wright, Printer, Prince William Street, Saint John, N.B. George Stewart, Jr., was Editor and Proprietor.

The first issue referred to above contained an advertisement by McLachlan, and is reproduced as follows (along with a notice by the *S.C.M.G*).

While the McLachlan advertisement refers to stamps only, it undoubtedly is the "advt" that Mr. Bowman refers to in his letter and, by the date of his letter, July 27, 1865, Mr. Bowman must have obtained a copy of the *S.C.M.G.* edition for June 1865 (or possibly even for July). It is presumed either Mr. Bowman knew that Mr. McLachlan was a numismatist, or took a chance

that McLachlan may have had coins as well as stamps. It is known McLachlan dealt in stamps during this time. A copy of a reply by McLachlan to Bowman, if any exists, has not been seen.

However, we have a question as to which Mr. Bowman signed the letter. From research conducted, there are two men by the name "W. Bowman" in London, C.W., in July 1865. Both have the given name William, one the father and the other the son. No other W. Bowman is known or could be located in the time frame covered. Mr. Bowman Sr. was a prominent individual, as related in his obituary from the *London Free Press* dated August 6, 1909 (4 o'clock edition), the date of his death.

> The late William Bowman was born in Liverpool, England, on March 20, 1820. In early life he was associated with his father in the foundry business and later became mechanical draughtsman of the Southwestern Railway of England.
>
> In 1853 he came to Canada as a mechanical superintendent of the Great Western Railway, the pioneer railway of Canada which merged in the present Grand Trunk System. He remained in Hamilton until 1855, when he came to this city, where he had resided ever since. When the G.T.R. took over the Port Stanley railway in 1875, Mr. Bowman retired from his railway position and organized the firm of Bowman & Co., coal dealers. He had previously organized the Canada Chemical Co., of which he was president.
>
> While connected with the Port Stanley line Mr. Bowman became manager of the Northwestern Transportation Co., which owned three large steamers plying between Montreal and Chicago. He was also one of the first stockholders of the London Street Railway Co., and for some years president of the City Gas Co. He was also a director of the London Life Assurance Co.
>
> During his life he had served as alderman and was chair of the finance committee. He was a life long member of the Methodist Church, being one of the founders of the Dundas Centre Methodist Church, of which he was a trustee. He was also one of the founders of the London Y.M.C.A., and was always prominent in temperance work.

Additional research reveals that he was also a member of the Board of Trade; a director of the Ontario Loan & Debenture Co.; superintendent and secretary-treasurer of the London & Port Stanley Railway; and director of the London Humane Society.
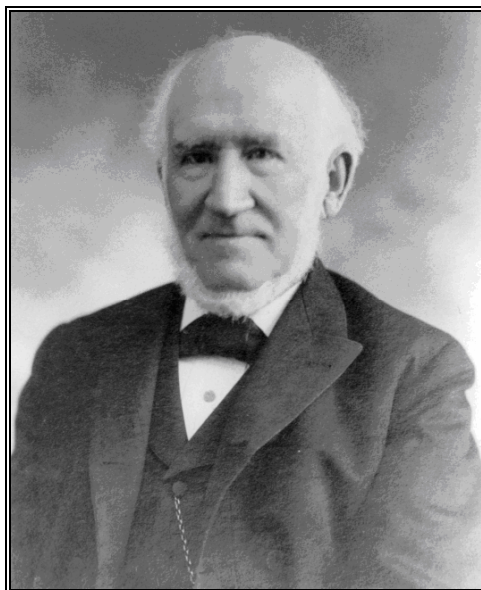
William Bowman Sr. Courtesy of Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library, London, Ontario, Canada.

W. Bowman Jr., the son, was born in England in 1846 and in July 1865 he would have been 19 years old, certainly old enough to have engrossed himself in hobbies such as coins. Do the letters after the signature on the July 27, 1865, letter offer us a clue? Do the letters spell "Jr" or "Jnr"? The first letter does resemble the written "J" as in July, and the second letter does appear the same as the "n" found elsewhere in the letter. Is the third letter just a scrawl, or an "r," in which case it could all read "Jnr"? The younger Bowman died in 1872 at the age of 26, and unfortunately no other information could be found about him that could give us any other clues. A case may be made that the letter to McLachlan does not appear to be in the style, or in the handwriting, of an educated, mature and well established individual such as Bowman Sr. Regrettably we are unable to determine with certainty which William Bowman signed the letter. However, based on the above it appears more probable that Bowman Jr. wrote the letter. Regardless, we do have a glimpse of one of London, Ontario's earliest coin collectors.

Acknowledgment

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Re-examining the 1860 Royal Visit Commemorative Medal Varieties
by
Ron Cheek, FCNRS

Eighteen-year-old Albert Edward Prince of Wales made the first official royal visit to North America in the summer and fall of 1860. The occasion was the inauguration of the new Victoria Bridge in Montreal, but before the visit became a reality the tour was extended to cover thousands of miles throughout the British North American provinces and the United States. Acclaimed as a great success, the tour received enthusiastic coverage in the press, in both Britain and America. There is a fine numismatic legacy of this royal visit in the many different medals that were struck to commemorate various aspects of the Prince's tour activities.

Fig. 1. *A woodcut image of the Prince of Wales based on this painting was widely published at the time of the royal visit to North America. It shows a slightly younger Prince than the 18-year-old whom tens of thousands turned out to see in the summer and fall of 1860. This is an enlarged portion of a painting that hangs in Kensington Palace, London (photo by the author).*

Among the most common medals is what Alfred Sandham called the Commemorative Medal, shown in Fig. 2, the only one that is of a general nature to mark the Canadian visit. Struck in white metal, it was widely sold as an inexpensive souvenir. There are three obverse varieties. From 1869 into the early 20th century, our iconic Canadian numismatic cataloguers have included this medal in their several publications, but often with vague or confusing descriptions as to the varieties. Unfortunately, major present-day medal catalogues add no clarity, and sometimes repeat early cataloguers' misinformation. Interestingly, Alfred Sandham had it nearly right when he first described the three varieties of the Commemorative Medal in his privately published booklet in 1871. But even he seems to have been a bit vague, and he unfortunately muddled the description of one variety in his later publications. This article aims to clear up the confusion. It provides clear photographic images of all of the varieties. It also dispels the mystery regarding the existence of variety 2, first mentioned by Sandham and later by Robert W. McLachlan in 1886. Both of these numismatic pioneers have told us that the variety 2 medal, which they successively owned, was the only one they had ever seen. Each cataloguer used his

Fig. 2. *The 1860 Royal Visit Commemorative Medal, white metal, 43.6 mm. This is Sandham's variety 1, the one most commonly seen.*

own medal numbering scheme and none except Sandham called the medal the Commemorative Medal. Throughout this article, therefore, for purposes of clarity, we shall use the terminology Sandham first used in 1871, i.e., "Commemorative Medal," and "varieties 1, 2, and 3."

Lest the present article add to the confusion rather than clarify matters, let me now mention another medal that is closely related to the Commemorative Medal. It was contemporary and, in fact, shares the same obverse as the medal seen in Fig. 2. It is identical in size and, although also struck in silver and bronze, it is most commonly seen in white metal. Sandham called it the Bridge Medal in his 1871 work (see Fig. 3). He explains that the idea of a medal with the reverse showing the Victoria Bridge came from Messrs. Savage & Lyman, the Montreal firm that acted as agent for distribution of the Commemorative Medal in Canada East. That firm suggested that since the official reason for the Prince's visit was to inaugurate the sensational new bridge it would be well to mention it on a souvenir medal. The Birmingham manufacturer complied. Apparently this medal sold well as McLachlan rates its rarity as "common" and he also tells us that some 15 years after the Prince's visit there were still 600 left over (which ultimately were sold to a single purchaser) (McLachlan 1886: 35). The Bridge Medal is mentioned here, and images are provided because, as we shall see, it is referenced in the descriptions by some cataloguers when describing the Commemorative Medal. For the sake of clarity, we shall call it the Bridge Medal throughout this article.

Fig. 3. *The Bridge Medal, as Sandham dubbed it, has the identical obverse to the variety 1 Commemorative Medal.*

It is helpful first to review how numismatists of the past have catalogued the 1860 Commemorative Medal.

Alfred Sandham (1838-1910)

Alfred Sandham was the first to record it. As a young man of twenty-two living in the Eastern Townships, near Montreal, at the time of the royal visit, he would most certainly have followed it with great interest, and no doubt witnessed some of the events. He was then in Montreal for most of the two decades following the Prince's tour, a period during which his interests in history and numismatics blossomed. He would have been in a good position to know firsthand about, and to collect, medals associated with the Canadian part of the royal visit. He first mentions the Commemorative Medal (without giving it that name) in his 1869 *Coins, Tokens and Medals of the Dominion of Canada* as follows:

> [Medal] 18. Obv. A full face bust of the Prince of Wales in uniform, as Colonel of the 100th Canadian Regiment, "H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES." Immediately below the bust, "BORN 9 NOV. 1841." Rev. A wreath of laurel leaves, joined by a Prince of Wales feather with motto, "ICH DIEN." In centre of wreath in 8 lines, "TO/COMMEMORATE/THE VISIT OF/ALBERT EDWARD/PRINCE OF WALES/TO/CANADA/1860." Size 26 (Sandham 1869: 56-57).

Within this description is a very creditable sketch of the medal, the obverse having block or sans serif letters. The Prince appears to have a small moustache. In this first record of what he later called the Commemorative Medal, Sandham makes no mention of there being different varieties. It is presumed he may not have discovered them at this point. It is noteworthy that Sandham gives an inaccurate size (diameter) for the medal in this listing. He uses the old American Scale of one-sixteenth of an inch, whereby each sixteenth inch of diameter represents one point. Thus, we are told that this medal has a diameter of 26 sixteenths of an inch, i.e., 1 5/8 inches, or 41.27

mm. In fact, the medal diameter is 43.6 mm. The size Sandham gives is nearly 1.5 points too low. The correct size on the American scale is thus 27, not 26.

Sandham's 1871 booklet (50 copies, printed for private circulation) entitled *Medals Commemorative of the Visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to Montreal in 1860* provides more detail. By this time, he has collected and studied the three varieties, and provides the following descriptions:

No.2

Commemorative Medal

At the time Mr. Hoffnung was carrying out plans for the issue of his medal, a firm in Birmingham was also engaged in striking medals intended for general sale throughout Canada. To secure the market, they corresponded with prominent merchants in the Provinces, appointing them as Agents for its sale. There are three varieties (certainly not very fine specimens of the medallic art) which we describe as follows: -

1. Obverse "A full face bust of the Prince (with moustache) in uniform." Above, in Gothic letters: "H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES." Below; "BORN 9TH NOV., 1841." Rev. A wreath of laurel leaves joined at bottom by a Prince of Wales' feather, with motto, "ICH DIEN." In the centre of wreath in eight lines: TO/COMMEMORATE/THE VISIT OF/ALBERT EDWARD/ PRINCE OF WALES/TO /CANADA/1860

The bust on the obverse of this medal is in very low relief.

2. Obv. Bust as No. 1; without the moustache. Rev. same as No. 1.

3. Obv. Bust same as No. 2. The head is in very high relief and the inscription is in Roman letters. Rev. same as No. 1. (See photograph.)

These medals are scarce, particularly No. 2, of which I know but one specimen in Montreal, that being now in my possession (Sandham 1871: [15]).

The photograph referred to, a reasonably clear one, appears on the page opposite this description. The obverse has a bust of the Prince without a moustache and the lettering is Roman (serif). It is, as Sandham indicates, a variety 3 medal.

Sandham's description might be considered slightly misleading on two points. Firstly, based on the number of variety 1 medals seen for sale today, it hardly seems this variety was ever scarce, but Sandham may not have known this in 1871. Secondly, the variety 3 bust, while of a similar design, is distinctly different from the variety 1 bust and (as we shall see) the variety 2 bust. The fact that Sandham's rare variety 2 bust has no moustache and the variety 3 bust also has no

moustache is granted, but they are noticeably different in ways other than the relief. Rather than, "Obv. Bust same as No. 2," a better description of the variety 3 medal would be "Obv. Bust similar to No. 2 but with noticeable differences." But perhaps I am splitting hairs (pun intended).

In an article entitled "The Historic Medals of Canada," published in 1873, Sandham describes the Commemorative Medal as follows:

> Another (very poorly executed) medal was largely disposed of during the visit. It has a bust of the Prince on the obverse and the inscription, "To Commemorate the Visit of Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, to Canada 1860." There are three varieties of this type. On one the Prince has a moustache; the other being minus that mark of manliness. In both these the inscriptions are in square letters. The third variety has the moustache also *[sic]* but the letters are Roman (Sandham 1873: 87).

Sandham has clearly made a mistake in the description of the third variety. He meant to say, "The third variety also has no moustache …" Unfortunately, this incorrect wording was published verbatim again in 1874 in *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* (Sandham 1874: 30-31).

Robert Wallace McLachlan (1845-1926)

In his 1886 *Canadian Numismatics: A Descriptive Catalogue of Tokens, Coins and Medals Issued in or Related to the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland*, McLachlan comments on the Commemorative Medal varieties as follows:

> CCCI. Obv. Same as CXXXVI.
> Rev. TO/COMMEMORATE/THEVISIT OF/ALBERT EDWARD/PRINCE OF WALES/TO/CANADA/1860 Inscription in eight lines within a wreath of laurel; at the bottom of the wreath the Prince of Wales feathers and motto. White metal. Size 43m. C.

> This medal was struck in Birmingham for Messrs. Savage & Lyman, Jewelers, Montreal, and sold to those who took part in the procession on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit.

> CCCII. Obv. As CXXXVI, but the moustache is wanting, with other slight differences.
> Rev. same as last. White metal. Size 43 m. R 6.

> It seems that one or two obverse dies had already been prepared for other medals relating to the Prince, and these were used in striking the Canadian ones. The specimen in my collection is the only one of this variety known to me. Sandham describes it – No. 18, page 56, of his work.

CCCIII. Obv. As CXXXVI, but the inscription is in Roman type instead of Gothic, and the head in much higher relief.
Rev. Same as CCCI. White metal. Size 43m. R 4.

This medal was imported and sold by Messrs. J. E. Ellis & Co., Jewelers, of Toronto; it is much scarcer than the one issued by Savage & Lyman of Montreal (McLachlan 1886: 75).

In the first line of McLachlan's description he states that the variety 1 (his CCCI) obverse is "same as CXXXVI." This refers to the Bridge Medal shown in Fig. 3. He is correct on this point, as can be seen by comparing the obverses of Fig. 2 and Fig 3. Commemorative Medal variety 1 uses the same obverse as the Bridge Medal. McLachlan's description of variety 2 (his CCCII) would seem to be consistent with what Sandham has told us in his 1871 work. McLachlan's description of the variety 3 obverse (his CCCIII) is problematical. Where is the mention of there being no moustache? The obverse of CXXXVI, the Bridge Medal, which is identical to the obverse of CCCI (Sandham's variety 1) has a moustache. Variety 3 does not. And apart from its higher relief there are other clear differences in the bust, as already mentioned.

McLachlan provides helpful new information on the names of the Canadian agents who issued varieties 1 and 3 and he tells us variety 1 is common while variety 3 is much scarcer (R 4). He also gives a more accurate diameter of 43 mm (we can forgive the 0.6 mm difference). Regarding his variety 2 specimen, since he says it is "the only one of this variety known to me" and, as he also refers to Sandham having described it, we must conclude that it is the same one that Sandham once owned. However, he makes no mention as to the origin of this seemingly unique specimen. McLachlan's statement is intriguing but unhelpful: "It seems that one or two obverse dies had already been prepared for other medals relating to the Prince, and these were used in striking the Canadian ones." What medals (presumably British) were these dies used to strike? And, like Sandham, McLachlan makes no mention of the Birmingham firm that struck these medals.

Joseph Leroux (1849-1904)

Dr. Leroux's 1892 *The Canadian Coin Cabinet*, that remarkable bilingual reference of such importance to Canadian numismatics, describes the Commemorative Medal in English:

> *935, Obv.: Bust of the Prince of Wales to the left*. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Born 9 Nov., 1841. *Rev.: Wreath of leaves*. TO COMMEMORATE THE VISIT OF ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, TO CANADA, 1860. *Size 28, rarity 4. There are varieties with and without the moustache.*

The description in French conveys the same details. The illustration accompanying this description is a rather crude sketch that is inconclusive as to variety. Although Leroux is not as precise as Sandham in his description of this medal, we cannot take much issue with what he

says. Details would have helped, of course. He gives the size as 28 on the American Scale, which is nearly correct. However, he does not distinguish amongst the different varieties as to rarity, instead assigning a rarity of 4 to the medal. This imprecision might mislead collectors into believing that the common variety 1 has a rarity of 4, unless they consulted other references.

As an aside, Leroux provides a bewildering description of the related Bridge Medal, his no. 642. Firstly, the obverse he illustrates is not the obverse of the Bridge Medal. It has Roman lettering (serif) and the Prince has no moustache. It is the obverse of the Commemorative Medal, variety 3. The correct obverse is as shown in Fig. 3. Moreover, Leroux gives the Bridge Medal a Rarity 4 and he tells us: "*There are varieties with and without the moustache*." Neither of these statements is correct. McLachlan tells us, providing details, that the Bridge Medal is common. Nowhere in any of the literature I have seen is there any other reference to the Bridge Medal having obverse varieties. Nor have I found any varieties of such medals in my enquiries or amongst the examples I have studied. To add a complication, Leroux's French description of the
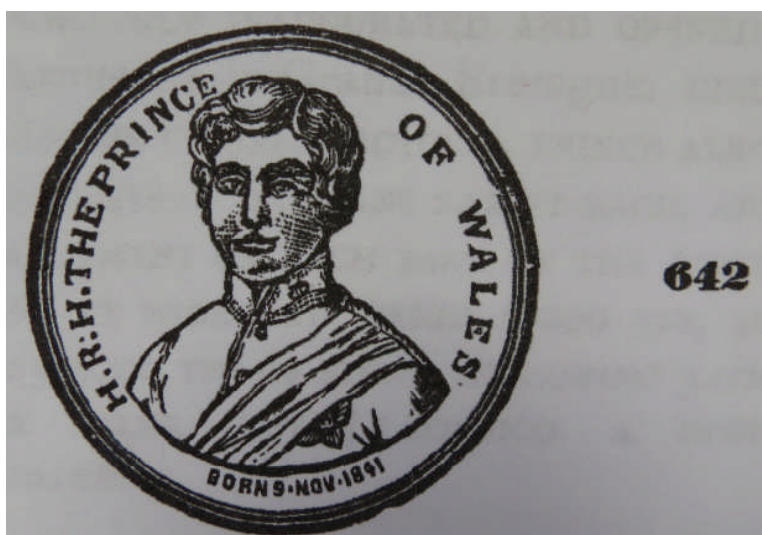
Fig 4. *Leroux (incorrectly) uses the obverse of Commemorative Medal variety 3 to illustrate the obverse of the Bridge Medal, Leroux 642.*

Bridge Medal is not the same as his (incorrect) English text. Instead of "with and without the moustache" he says, "*Il y a plusieurs variétiés avec la moustache plus ou moins longue*" i.e., longer or shorter.

Pierre Napoleon Breton (1858-1917)

In his 1912 *Popular Illustrated Guide to Canadian Coins, Medals &c. &c.*, Breton provides clear obverse and reverse images of the Commemorative Medal variety 3 (his no. 178). He offers no text to go with the illustrations so we are not told there are two other varieties. Immediately above the Commemorative Medal images are those presented as the Bridge Medal (Breton no. 177). Unfortunately, Breton has repeated Leroux's mistake in illustrating this medal; he has also used the obverse image of the Commemorative Medal variety 3.

Fig. 5. *Breton's image for medal no. 178 (the Commemorative Medal) obverse is the scarcer variety 3, with no moustache and serif lettering.*

Fig. 6. *Breton uses a Commemorative Medal variety 3 image as an illustration of the Bridge Medal obverse (Breton no. 177), making the same mistake that Leroux did.*

In summary of the early cataloguers' descriptions, therefore, we are often left misinformed and confused as to the three Commemorative Medal varieties and also about the Bridge Medal (which has but one variety.)

Scott H. Miller (present-day numismatist)

Scott H. Miller presented an excellent paper entitled "Medallic Memorials of the Visit of the Prince of Wales to North America in 1860" to the Coinage of the Americas Conference at the American Numismatic Society in New York in 1992. This is the only comprehensive work on the eighteen medals and their varieties related to the Prince's visit and should be considered the "bible" for any numismatist who wishes to focus on the this theme for a medal collection. Miller also provides an interesting summary of many aspects of the Prince's extensive North American tour. Here is what he tells us of the Commemorative Medal.

> Of the many medals relating to the visit, only one general commemorative was issued, and it was a purely commercial venture. Struck in white metal, it bears on the obverse a military bust of the Prince, and on the reverse an eight line inscription within a wreath. At least two different varieties exist. The more common of the two depicts the Prince with a moustache, and has a legend in sans serif letters. A second obverse die using roman letters and portraying the Prince without moustache and in much higher relief was used to strike a quantity of medals which were imported by J.E. Ellis & Co. of Toronto.
>
> A number of authorities have written that three different obverse dies were used. Besides the Ellis die, Sandham and McLachlan claim that two different varieties exist using sans serif letters with low relief. On these medals the Prince is depicted both with and without moustache. Despite the frequency with which a sans serif, no moustache medal has been reported, all examples so far examined and noted in catalogues with plates have been of the moustache variety (Miller 1994: 106).

In the "Catalogue" at the end of Miller's paper he provides excellent illustrations and descriptions of both variety 1 and variety 3 of the Commemorative Medal, which he lists as nos. 1 and 2 respectively. He notes the Breton and Leroux numbers and also, in the case of variety 1, adds "compare to Brown 2670" (Miller 1994: 115).There is no further mention of the Commemorative Medal variety 2.[1]

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[1] As an aside, and to conclude our discussion on the Bridge Medal, it is interesting that Miller describes it (his no. 6, "Opening of the Victoria Bridge"), without an illustration, noting that it uses the same obverse as his no. 1 (Sandham's variety 1.) No varieties of the Bridge Medal are mentioned, which seems to this author to put to rest the misinformation in Leroux's catalogue.

Laurence Brown (1931-2012)

As Scott Miller notes, Laurence Brown catalogues the Commemorative Medal in his monumental *British Historical Medals* catalogue (no. 2670). Brown, however, adds no new information, nor does he provide images. He makes no mention of varieties and tells us only that the medal is in white metal, has a diameter of 44 mm, and is "RR," i.e., very rare. This rarity designation is misleading because, as already noted, variety 1 is common.

Christopher Eimer (present-day numismatist)

Eimer's *British Commemorative Medals and Their Values* does not specifically mention the Commemorative Medal but it does tell us there are several medals commemorating the royal visit. Eimer describes the Bridge Medal (Eimer no. 1536) and tells us the medal was "struck from more than one pair of dies." We are left to decide if this means there are varieties of the Bridge Medal or if Eimer is, in fact, alluding to the pairing of the obverse die(s) with the Prince's bust with the Commemorative Medal reverse.

Persistence leads to success

Intrigued by the elusiveness of the apparently unique (or certainly very rare) variety 2 Commemorative Medal, I contacted Scott Miller and inquired as to what, if any, information he had acquired over the 24 years since he presented his 1992 paper at the Coinage of the Americas Conference. He had no new insight and, in a personal communication, explained:

> I will generally accept the existence of a medal if I see the medal, a good photo or similar documentation. I am not certain regarding a low relief block letter medal. If it does exist, it may be a pattern or trial strike, with a decision to add a moustache after work on the dies began. The Prince seems to have started displaying facial hair about this time, and that may have had something to do with the two versions. It is difficult to tell from old photos and woodcuts if there is a light moustache or a shadow. Unless both versions could be examined, I would think the lower relief without moustache is a trial struck from unfinished dies, or a rare strike prior to altering completed dies.

Scott Miller did not know where an example of the variety 2 medal might be, if one exists.

My quest for a variety 2 medal continued, first with a query to all Canadian Numismatic Research Society Fellows. Several helpful suggestions were received but no member came forward to say they had ever seen one. But I did learn from our knowledgeable numismatic colleague, Scott Douglas, that R. W. McLachlan's medal collection was never sold. It resides in the museum at Château Ramezay in Montreal. Armed with that information, I made an inquiry and was quickly rewarded. The Château Ramezay archivist reported that the museum collection has all three varieties of the Commemorative Medal! Through the generosity of the Château Ramezay's Christine Brisson, I was provided with high-resolution images of what most certainly seems to be McLachlan's (and before that, Sandham's) variety 2 medal, which I am delighted to include below. In the interests of furthering numismatic education in Canada, the Château

Ramezay has provided the images and permission to publish them in this article free of the usual charges. The medal is catalogued in the Château Ramezay's collection as no. 1998.5725. Unfortunately, the medal collection is temporarily unavailable for viewing because of renovations at the museum, so I have not yet seen the variety 2 specimen. As soon as it is accessible for study, however, I intend to go and see it.

A look at the three Commemorative Medal varieties

Let us now examine and compare the three Commemorative Medal varieties that Sandham and McLachlan described.

Fig. 7. *Obverse of variety 1 medal.*
From the collection of the author.

Fig. 8. *Reverse of variety 1 medal.*
From the collection of the author.

Fig. 9. *Obverse of the possibly unique variety 2 medal.*   Fig. 10. *Reverse of the variety 2 medal.*

Courtesy of Château Ramezay, © Château Ramezay - Historic Site and Museum of Montréal.

Fig. 11. *Obverse of variety 3 medal.*
From the collection of the author.

Fig. 12. *Reverse of variety 3 medal.*
From the collection of the author.

Firstly, note that the reverses of all three varieties are indeed identical, as Sandham and McLachlan have told us. Now compare the obverses of the medals shown in Figs. 7 and 9. Both use sans serif letters but, clearly, there are differences in the portraits. Note that the lower lock of hair on the Prince's right in Fig. 9 is actually hanging in mid-air. As well, there is a stray wisp of hair on the Prince's left in Fig. 9 that is not there in Fig. 7. Note also the difference in separation between the chin and the collar. The most striking difference is that the Fig. 9 portrait has either no moustache or certainly a much shorter and less distinct one. Without examining the actual medal, I find it a bit difficult to tell. I mentioned this to Christine Brisson and it is her opinion that there is no moustache on the portrait of the medal illustrated in Fig. 9. She also noted that all three medals in the Château Ramezay collection are noticeably different. Clearly, the Fig. 7 and Fig. 9 portraits are quite different.

When asked if she could confirm the provenance of medal no. 1998.5725, Ms. Brisson replied, in a personal communication: "I cannot confirm that this type 2 medal was at one time in the collection of R. W. McLachlan. We have his collection at the museum, but I don't have a precise list of all he gave us." I am confident that the medal illustrated in Figs. 9 and 10 is the elusive variety 2 medal owned by Sandham and then by McLachlan. It has block letters in the obverse legend and the portrait is clearly different from the variety 1 portrait. Moreover, the upper lip area of the Fig. 9 portrait has an obviously different appearance from the variety 1 portrait and could be described as "no moustache." Without examining the medals it is difficult to compare the reliefs of obverse varieties 1 and 2. Sandham and McLachlan tell us that both are in much lower relief than the variety 3 medal.

Let us turn now to our variety 3 specimen. The obverse (Fig. 11) clearly has a far different portrait. As well, the obverse legend uses serif letters. The variety 3 portrait has a noticeably higher relief than that of variety 1, as can be seen by comparing the two busts (see Fig. 13).

Figs. 14, 15, and 16 provide close-up views of the "moustache area" of the three medal variety portraits.

Fig. 13. *The bust of the Prince on the variety 3 medal (right) is clearly in higher relief than that on variety 1 (left).*

Fig. 14. *Detail of variety 1 moustache. From the collection of the author.*

Fig. 15. *Detail of variety 2 moustache area, © Château Ramezay – Historic Site and Museum of Montréal. Clearly different from both other varieties, this medal must be examined closely to determine if there really is no moustache or if it is merely a shorter and less distinct one than on the variety 1 bust.*

Fig. 16. *Detail of variety 3 moustache area. From the collection of the author.*

What is the variety 2 medal?

Without the benefit of seeing the medal or knowing of these images of the variety 2 medal, Scott Miller offered the opinion that if the medal existed it might have been a pattern or trial strike from an unfinished die. I certainly agreed with that opinion when we corresponded. As such, I expected the images of the Château Ramezay's variety 2 medal to show a pristine example of a rare or unique specimen which Sandham had obtained from one of the Canadian agents selling these medals. I speculated that it may have been sent on approval and the die later re-worked to make improvements, such as adding the moustache. Instead, however, we see a medal that has clearly seen some wear and tear, not to mention that it has a hole for a suspension ring (and perhaps at one time it was worn suspended from a ribbon). It seems possible that this medal might have been worn by someone during one of the many processions that were part of the Prince's visit, perhaps in Montreal. We are left to speculate about why it exists, and why it is seemingly unique. Was it possibly received by, say, Messrs. Savage & Lyman from the Birmingham manufacturer as an initial specimen sent on approval and then actually worn by one of them during the Prince's visit? Then, was it offered to Sandham as an interesting collectible? Did Sandham himself acquire it and wear it? If that were the case, it is curious that he would have done so knowing this type was so rare. We may never know unless other examples come to light that can tell us more. Are there others?

Conclusion

Thanks to the cooperation and generosity of the Château Ramezay, we can now confirm the existence and whereabouts of the variety 2 Commemorative Medal once owned by Sandham and later by McLachlan. It was clearly struck using a different obverse die and, as we have seen, it is as described by both of these early numismatic cataloguers. There is no moustache and the obverse lettering is sans serif. Further detailed observations will have to await an examination of the medal when it is again accessible. Variety 1 and 3 medals have distinctly different obverses, as images of the author's specimens show. It is hoped that this discussion, with the images provided of all three of Sandham's Commemorative Medal varieties, clears up the confusion and misinformation about these souvenirs of the first-ever official royal visit to Canada.

Readers of this article who have, or know of other specimens of the variety 2 medal (or another variety) will provide a great service to our numismatic community if they would contact the author with the information.

Acknowledgments

his comments. His 1992 paper on the medals related to the Prince's 1860 visit remains the most thorough and important work on the subject. It was the inspiration for my enthusiasm for this medal series. I am also grateful to CNRS Fellows Chris Faulkner, Barrie Renwick and Ronald Greene for their assistance and many helpful comments in response to my queries.

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Some Particulars Concerning the Lauzon Ferry and Its Token
by
Chris Faulkner, FCNRS

Introduction

The Lauzon Ferry token is a classic of the Canadian colonial series. It was first catalogued in 1872 by Alfred Sandham in his *Supplement to Coins, Tokens and Medals of the Dominion of Canada*: "This is said to have been used as a ticket by the Proprietors of the ferry between Quebec and Point Levi." It was next listed by Leroux (1883, no. 87, ill.), who gave it an R. 6, McLachlan followed suit (1886, no. 33), then Leroux again (1888 and 1892, no. 599, ill.), with an R. 8. Breton (1890, no 122, ill.) rated it an R. 4, a rating which he held to in 1894 (no. 560, ill.). Willey (1961, no. 631, pl.) designated this token an R. 8, but did not list it subsequently (1979-1983), presumably on the grounds that it is a transportation token.

Fig. 1. *Lauzon Ferry Token. Courtesy of Stack's Bowers Galleries, from the John J. Ford Jr. Collection, August 14, 2013, lot 21021.*

In response to a query in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques* concerning the rarest Canadian coins, J.W. Miller included the Lauzon Ferry token along with the Montreal Bridge tokens, the Sideviews, the North West, the B.C. gold, Gloriam Regni 15 sols, and a few other highly desirable pieces (Miller 1897: 109-111). Certainly, the token was much sought after by early collectors. Henry Mott wrote to R.W. McLachlan on December 14, 1875: "I have fallen across a Lauzon lead Ferry Ticket (you remember what I refer to) but I cannot coax it out of the possessor. ... I hope to get it yet." Four months later, on April 19, 1876, Mott wrote again: "I have not been able to add to my collection, you may be sure, with the single exception of a Quebec Ferry Boat Ticket 'Lauzon' in lead which the owner did not set much value on." This correspondence, held in a private collection, may be the earliest instance we have of a transaction involving the Lauzon Ferry token. A few years later, on December 9, 1879, Thomas Wilson wrote to R.W. McLachlan: "... when I spoke to Mott about the ½ penny I offered him what you paid $7½ and $10 for the Lauzon and if he concluded to accept to send them up in a letter, he said he could not decide ..." Wilson followed up on August 30, 1880: "I fear your remark about

M is too true, but I do not intend to write to him about the Lauzon if he wishes to sell it he can write to me, he seems to be of that nature that if he sees you want a thing it only makes him hold onto it. I have not spoken to him about this long time." However, a year later, on August 11, 1881, Wilson could write to McLachlan with satisfaction: "I have got one off my list the 'Lauzon' in first rate order" (from correspondence files in a private collection). Whether he finally acquired the piece at his initial offer is not known, but $10 was a princely sum at the time. In separate sales lists in 1890 and 1892, Breton offered examples which he described as "very good" and "fair," respectively, for $12.50. Ed Frossard sold an example with the Frederick Stearns Collection, lot 379, on February 9, 1894, which realized $12.00. Somewhat optimistically, at about this time F.R.E. Campeau of Ottawa was asking $35.00 for a "very good" specimen. Lot 489 from Wayte Raymond's 1925 sale of the W.W.C. Wilson collection brought $15.00. More recently, an example in EF condition was sold by Stack's Bowers from the John J. Ford, Jr., collection as lot 21021 on August 16, 2013, for $11,000!

Fig. 2. *Lauzon Ferry token from the W.W.C. Wilson collection sale, lot 489, November 1925, Plate 7.*

Despite its justifiable fame and the eagerness with which it has been collected, few details surrounding the circumstances of the Lauzon Ferry token's production and use have been reported in the numismatic literature. The token itself has been indifferently described as pewter, lead or white metal, which are three quite different compositions with different combinations of elements. As we shall see, I believe its precise composition is an important consideration to grasping its history. The token is also known with either a J McK or a J T countermark. Both sets of initials are thought to stand for individuals involved in the business of the Lauzon Ferry, James McKenzie and John Thomson, respectively. It is usually supposed that the J McK mark was applied before the J T mark, although there is no warrant for this assumption. In fact, I think it can be shown that the J T mark was probably applied first.

So desirable was this token that counterfeits made for collectors were apparently in existence by 1892, as McLachlan remarked: "The 'Lauzon' or Quebec ferry token was for many years so scarce that good specimens have sold readily as high as twenty-five dollars. Lately many specimens have come to light and the price has dropped to two or three dollars. One

collector has no less than five. This sudden increase in the supply has been noted by numismatists who are ready to affirm that a number of counterfeits have been passed off on the unwary. The original coin is in lead which makes counterfeiting more easy. The suspected coins have a cast appearance and seem to have been made from an alloy of bismuth" (1892: 61). Twenty years later, McLachlan returned to the subject again: "The Lauzon Quebec ferry token, B. 560, being in white metal, readily lends itself to the forger's wiles. The process followed is the same as that by which counterfeit silver is made – that is, casting in an alloy of bismuth and tin in plaster moulds made from a genuine specimen" (1912: 306). Counterfeits are cast, as McLachlan correctly observed, and do not exhibit the sharpness of detail of originals. Whether or not they are actually made from "an alloy of bismuth" is discussed at the end of this paper. Because the counterfeits were made for collectors in the nineteenth century, they have become desirable in their own right. Sales include a specimen from the R.W. Williams collection, sold by Sotheby's April 23, 1969, lot 140, said to be "Good," which realized $22.00; an example listed by Warren Baker in VF condition in his fixed price list no. 21, March 1973, for $45.00; and another which sold for $190.00 in a Jeffrey Hoare auction of June 21-23, 1996, lot 1091.

Fig. 3. *Counterfeit Lauzon Ferry Token. Courtesy of National Currency Collection, Bank of Canada.*

Two (or More) Histories

The history of the Lauzon Ferry token is intimately connected with the merchant history of early nineteenth century Quebec City and its story cannot be told apart from the stories of the businessmen with whose lives and careers it is entwined. The numismatic literature has widely reported that the token was issued by John Goudie (1775-1824), a far-sighted engineer and entrepreneur of Scottish background who was of considerable importance to the colonial society of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Quebec. On the strength of his skill and innovation as a mill owner and shipbuilder he merits a substantial entry in the *Dictionary of*

Canadian Biography.[1] However, as we shall see, considerable reservation is in order as to whether Goudie personally issued the Lauzon Ferry token, even though he did build the ferry itself. Simply because Goudie built the ferry, that does not mean he owned it; therefore, it is a mistake to assume he issued the token.

Fig. 4. *Family Portrait of John Goudie. Photograph by Peggy Bolenbaugh of a Garrit Schipper miniature. Courtesy of Eileen Marcil.*

In the first dozen years of the nineteenth century, Goudie is said to have built one-quarter of all ships produced at Quebec. During the War of 1812, he built ships at Kingston for the defence of Lake Ontario, including the 112-gun *St. Lawrence*, by far the largest vessel on the Lake at the time. Goudie's business ventures were numerous and varied and went beyond building mills and ships. He was a Director of the Quebec Bank from its founding in 1818, built sewers on contract for the city of Quebec, and became involved in the fur trade by taking out a

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[1]John Goudie is not to be confused with his son, James, who followed his father into the shipbuilding business and earned a reputation of his own when he supervised the construction of the *Royal William* at George Black's Quebec yards in 1830-31. She was the first vessel to cross the Atlantic entirely by steam power.

lease on a station in the Domaine du Roy, the King's Posts, which entitled him to trap and sell furs. However, his singular innovation as an engineer was his pioneering use of steam power. At his yards in the Quebec City quarter of St. Roch in 1818, Goudie built the first steam grist and saw mill in all of Canada. Goudie's mill was an ambitious operation which, with its 100-foot chimney, clearly stood out from its surroundings. Three steam boilers drove a 48-horsepower engine which ran a flywheel 27 feet in diameter. Thus automated, he could make shingles and laths and cut 200 saw logs a day (Marcil 1987: 289-291).

Fig. 5. *John Goudie's mill can be seen in the right background of this watercolour by James Pattison Cockburn, entitled Cutting Ice for the Summer at Quebec, ca. 1830. Library and Archives Canada, W.H. Cloverdale Collection of Canadiana, Acc. No. 1970-188-2144, MIKAN no. 2836373.*

But before his adventures with a steam-powered mill, on September 26, 1816, Goudie and six other men formed a consortium to build and operate the very first steam-powered ferry in Quebec and in Canada (Marcil 1987: 291). (The first steam-powered vessel of any sort to have been built in Canada was John Molson's *Accommodation*, launched in 1809 at Montreal.) The ferry was specially designed to provide service between Quebec City on the north shore of the St. Lawrence and Pointe Lévis on the south shore about two-thirds of a mile across. The *Lauzon* was built at Goudie's shipyard near the mouth of the St. Charles River at St. Roch in 1816-17. Before construction got underway, Goudie made a trip to New York to study the steam-powered

vessels in operation there and draw up his plans. Sir John Caldwell, one of Goudie's partners in the enterprise, arranged for the importation of the engine and boilers from Great Britain (Roy 1904, Vol. IV: 58). The *Lauzon* was a side wheel steamboat, as were all such vessels until the introduction of the screw propeller after 1840. She was launched amidst much fanfare and not a little curiosity on September 28, 1817.[2] *The Quebec Gazette* has an account of the launch dated October 2:

> Last Sunday morning, the handsome steamboat *Lauzon*, 310 tons [*sic*], was launched from Mr. Goudie's shipyard. Her machinery has the strength of 28 horses. Having been launched when the sea was already down, she ran aground on a sandbar in the St. Charles River, but pulled herself off without any damage. This minor accident prevented a few interested gentlemen from making an immediate tour with the vessel as they had intended. However, yesterday they went up, down, and across the St. Lawrence. On going upriver the vessel had to contend with a strong wind and a strong sea. She performed, however, with the greatest ease and despatch in all directions. Her movements were very well executed and there is no doubt she will answer perfectly to the object of her construction, which is to navigate between Mr. Goudie's new wharf in Lower Town and a quay being built at Pointe Lévis. To facilitate that, she has a rudder at both ends, by means of which, by stopping her forward movement, when necessary she can be made to go in the opposite direction without turning her around at all and she can make this manoeuvre with great speed. In all respects it does honour to her builder and it will undoubtedly become a vessel of the greatest utility for people who are often called by business or other occasions to one side or the other of the river, above all since the *Lauzon* is built to ferry animals and vehicles and can cross the river in eight minutes. What adds to Mr. Goudie's reputation as builder is that this is the first time to our knowledge that a steamboat has been launched with all her machinery already on board. The enterprise does honour to all those involved, being one of those improvements which must contribute much to an objective which is so widely under consideration, the ease of interior communication, and as a result the numerous advantages which must result from it (*The Quebec Gazette*, October 2, 1817: 3). [Translation by C.F.]

According to one account, she made her maiden voyage to Montreal in the fall of 1817: "The ferry has went up to Montreal and back, but it is said that she does not sail so fast as the Montreal steamboat, she will only ply about the river. The price I think is six pences [*sic*], but I have not yet crossed in her" (Roy 1904, Vol. IV: 60-61, n. 1). This report seems to indicate that the *Lauzon* made ferry runs back and forth across the river for a couple of months after her launch that first year.

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[2]Different sources give different dates for the launch. For example, Rosa (1973: 43) gives October 2; Roy (1943: 280) and Bruneau (1983: 18) say September 30. However, if the launch was on a Sunday, as specified by *The Quebec Gazette*, that can only have been September 28.

Fig. 6. *Quebec City and environs, including the south shore and Pointe Lévis, lithograph ca. 1819-1837. Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1939-447-46, MIKAN no. 3028533.*

Be that as it may, after sitting out the winter of 1817-18, the *Lauzon* began her first full year of regular service on Monday, May 4, 1818, as reported in *The Quebec Gazette* for May 11:

The steamboat *Lauzon* began on Monday last its service as a ferry between Quebec and Point Lévis. A violent east wind lasted the whole morning which she resisted with comfort and safety, and she took from 9 to 15 minutes to make the crossing despite the resistance of wind and tide and stayed a half an hour on each side. In general the cost of a fare is only half of what is ordinarily charged to cross from the City to Pointe Lévis, and when the accommodations which are going up at the landings on both sides are finished, we hope that the goals for which this extremely useful enterprise was undertaken will have been fulfilled to the satisfaction of both the Public and the Proprietors (May 11, 1818: 3). [Translation by C.F.]

Fig. 6A. Detail showing the route of the Lauzon.

The enterprise even received a laudatory notice in the far away *Kingston Gazette* to the effect that it offered "a fair prospect of success" (June 2, 1818). The *Lauzon*'s first season ended on

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December 2, 1818, when ice began to form in the St. Lawrence: "Small quantities of drift ice have begun to make their appearance on the St. Lawrence opposite this town. The Steam Ferry-Boat Lauzon, which has plied between the city and Pointe Levis, so much to the advantage of the communication, was laid up yesterday" (*The Quebec Gazette*, December 3, 1818: 2).

The same week that the *Lauzon* began her ferry service, Goudie also launched a second steam-powered vessel, the 554 ton *Quebec*, to the accompaniment of the band of the 76th Regiment of Foot and in the presence of thousands of well-wishers (*The Quebec Gazette*, May 11, 1818: 2). The *Quebec* would ply the St. Lawrence between Montreal and Quebec City on behalf of the Quebec Steamboat Company. Goudie was a partner in this company as well, along with four of those in the *Lauzon* consortium and three newcomers with deeper Montreal connections (Marcil 1987: 291; Roy 1904, Vol. IV: 59). To berth the two steamboats, John Goudie built a deep-water wharf which bore his name in Quebec's Lower Town off rue St. Pierre at the foot of rue St. Antoine (Marcil 2000: 53).

Fig. 7. *Goudie's deep water wharf is indicated by the arrow on this contemporary map of the City of Quebec from The Quebec Directory for 1822, engraving by E. Bennet.*

In addition to John Goudie, the names of those in the consortium formed on September 26, 1816, to build and operate the *Lauzon* were Sir John Caldwell (1775-1842), François Languedoc (1790-1840), John Davidson, Richard Lilliot, John White, and Hiran Nicholas. Each of these men brought some expertise or influence of his own to the partnership and stood to gain

in his own way. Caldwell was the seignior of Lauzon, across from Quebec City, where Pointe Lévis was located, and stood to profit from any development on his seigniory. Davidson was Caldwell's brother-in-law, business agent, and attorney, and a Member of the House of Assembly from 1815. Lilliot was a Pointe Lévis merchant who would capitalize from any increase in business traffic to the south shore. Beginning in 1816, Languedoc was a Member of the House of Assembly, where he represented the interests of Quebec City merchants, was involved in the creation of the Quebec Bank in 1818, and later bought a seigniory for himself. White had been a ships' chandler in Quebec City since 1810 and had registered a partnership with Languedoc in 1813. In partnership, White and Languedoc had lucrative contracts to supply and transport goods for both the military and the government (Héroux 1988a: 484). Lastly, Hiran Nicholas was from Montreal and presumably facilitated the requisite connections in that city. It was the consortium comprised of these seven men, rather than Goudie alone, which financed the construction of the Lauzon Ferry and issued the token.

Sir John Caldwell led the initiative and was the principal partner. She was christened the *Lauzon*, after the seigniory of Lauzon, the first seigniory established by the French Regime on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, which was granted to Jean de Lauzon in 1636. De Lauzon later served as Governor of New France from 1651 to 1656. Caldwell's father, Henry, leased the seigniory for 99 years beginning in 1774, purchased it outright in 1801, and Sir John managed it beginning in 1799, built sawmills on the Chaudière and Etchemin Rivers, and profited from its timber reserves (Roy 1897, Vol. I: 26-48, 69-87; Héroux 1988: 133-134). He was, however, the eleventh and last seignior of Lauzon and his story is not altogether to his credit. Sir John was a member of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada and succeeded his father as Receiver General in 1810. He had ambitious plans for his seigniory, which he hoped to develop as a south shore rival to Quebec City. To carry out his development ideas he needed a great deal of money. Consequently, he "borrowed" money from the public purse, which was technically within the law. However, the sum involved was in the order of £100,000 and exhausted the resources of the government of Lower Canada. He could not pay it back, which led to his appearance before a committee of the Assembly in the late fall of 1823 and a prolonged scandal. His debt was partially settled by the gradual lease or sale of some of his assets, including his shares in the Lauzon Ferry. In 1845, three years after Caldwell's death, the government recovered some of what it was owed when it purchased the seigniory for £40,500 (Héroux 1988: 133-136).

Both the ferry and the token may well have been Sir John Caldwell's idea, since the family had a longstanding ambition to improve communications between the north and south shores. His father had sought permission to introduce regular ferry service between Quebec and Pointe Lévis as early as 1776 (Roy 1942: 82-83).[3] Caldwell contributed £200 and each of the other partners £100 to the Lauzon Ferry enterprise. Goudie was paid £75 for the construction of the *Lauzon* and Languedoc acted as secretary-treasurer at £50 per annum for his fellow partners (Roy 1904, Vol. IV: 57). At Lévis, Caldwell laid the foundation for a grand hotel, also called the *Lauzon*, to accommodate the passengers on the ferry. He sold it and the ferry wharf at Pointe Lévis in 1819 to François Languedoc and John Goudie for £3000, and the next year Goudie bought out Languedoc (Roy 1904, Vol. IV: 99-100). Ironically, after Goudie's death, Caldwell's son, Henry John, bought his steam-powered sawmill from his estate in 1825 (Marcil 2000: 126). Caldwell's Hotel Lauzon was a significant enterprise, with 23 guest rooms, a billiard room, a bar, pantry, kitchen, coach house, cattle shed, and stabling for 150 horses (Marcil 2000: 53).

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[3]Ruddell (1987: 127, 133) says expressly that the *Lauzon* was built for Caldwell.

The fares garnered from the operation of the ferry would only be a small part of the return on investment for all concerned. This was a far-sighted business partnership, not only because formerly ferry crossings had been driven by wind and tide, but because steam was the foreseeable future of all navigation. Furthermore, there is no question that the introduction of the *Lauzon* opened up the south shore of the St. Lawrence to commercial development and further settlement, which directly or indirectly benefited the partners. In 1825 – when figures become available – the population of the whole of the seigniory of Lauzon was 10,363 whereas that for Quebec City was more than twice that number at 22,101 (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 11).[4] The population of Quebec City in 1818 when the *Lauzon* began regular ferry service was 15,839 (Hare et al 1987: 324, tableau 10). A letter dated June 1819 from a contemporary, unpublished diary by an English immigrant named Robert Wade recounts the advantages of the St. Lawrence River crossing by means of the *Lauzon*: "On our first arrival here all was new; a large steam boat runs from here to Montreal – from 300 to 500 tons – the charge in the cabin is $20; there are also steam boats [*sic*] that run across the river to Point Levis every half hour; they charge 4d. a time; the river is about a mile; there is one boat that is drawn across by two horses that draw it across turning around on it, in a manner that a thrashing machine is turned." Wade's reference to the fare at four pence a person is borne out by the table of fares for people, conveyances, animals, and produce published in the *Quebec Mercury*:

> The Steam Ferry-Boat Lauzon, will commence Monday, the 4th May, to ply across the River from Mr. John Goudie's Wharf, Lower-Town, to the Lauzon Wharf, Point Levy.- She will leave Mr. Goudie's Wharf every morning at Four o'clock, and continue plying until dark; and she will stop half an hour at each Wharf, for the convenience of Passengers.

Rates of Passage:

For each person	0	4d
Calash [*sic*] and horse	2s	0d
Cart and do.	1s	3d
Do. (loaded)	1s	6d
Horse	0	9d
Ox or Cow	0	9d
Sheep or Calf	0	3d
Puncheon or Pipe	1s	3d
Barrel	0	4d
Hogshead	0	8d
Firkin[5]	0	2d

[4] A large number of Irish immigrants arrived in Lauzon after 1818, which means that the population in 1818 may only have been slightly more than half of what it became by 1825. The introduction of the *Lauzon* would seem to have aided the influx of immigrants and justified the optimism of the ferry's partners with regard to the development of the south shore.

[5] A puncheon, pipe, hogshead, and firkin were old English measures of (primarily) liquid volume. Since the main cargo was produce from the farms of the *Canadiens*, it is surprising that the measures indicated are all English, not French. In Lower Canada old French measures persisted, such as *minots*, *pots*, *poissons*, the Paris foot, and so on. Furthermore, the fares do not seem to have been published in a French-language newspaper either.

Iron per cwt	0	3d
Flour, pease,		
wheat, oats, } per bush	0	1½d
&c. in bags,		

The Proprietors of this Boat will have a sufficient number of Canoes and Men to Ferry across the Winter season, at the rates usually charged by the Ferry-men. A large and commodious House, with Stabling for 150 horses and proper Sheds, now building on the Lauzon Wharf at Point Levy, will be completed in a few weeks, where Travellers and Passengers can be comfortably accommodated. (*Quebec Mercury*, May 5, 1818: 139).

The list of articles for which fares were levied is explained by the fact that at this time economic activity on the south shore comprised farming and lumbering. There was no manufacturing and shipbuilding did not begin until 1829. There were no large towns. The present-day town of Lévis was only founded in 1861. Consequently, produce had to be brought for sale to the markets in Quebec City. However, this table of fares does not explain why the *Lauzon* consortium only introduced one token with a single value, especially since the table indicates a considerable range of possible tariffs. Perhaps the "four pence," or its equivalent "huit sols," which was good for a single passenger, as Wade confirms in his diary, was simply the most common fare, hence justifying the introduction of a token for this purpose. The value "huit sols" uses the familiar French-Canadian denomination *sou* or *sol*, which was everywhere understood to mean a halfpenny.

Fig. 8. *The village at Pointe Lévis with Quebec City in the background. Watercolour by James Pattison Cockburn, ca. 1830. Library and Archives Canada, W.H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana, Acc. No. 1970-188-972MIKAN no. 2896837.*

Of additional interest is that in 1819, two years before the introduction of the token, paper tickets or notes of some sort were in use (none of which is known to have survived), perhaps to the values of the fares listed in the *Quebec Mercury* in May 1818. The list of departure times for the 1819 season, which was published in the *Quebec Mercury*, concluded with a note concerning the payment of fares:

> The Steam Ferry Boat Lauzon will every day during this Season punctually leave the undermentioned places at the following hours:

QUEBEC		POINTE LEVY	
– at 5½ o'clock A.M.		– at 5 o'clock A.M.	
6½	do.	6	do.
7½	do.	7	do.
8½	do.	8	do.
9½	do.	9	do.
10½	do.	10	do.
11½	do.	11	do.
1½	P.M.	1	P.M.
2½	do.	2	do.
3½	do.	3	do.
4½	do.	4	do.
5½	do.	5	do.
6½	do.	6	do.
7½	do.	7	do.

> In order to prevent any mistake respecting the hour, a time-piece will be kept on board, which will be regulated by the town bell.
> No passage money will be received on board.
> Tickets will be sold at the respective places, and given up on going on Board.
> Two minutes previous to the Boat starting a horn will be blown.
> (*Quebec Mercury* May 4, 1819: 138).

Roger Bruneau (1983: 20) is of the opinion that: "With the obvious aim of preventing counterfeiting, from 1821 tickets were replaced by lead tokens." [Translation by C.F.] If true, this observation certainly offers a reason for the introduction of the token.

The earliest published record of the use of the token was given in Dr. W. Marsden's eye-witness account in *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* (1874: 42-43), which was reported as follows:

> The token is excessively rare, and for the following account of it we are indebted to Dr. Marsden of Quebec who recently presented one of the tokens to the Literary and Historical Society of that city. In response to an enquiry made, he says, "I now send the token which I presented to the Society, for your inspection. I have had it in my possession from boyhood, at first simply because I had purchased it, and not used it, and later on account of its rarity. These tokens were sold in an office on Goudie's Wharf, (afterwards Gibb's) near a slip (a floating

slip) leading down to the Steam Ferry Boat 'Lauzon' built and owned [*sic*] by the late John Goudie."

In the same article, Dr. Marsden, who was born in Quebec City, published an account of the operation of the *Lauzon*. He claimed to remember its comings and goings from his childhood:

> The Ferry boat, which was square at both ends, landed end on at the floating slip. The trip was made in from seven to twelve minutes and the engineer whose name was Joseph Forster [*sic*], received his orders directly and orally from the Captain thus, "Start her Joe," "Reverse her, Joe," "Go ahead, Joe," and always at the top of his voice. This boat was succeeded by horse ferry boats of a very rude description, propelled by from four to six horses, and these in bad weather and strong tides were assisted by men and frequently by the passengers, until the new "Lauzon" steamer was built by the father of the present Mr. McKenzie proprietor of the *Steamer McKenzie*, after which the horse boats of which there were several, gradually disappeared (1874: 42-43).

Marsden may indeed have seen the *Lauzon* when a child in Quebec City, but the (unacknowledged) source of his account of her docking procedure may actually be the *Mémoires* of Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé (1786-1871):

> The first Captain of the *Lauzon* was an excellent ferryman from Pointe-Lévis named Michel Lecourt, *dit* Barras. He was required to undergo a long apprenticeship in order to understand the pressure of the steam and to calculate the speed that it imparted to the boat to prevent it from breaking up against the wharves which it had to come alongside on the two banks of the St. Lawrence. It frequently happened that the unhappy steamer bucked like a ram when Captain Barras had not shouted out soon enough to the engineer, whose name was Joe: "Stop her, Joe!" Following which, to lessen the shock, he shouted again: "Reverse her, Joe!" But it was too late, and the unfortunate vessel lowered its head like a billy-goat against the obstacle it encountered, resulting in enormous shocks on both sides.
>
> Another time the Captain shouted, "Stop her, Joe!," when he was too far from the bank. The engineer stopped the steamer's engine, which the current then carried far from the port. The Captain shouted: "Start her, Joe!" "Another stroke, Joe!" And by a succession of little jerks, one always ended up, it has to be admitted, approaching the dock while gripping the rail of the steamer with two hands, fearful of being thrown into space. I knew the Barras family well, ferrymen from father to son for my family for a hundred years. I was often furious at the Captain of the *Lauzon* for the jolts that he made us suffer.
>
> "What do you expect, Sir," said Barras, "it requires a long apprenticeship to grasp the temperament of these bitches of English inventions which have killed our canoes, and which are also as capricious as those who, with the help of the devil, invented them" (Aubert de Gaspé [1885]: 650-651). [Translation by C.F.]

This account was evidently quite celebrated, inasmuch as it was quoted by J.-Edmond Roy (1904, Vol. IV: 64-65) and Pierre-Georges Roy (1942: 86), repeated by Gale (1920: 104), again without acknowledgment, and adapted freely by others since. Aubert de Gaspé lived to be 84 years old and claimed to have a prodigious memory. While never infallible, his recollections, first published in 1866, represent one of the most important firsthand records of everyday life in Quebec and environs for the end of the eighteenth century and the better part of the nineteenth (Lacourcière 1972: 18-23). Before the *Lauzon* began crossing the river, the only means of transport from one shore to the other was, traditionally, by canoe (*canot*) or sloop and, in more recent times, by horse boat (discussed below).[6] With canoe and sloop, the traveller was at the mercy of the river, the temper of the boatman or *canotier*, and the worthiness of his craft. The fare was subject to the boatman's judgment, depending on the time of year, the caprice of the weather, and the estimation of risk. Accidents and loss of life were not uncommon. Consequently, few people from Quebec City had ever been to the south shore. The introduction of the *Lauzon* was therefore a great novelty and many *Canadien(ne)s* made the excursion to the south shore out of sheer curiosity. Prior to the *Lauzon*, farmers from the south shore who brought produce to the city had also to put their trust in the river's boatmen. If they were bringing cattle to market, they tethered them to canoes and forced them to swim the river. Those that became exhausted part way across were cut loose to drown. The introduction of the *Lauzon* therefore had important commercial benefits. It is Aubert de Gaspé who reported that the ferry's first Master was Michel Lecour[t] *dit* Barras of Pointe Lévis (he was killed in 1853 when the boiler exploded on another steamboat under his command (Roy 1943: 282). The *Lauzon*`s engineer, to whom the Captain shouted his instructions, was probably Joseph Perron, and not Forster, as Marsden claims (Rosa 1973: 43). Barras would appear to have been the Master of the *Lauzon* until 1824. In 1825, when the operation of the *Lauzon* was taken over by James McKenzie, Gabriel Chabot became the Master, because he testified before a Special Committee of the Legislative Assembly in 1830 to the length of his command (*Appendix ...* 1830: n.p.).

The river crossing, frequently made against the pull of wind and tide, was also safer and quicker by means of the *Lauzon* than by canoe, sloop, or horse boat. Although the *Lauzon* was easier to manoeuvre than those traditional vessels, despite the necessity of the Captain having to shout his orders to the engineer, that does not mean she served without mishap. On August 29, 1820, shortly before noon, the *Lauzon* and a sloop carrying nineteen passengers left from their respective berths on the Quebec side at about the same time. The *Lauzon* collided with the sloop in the middle of the St. Lawrence and she capsized immediately, her passengers were pitched into the river, and nine drowned. Among those who drowned were a widow who left five orphaned children, the owner of the sloop, his wife, and his sister-in-law. Michel Barras, the captain, and Pierre Barras, his brother and the chief mate of the *Lauzon* at the time, as well as Pierre Dilliot, the captain of the sloop, were all held responsible (Roy 1904, Vol. IV: 65-68). On another occasion, a well to do farmer from the south shore was curious about the workings of the *Lauzon*'s machinery, went below deck to have look, got himself tangled up in the gears, and came away with a fractured shoulder (*Le Canadien*, July 24, 1822: 215).

Inconsistent reports concerning the size and appearance of the *Lauzon* have been published over the years. The most authoritative account belongs to Eileen Marcil (1987: 290):

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[6]The French Canadian *canot*, or canoe, was not in form and dimensions anything like the birch bark canoe, but a wider, longer, wooden vessel designed to carry heavy loads and as many as twenty passengers against the tides and currents of the St. Lawrence in uncertain weather.

Even as Goudie's wharf was building, so was the 86-foot *Lauzon*, the first steamboat built for ferry service on the St. Lawrence. With a rudder at each end, it was launched from Goudie's yard in 1817 and registered in the names of Goudie and five others... Prospective passengers were advised that the *Lauzon* would leave Goudie's wharf at 4 o'clock every morning for Pointe-Lévy (Lauzon and Lévis) and ply until dark, that canoes would replace it in winter, and that within weeks a commodious hotel would be completed close to the landing stage on the south shore, with stables for 150 horses. Regular ferry service began only in 1818. The *Lauzon* reduced the cost of crossing by one-half, and the results were significant ... The new ferry altered the habits of Quebec's inhabitants, for whom Pointe-Lévy and the south shore had been *terra incognita*. The poor, for example, saved their pennies for a Sunday excursion across the river, and farmers from the south shore were able to bring their produce to market at reduced costs. Not everyone found the ferry a blessing, however; competing canoe owners called the *Lauzon* "a damned English invention."

What, then, did the *Lauzon* look like? With a single deck, a funnel, and two masts, the 86-foot *Lauzon* could generate 28-horsepower and came in at 296 tons (Rosa 1973: 430). She would have been an all wooden vessel equipped with an iron furnace and iron boilers to generate enough steam to power a side paddlewheel. Not only was she innovative in her use of steam power, because she was "square at both ends" (to use Dr. Marsden's words), "with a rudder at each end" (to quote Marcil), she could also dock at either end, which was a great advantage when moving into the slips at Quebec and Pointe Lévis. As witness testimony before a Special Committee of the Lower Canada Assembly indicated, horse driven boats were obliged to turn their sterns toward land before docking, a circumstance which seriously impaired their manoeuvrability (*Appendix ...* 1830: n.p.). The representation of the *Lauzon* on the token itself, therefore, should be taken as having some claim to accuracy, since it clearly shows her with two tillers, one for the rudder at either end of the ferry.

The J T Countermark

Fig. 9. *Lauzon Ferry token with J T countermark. Courtesy of National Currency Collection, Bank of Canada.*

The countermark J T which appears on some specimens of this token has been identified as the initials of John Thomson. (Note the spelling: it's the dry Thomson, not the wet variety.) This attribution was reported by J. Douglas Ferguson in a short note in the *Coin Collector's Journal* for September 1940: "Recently I have learned of a further counterstamp, 'J T'. These initials are for 'John Thomson' who was for many years in the lumber business in Quebec City. He had come across from Scotland around the first of that century and he represented Sir John Caldwell who was the Seignior of Lauzon. The point of the south side of the river as contacted by this steamer was in that Seigniory. These pieces countermarked for Thomson are believed by descendants of his family to have served as a pass for him and his family. ... These tokens are rare whether countermarked or not" (264). Ferguson's copy of Breton, held in a private collection, notes that he acquired his specimen from Bert Koper of Winnipeg for $26.00, probably at about the same time that he wrote the note. The basis for Ferguson's claim concerning the J T countermark was a letter which had been sent to the Château de Ramezay, dated July 20, 1935, from a grandson of the same name as the original John Thomson. This descendant was a dealer in engravings, postage stamps, old and rare books, antiques and china, and the paintings of Cornelius Kreighoff among other artists. His letter turned up in Ferguson's personal copy of Breton's 1894 catalogue and it reads as follows:

> I have a few coins or medals that [I] am desirous of knowing about and what value they are, [I] used to collect many years ago but have picked these up. Have two of the 4d 1821 Steamer, Lauzon Four pence token etc. Lead. Mine both have stamped on the front side J T, have had three of these, one I sold many years ago for $20.00. Understand there are 3 varieties although I have never seen the others. Think one has C.H. McK [*sic*] and the other plain. These that I have came from my own family my grandfather John Thomson was in the lumber business here after he came from Scotland in early 1800 or before, he represented Sir John Caldwell who was the Seignior of Lauzon, my understanding is that his initial was stamped on them and they were used as a pass by him and his family. I was called after Grandfather, was born in 1868, Grandfather died in 1869. Can you make me an offer or give me the names on some to whom I might write. In good condition.

Ferguson was mistaken, however, in thinking that the J T mark was unknown and unattributed before the appearance of this 1935 letter and his article in the *Coin Collector's Journal*. He was apparently unaware that the specimen Thomson says he sold "many years ago for $20.00" had appeared in a Geoffrey Charlton Adams Sale in March 1905 and again in June 1905. This is what Adams had to say about the piece in his March sale:

> This entirely new and probably unique variety of this excessively rare coin has been in possession of the Thomson family of Quebec, Can., for past 80 years, and has a most interesting history. At the time the Lauzon Ferry was operated by J. McKenzie, Sir A.[*sic*] Caldwell was the Seigneur of Lauzon. Mr. John Thomson, who was his factor, was engaged in the lumber business at Lauzon, or, as it is now known, Levis, and these coins were surcharged to be used by him while in service of the Seigneur, just as those that were used by McKenzie bear his counterstamp. This coin, the only one that was preserved by the Thomson family, is now offered for the first time, and we trust that this link between Old and New Quebec will be

> appreciated by our Canadian friends; and having at last, after so many years, seen the light of day, it will take its place among the rarest of Canadian coins. It will be noticed that the regular type of Lauzon has an Auction record of $25 in America, and we believe has sold for a much higher price abroad.

In his June sale, lot 702, Adams explained his failure to sell the piece in March: "This coin was offered for sale in our March, 1905, Sale, page 22, lot 432, and over forty bids were received for it, of which six were exactly the same and practically received at the same time. As the bidders could not agree, and as each one was certain that it should go to him, it was decided, in order to keep the peace, that it be offered again. We know of none other." Adams' claim that the piece was unique in 1905 was probably correct. This may have been the specimen that belonged to the collector P.B. Murphy of Quebec City, who wrote to R.W. McLachlan on February 21, 1905: "I have 3 Lauzons 1 stamped both sides J.McK. one stamped J T and one without any stamp. I have a fourth one but it is eaten a little by some corroding substance. ... I showed the J T Lauzon to Andrew Thompson [*sic*] son of J T who told me that his father had charge of the troops that came from Halifax, i.e. it is to look after their transfers from Levis to Quebec" (from private correspondence files).[7]

There is no reason to doubt that this is the mark of John Thomson of Quebec City (1794-1870). On the other hand, there does not seem to be any evidence that John Thomson either "represented" Sir John Caldwell – as per Ferguson – was employed as his "factor" – as per Adams, or "had charge of the troops" – as per Murphy. Otherwise, the information imparted by these various sources is generally correct. The John Thomson who wrote the letter to the Château de Ramezay in 1935 was the grandson of the original John Thomson who immigrated to Quebec from Scotland in 1816. He died January 1, 1870 (*Morning Chronicle*, January 4, 1870: 1). He did have a son named Andrew, whom Murphy could have consulted, as he says. Upon his death, the Quebec *Morning Chronicle* reported that John Thomson had been "for some time in the employ of the late Sir John Caldwell, who placed in him the most unlimited confidence, as did his son, Sir Henry, and the other members of the Caldwell family, over whose interests he continued to watch to almost the end of his life with unflagging and disinterested zeal" (January 4, 1870: 1). Apparently, Thomson had a well-deserved reputation for integrity and was widely known for his charity to those in distress. He was a Scots Presbyterian and for 30 years an Elder at St. Andrew's in Quebec City. His son, Andrew, married a daughter of Dr. John Cook, the Minister of St. Andrew's from 1836 to 1883 (Stewart 1928: 25). John Thomson was the executor for the estate of Caldwell's son, Henry John Caldwell. He certainly did have business dealings with Sir John and other residents at Pointe Lévis. Over the years he bought and sold a great deal of property within the domain of the Lauzon seigniory from at least 1830 right up until a few years before his death (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 151, n. 1; 159, n. 3; 161; 162, n. 1; app. xxi, xxxviii).[8] In 1835, he bought the entire property at Pointe Lévis belonging to his former consortium partner, Richard Lilliot, which consisted of a house and stable along the river front, as well as a bake house and a plaster of Paris mill below the cape (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 155, n. 3). In 1838 he

[7]By a most curious coincidence Murphy worked for W. & J. Sharples & Co., whose offices were for a time at 3, St. Peter Street, Lower Town, the very address from which James McKenzie had once run his steamboat operations.

[8]Unfortunately, in his extraordinary five volume *Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon*, J.-Edmond Roy spells Thomson's surname as Thompson (the wet variety), thus creating some confusion as to his proper identity.

advertised the former Lilliot residence to let as follows: "A two storey House, well adapted, for the accommodation of two respectable families, with Coach-House, Stable and Gardens, if required, situated on the West side of the Steam-boat Wharf, Point Levy" (*Quebec Gazette*, March 14, 1838: 2). Thomson was doing well for himself. At the time of this advertisement, he was living at 40, St. Peter Street, in Quebec City, formerly one of two houses on that street belonging to Sir John Caldwell. The other was at 92, St. Peter Street (Tarquair 1930: 171).

In addition to his dealings with the Caldwells, Thomson had a long history as a businessman in Quebec City. In March 1818, two years after his arrival in the city, he gave notice of the dissolution of one partnership and the formation of another with what may have been his father William:

> The subscribers inform their friends and the public that they have entered into a Co-partnership and will continue the business of the late firm of Thomson, Scott & Co. under the firm of JOHN & WM. THOMSON. They respectfully offer their services as General Agents and Commission Merchants. (*Quebec Mercury*, March 3, 1818: 71).

At the same time, the new partners advertised the following wholesale goods:

> *For sale by the subscribers,*
> 12 pipes Cognac Brandy,
> 3 puns. Molasses,
> 140 doz. superior old Port wine in bottles,
> 10   do.   do.   do. L.P. Madeira,
> 50 firkins butter,
> 30   do. Loch Fyne herrings,
> 200 chaldrons Newc, and Scotch coal, for grates.
> And a general assortment of Dry Goods, suited to the Spring trade;
> all of which will be sold low for cash or short approved credit.
> Liberal advances will be made on consignments of produce.
> Wanted, Pot and Pearl Ashes. JOHN & Wm. THOMSON.
> (*Quebec Mercury*, March 3, 1818: 71).

In the first Quebec City directory of 1822, Thomson is listed as a grocer at 10, Cul-de-Sac Street, Lower Town (Gleason 1822: 99). By the time of his death at the beginning of 1870 the successful firm he created, Thomsons & Co., lumber merchants, is in the hands of his sons, Andrew and John C., with offices on Bell's Lane, Lower Town, and a residence called "Westfield" on the Ste.-Foy Road (Lovell 1869: 318).[9]

The question of the purpose of the J T mark is something else again. As was noted above, John Thomson, the grandson, claimed that the pieces were countermarked for use by family members, although this cannot be independently corroborated. Adams, who claimed that the example for auction in 1905 came from the Thomson family, only says: "these coins were surcharged to be used by him [John Thomson] while in service of the Seigneur." If pieces were

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[9] When Caldwell ran into money problems, he started selling off various properties to those close to him. So it was that in 1834 Thomson's interest in lumber must have received a boost when he acquired valuable wood lots on the Chaudière from Caldwell (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 146, n. 1).

"surcharged" for use as ferry passes by family members, one might have expected other pieces to have surfaced with countermarks belonging to other families allied to the principals in the business. This has not been the case.

Despite early recognition of the existence of this countermarked variety and its appearance in a number of sales, it has never been properly catalogued. Willey (1961, no. 631) was aware of the J T countermark, although he ascribed it to "a further management" of the ferry following McKenzie's ownership and not to the Thomson family as its private ticket. For his part, J.-P. Paré (1982: 68), followed by Giroux (1999: 478), claimed that the J T mark designated one of McKenzie's associates. There have been few sales of the J T countermarked Lauzon over the years. In addition to the Adams sales, Wayte Raymond sold one as lot 22 in the 1928 W.W.C. Wilson Sale which was described as reading "CS. T on reverse." No doubt the J T was not fully struck up, as is sometimes the case. It realized $22.00 US. James Charlton sold an example on November 24, 1952, as lot 336, in Fine condition for $26.25, and another in the 1965 CNA auction, August 12-14, 1965, lot 41, in Fine for $200. This was plated. The specimen in Frank Rose's sale of the John McKay-Clements collection, May 13-16, 1976, lot 83, again in Fine, was plated and realized $500. Jeffrey Hoare sold and plated another, this one in VF, on February 24-25, 1995, as lot 1503, from the Roy Hughes collection at $1300.

Of the few specimens available for examination, either through plated auctions sales or personal study, the J T mark seems to have been applied indiscriminately to either the obverse or the reverse. The specimen in the Bank of Canada Collection is countermarked on the reverse. Unlike the J McK mark, the letters J and T, apparently without any punctuation, are not sunk into the token but raised within a round cartouche. This is clearly a more sophisticated countermark than the J McK and may have been devised by someone like a jeweller.

Fig. 10. *Detail, showing the J T Countermark. Courtesy of National Currency Collection, Bank of Canada.*

The J T mark is not known to appear either over or under the J McK countermark, which would seem to argue for its having been applied between 1821 and 1825, before James McKenzie assumed operation of the *Lauzon*. This means, too, that the J T mark should be considered the second "issue," as it were, of the Lauzon Ferry token, and not that with the J McK countermark as is usually supposed.

The J McK Countermark

Fig. 11. *Lauzon Ferry token with J McK Countermark (the token's reverse has unrelated damage). Courtesy of National Currency Collection, Bank of Canada.*

James McKenzie (1788-1859) was another well-known Quebec businessman of Scottish ancestry. Although he was never a mill owner or a ship builder, McKenzie was a ship owner and a shrewd investor. The evidence is unclear as to when he settled in Lower Canada, because he first arrived in North America as a regular soldier with the British 41st Regiment of Foot to fight on the Niagara Peninsula in the War of 1812 and he married at York (Toronto) in 1814 (Dufour and Ouellet 1985: 558). The record of McKenzie's whereabouts thereafter is somewhat obscure. His regiment was sent to Waterloo in 1815 but arrived after the battle and stood in reserve. It was then posted to Ireland. Whether McKenzie was demobilized in Upper Canada or accompanied his regiment to Europe and Ireland is unclear. There are gaps in McKenzie's biography between 1815 and at least 1821, when his presence in Lower Canada at Pointe Lévis, across the river from Quebec City, is first reported (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 373-374). Although none of the available biographical sources say so, there is a possibility that McKenzie may have gained his experience with steamboats on Lake Ontario before departing for Quebec. A James Mackenzie (also spelled M'Kenzie) was captain of the steamboat *Frontenac*, the first steam vessel to operate on the Great Lakes.[10] The *Frontenac* was built at Ernest Town on the Bay of Quinte in 1816 with machinery designed by Robert Fulton and a 27-horsepower engine built by none other than Boulton & Watt at Soho, Birmingham. She began running between ports on the Canadian side of Lake Ontario in June 1817 and plied the Lake out of Kingston until she was sold there in January 1825 and then broken up (Robertson 1894, Vol. I: 243; *Kingston Gazette*, June-August, 1817). Apparently McKenzie was first in John Goudie's employ as the manager of the Hotel Lauzon at Lévis, and then, in 1825, following Goudie's death, he first leased – not bought, as is usually asserted – both

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[10]The spelling of the surname McKenzie was notoriously inconsistent, although it has to be admitted that James McKenzie or Mackenzie must have been a very common name, so that these may not be one and the same person. William Lyon Mackenzie spelled his last name four different ways.

the hotel and the ferry. In July 1828, when François Languedoc sold his share in the *Lauzon* to Sir John Caldwell, Caldwell became sole owner, the other partners having already sold to Caldwell over the years. It was from Caldwell, therefore, not the estate of John Goudie, that McKenzie bought the ferry later that year (Roy 1904, Vol. IV: 100, n. 3).
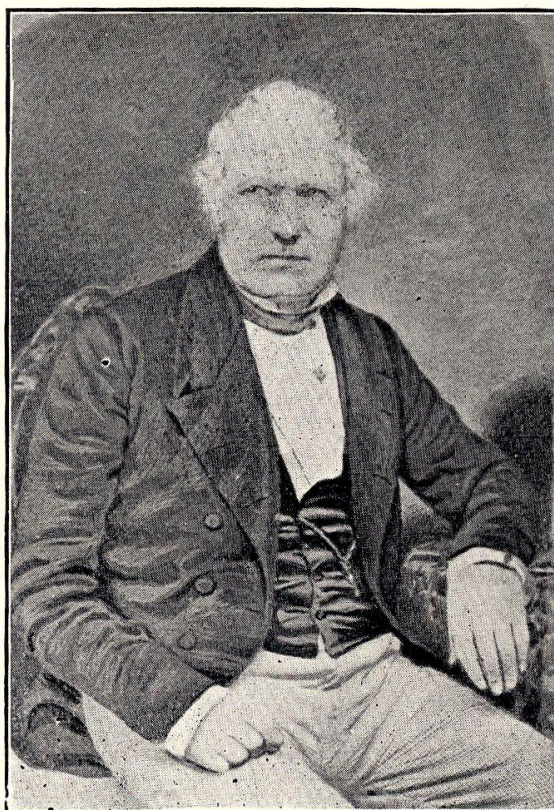
James McKenzie
(1788-1859)

Fig. 12. *Portrait of James McKenzie. From Roy 1904, Vol. V, facing page 368.*

The article in *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* already cited (1874: 42-43), simply notes that the ferry business passed into the hands of "Mr. McKenzie." The author of that article, Dr. W. Marsden, followed up in *The Canadian Antiquarian* a few years later (1882: 141-142):

A day or two since, Mr. Cyrille Tessier, N.P., ... an indefatigable numismatologist called on me with another of these Quebec Ferry Tokens, confirming what I before said about the *New Lauzon* having succeeded the first *Lauzon*, the first steam ferry boat built by Mr. John Goudie.

The new *Lauzon* was built, owned and sold by Mr. James McKenzie of Point Levis, who succeeded to the ferry having bought the first *Lauzon* on the

death of Mr. Goudie, and the ferry token shown me by Mr. Tessier, confirms this, having the letters "T. McK." [*sic*] stamped across its face in plain Roman Capitals; also showing that he had adopted the same mode of payment or check as was asked by his predecessor, Mr. Goudie. The only difference between my token and that of Mr. Tessier is what I have before mentioned excepting that his is not in as good a state of preservation as mine was; but looks as if it had been a long time buried in the earth. It is evident, nonetheless, that it was struck from the same die as mine.

This is the first published report of the J McK countermark, and the earliest record of it in the hands of a collector. In fact, Cyrille Tessier, Notary Public of Quebec City, had only acquired his J McK countermark a month or so before, as he revealed in a letter to McLachlan on December 20, 1881: "I have been fortunate enough to receive a second 'Lauzon Token' which is not quite a duplicate of the one I already have in my collection as it bears the initials (J. McK.) J. McKenzie the proprietor of the second Lauzon steamer ferry boat." It was first catalogued, without a separate number, by Leroux the following year (1883, no. 87), who said: "one part of these have been surcharged J. McK. on both sides ... That piece is worth $15. to $20." Leroux recognized it again (1888 and 1892, no. 599), but again did not distinguish it with a separate number. Breton (1894) drew attention to it under his no. 560 and designated it an R. 4½.

James McKenzie retired the *Lauzon* from ferry service in 1828 and operated it as an all-purpose tugboat until it foundered in 1833. Ever the entrepreneur, however, on Saturday, June 21, 1828, McKenzie began a ferry service with his own steamboat, which he called the *New Lauzon*. She was built in Quebec City, but her 30-horsepower engine and her boilers were installed in Montreal (*The Quebec Gazette*, June 23, 1828: 2). Furthermore, in the fall of that year he bought the Hotel Lauzon outright for £1400 from a sheriff's sale on behalf of the Quebec Bank against debts by Goudie`s widow, changed the name to the Hotel McKenzie, and proceeded to build a new quay for his new ferry adjacent to the hotel (Roy 1904, Vol. IV: 99-100, 100, n. 2). The hotel was an important acquisition because it was located at the conjunction of a number of roads which led off to the farms in the back country as well as to a coach road which by 1835 went all the way to Boston (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 436).

Fig. 13. *At Point Levi, 1831. James Pattison Cockburn watercolour of the Hotel Lauzon/McKenzie with what may be McKenzie's horse ferry Britannia approaching the shore. Courtesy of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec*.

In 1830 McKenzie built a horse ferry, the *Britannia*, which made the river crossing along with his *New Lauzon* (Dufour and Ouellet 1985: 558-559). The horse boats, an ingenious Canadian invention, were of two sorts. Teams of two, four or six horses either walked in a wide circle on a platform on deck which rotated as they moved, or else walked in place over a revolving drum. McKenzie's innovation was to introduce the second method, thereby reducing the amount of deck space required for the horses and increasing that available for cargo. Both the rotating platform and revolving drum turned a gear system connected to one or more paddlewheels which propelled the vessel. The original idea for this mechanism apparently came from the observation of the workings of a grist mill by a farmer from Pointe Lévis which he transposed into the gear system and side wheel of a horse boat. Hence the comparison to a threshing machine by Robert Wade, quoted earlier, and by Catharine Parr Traill, quoted below. There is some dispute as to when the horse-boat was first "invented" in Lower Canada and put into service as a ferry. J.-Edmond Roy follows J.M. Lemoine and says 1828 (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 367), but Robert Wade's letter bears witness to its existence at least as early as 1819. Its first appearance may have been some years before that. A crossing by horse was known to be cheaper than by steam; as late as 1829 the standard fare per person was still only three pence or six *sous* (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 367-368). A number of budding transportation entrepreneurs built horse ferries in the 1830s, and there was much competition for business. When Catharine Parr Traill arrived at Quebec from Greenock in August 1832, she was greeted by the following sight:

The river is considered to be just a mile across from Point Levis to the landing-stairs below the custom-house in Quebec; and it was a source of amusement to me to watch the horse ferry-boats that ply between the two shores. The captain told me that there were not less than twelve of these comical-looking machines. They each have their regular hours, so that you see a constant succession going or returning. They carry a strange assortment of passengers; well and ill-dressed; old and young; rich and poor; cows, sheep, horses, pigs, dogs, fowls, market-baskets, vegetables, fruit, hay, corn, anything and everything you will see by turns.

The boat is flat, railed round, with a wicket at each end to admit the live and dead stock that go or are taken on board; the centre of the boat (if such it can be called) is occupied by four lean, ill-favoured hacks, who walk round and round, as if in a threshing machine, and work the paddles at each side. There is a sort of pen for the cattle (Traill 1997 [1836]: 19).

Fig. 14. *A horse boat at McCallum's Wharf with a view of the Lower Market Place, Quebec, July 4, 1829. Watercolour by James Pattison Cockburn. Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. R9266-120, MIKAN no. 2898293.*

The danger and unreliability of this method of transport are apparent. Nevertheless, steam power did not immediately surpass horse power, any more than it did the canoe or the sloop. Horse driven ferries survived alongside steam ferries well into the nineteenth century. There was one that serviced the crossing from Ottawa to Pointe Gatineau as late as 1867 (Roy 1936: 508) and, astonishingly, Breton says that the crossing to Ile Bourdon (where the original Montreal Bridge

tokens were issued for use) was still made by horse boat at the time he was writing his catalogue in 1894 (1894: 47).

McKenzie now had firmly within his grasp the dual, related enterprises of lodging and transportation. Over the years, he added new steamboats (the *Lumber Merchant*, the *Point Levis*, the *James McKenzie*) and horse boats (the *Unity*) to his fleet and became a very wealthy man. In addition to using his ships for ferry traffic, they were also put to work towing the lumber rafts floated on the St. Lawrence and mooring the sailing ships which arrived at the port of Quebec (Dufour and Ouellet 1985: 559). This is the noble work to which the original *Lauzon* was dedicated in its last days. The late 1820s and the 1830s were a heyday of transatlantic ship traffic into Quebec, much of which was devoted to conveying to Great Britain the millions upon millions of board feet of lumber cut from the square timber rafts which had been floated down the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence to Quebec City. Half a dozen and more ships a day sailed up the St. Lawrence and all had to be towed to anchorage at Quebec City or upriver to Montreal. James McKenzie's eponymous steamer *James McKenzie* was said to be capable of pulling five or six vessels all at once up to Montreal (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 374). Many fortunes besides McKenzie's were made from this industry.

Fig 15. *A view of Quebec from below the church at Aubigny, Pointe Lévis. Coloured aquatint by James Pattison Cockburn ca. 1830. A working steamboat (the Lauzon?) can be seen in the background above the head of the standing soldier. Library and Archives Canada, MIKAN no.* 2896281.

One supposes that the balance of the original Lauzon Ferry tokens came into McKenzie's possession with the ferry and that he arranged to have them countermarked with his initials at that time, in 1825. There is no reason to doubt that McKenzie's countermark was made by means of a single stamp of iron, perhaps fashioned by a local blacksmith. The letters are somewhat crudely shaped and unevenly aligned, thus leaving a roughly cut impression, without punctuation after either the J or the McK. Because of the softness of the composition of the host token, the mark could easily have been applied with a single hammer blow. Consistent with the crudeness of the stamping iron is its indiscriminate application to either the obverse or the reverse or both together. The Bank of Canada's National Currency Collection has one example countermarked on the obverse and a second specimen countermarked on both sides. While the placement of the mark is somewhat irregular, when it appears on the obverse it seems deliberately to be stamped above the representation of the *Lauzon*. The first recorded sale would appear to be from the Gerald Hart collection, on December 26-28, 1888, lot 1189, in Fair condition, which realized $20.75 US. Lot 490 in the 1925 Wayte Raymond sale of the W.W.C. Wilson collection was described as "Good" and only brought $9.00 US. Other notable sales include William Hesslein's April 17-18, 1931, sale of the J.D.B.F. MacKenzie Collection, lot 1001, in VG, with a scratch on the reverse, at $4.00 US; Hans Schulman's 1947 fixed price sale No. 30 of the Patrick Wickham collection in VG at $15.00 US; Frank Rose's sale of the John McKay-Clements collection, May 13-16, 1976, lot 84 at $175 CAN; Jeffrey Hoare's sale of the Roy Hughes collection, February 24-25, 1995, lot 1502 (holed), at $460 CAN; Montreal Stamps & Coins sale of June 20-21, 2001, lot 375, at $1300 CAN.

Fig. 16. *Detail, showing the J McK countermark. Courtesy of National Currency Collection, Bank of Canada.*

The J McK countermark has been counterfeited, probably sometime in the 1890s when a number of electrotypes, cast counterfeits, alterations, and fakes of Canadian token rarities appeared on the market. Such rarities were in great demand by collectors of the day when competition among them was fierce. Not all fabrications of these rarities were intended to deceive, but many certainly were. The National Currency Collection of the Bank of Canada has an example of a fake J McK mark on a Lauzon Ferry token. The token weighs an unconvincing 5.84 grams or 90.1 grains, and is 25.7 - 26.4 mm in diameter and 1.7 mm thick. Nevertheless, the token itself does not appear to be a counterfeit because its composition is consistent with specimens which are known to be legitimate. The fact that the mark appears on the reverse of the token is not in itself anomalous. However, the style of the mark bears no resemblance to the legitimate J McK mark and also appears to have been counterpunched from four separate letter punches rather than applied with a single stamp.

Fig. 17. *Counterfeit J McK countermark on a legitimate Lauzon Ferry token. Courtesy of National Currency Collection, Bank of Canada.*

Finally, a third J McK mark is known on the obverse and reverse of an 1870 Canada ten cent piece. The style of this mark is different yet again. The mark itself and the rectangle within which it appears are all incuse from a single punch. Note that the J. McK. is punctuated. The likelihood that this mark has anything to do with James McKenzie, who died in 1859, is extremely remote. His surviving son, who was named Charles, did carry on his father's steamboat business, however.

Fig. 18. *J. McK. countermark on a Canada ten cents, 1870. Courtesy of Scott Douglas.*

An interesting sequel to James McKenzie's involvement with the *Lauzon* and his part in the history of the token occurred in 1954. A newspaper clipping found in J. Douglas Ferguson's copy of Breton dated September 23, 1954, and headed at Quebec, records that in the cornerstone of the McKenzie Memorial Wing of the 50-year old Jeffrey Hale's Hospital at 5, rue St-Cyrille a

number of relics were discovered.[11] At this time, the hospital was preparing to move to new premises and a new location. Apparently, the hospital administrator ordered the original cornerstone to be broken up when he was told by a retired employee that "there was something in it when it was laid." Upon opening the sealed box from the stone, a number of items of interest were revealed: copies of Quebec City newspapers from 1904; a 1787 English shilling; complete date sets of Canadian coins for the years 1902 and 1903; an 1851 U.S. gold dollar in an envelope marked, "From my dear mother A. McKenzie;" a locket containing some tufts of hair and a portrait of an old man; and, last but not least, a blackened Lauzon Ferry Token. There is no mention of whether the token was countermarked J McK, or whether the portrait was that of James McKenzie, but one might be forgiven for suspecting the answer to have been yes in both cases. Upon his death in 1859, McKenzie left his ships, his hotel in Pointe Lévis, a house in Upper Town, another property in Lower Town, along with bank shares and bonds, all valued at over £100,000, to his children. It was his last surviving daughter, Elizabeth, married to a Colonel J.F. Turnbull, and who died in 1904, who bequeathed the largest portion of her inherited wealth, $75,000, to the construction between 1904 and 1906 of the McKenzie Wing of Quebec's Jeffrey Hale's Hospital (Roy 1904, Vol. V: 375-376; Gelly 1990: 67). That explains the presence of the box and its peculiar contents in the original cornerstone. The entire contents of the box were preserved and placed in the new cornerstone of the new hospital building at 1250, chemin Ste.-Foy when it was dedicated by Governor General Vincent Massey on Thursday, September 27, 1956, almost exactly 50 years to the day the McKenzie Wing was first dedicated. Presumably there is a Lauzon Ferry token, possibly once the property of James McKenzie himself, in that box in that cornerstone to this day.

[11]Jeffrey Hale (1803-1864), from a very wealthy family, came to Canada in 1827 to live with his father, John, who was a Member of the Executive Council and Receiver General for Lower Canada (succeeding the disgraced Sir John Caldwell). At Quebec, Jeffrey was an active supporter of various religious, educational, and health and welfare organisations. He was also a founder of the Quebec Provident and Savings Bank. In his will he left £9,000 to establish a Protestant hospital (Garon 1976: 347). Unfortunately, in Alain Gelly's useful history of the hospital, McKenzie is spelled MacKenzie throughout.

Fig. 19. *Front view of the McKenzie Wing of the old Jeffrey Hale's Hospital. Courtesy of the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, Gouvernement du Québec, Christian Lemire, 2007.*

Finally, Elizabeth Turnbull, the daughter of James McKenzie, must have been well acquainted with John C. Thomson, a son of the original John Thomson. John C. had long been active with Jeffrey Hale's Hospital. He was Chairman of the Hospital Board of Governors from 1890-1896 and was its Treasurer at the opening of the McKenzie Wing in 1906 (Gelly 1990: 174; *Quebec Saturday Budget*, September 29, 1906: 5). He was also an active member of the Presbyterian congregation on Ste. Anne Street. For their part, Colonel and Mrs. Turnbull (née McKenzie) not only enabled the construction of the McKenzie Wing, they also donated and bequeathed many thousands of dollars to Quebec's St. Andrew's Church, of which her father had been a member (Stewart 1928: 13, 15, 79, 87-88).

Circumstances of Issue

We know that the Lauzon Ferry token was issued in 1821 because the date appears on the piece itself. We also know that the *Lauzon* was in regular operation as a ferry from at least the beginning of May 1818 – if not from the fall of 1817 – when a notice appeared in *The Quebec Gazette* announcing the fact. And we also know that for a period of two years at least, from the spring of 1819, the consortium which owned and operated the ferry apparently used some sort of paper ticket(s) at the rates listed in the table of fares in the *Quebec Mercury* quoted earlier. If the paper ticket(s) were indeed subject to counterfeiting (Bruneau 1983: 20), then we have a reason

for the introduction of the metal token. Under the consortium formed by Sir John Caldwell, the original token could only have been in use between 1821 and 1825, because in that latter year operation of the ferry passed to James McKenzie. The token as stamped with McKenzie's initials can only have been in use between 1825 and 1828, because in that latter year he retired the *Lauzon* from its duties as a ferry. At most, therefore, the token was only in use for a total of seven years. Finally, the tokens apparently countermarked for John Thomson and his family could have been in use throughout the entire period of the *Lauzon*'s operation as a ferry from 1821 to 1828, although Thomson's known association with Caldwell rather than McKenzie may be an argument for its withdrawal in 1825.

Metrological data was collected for fourteen ferry tokens: those without countermark; with the J T and J McK marks; counterfeits without countermark; and with the counterfeit J McK mark. All examples show a medal die orientation.

TABLE 1
Metrology of Lauzon Ferry Tokens

Token	Style	Grams	Grains	Diameter	Thickness
A	w/o cmk	9.05	139.7	26.15 mm	1.60 mm
B	w/o cmk	6.52	100.6	26.80 mm	1.80 mm
C	w/o cmk	8.94	137.9	26.44 mm	1.70 mm
D	w/o cmk	7.97	122.9	26.57 mm	1.80 mm
E	w/o cmk	9.04	139.5	26.47 mm	1.74 mm
F	J T cmk	6.52	100.6	26.80 mm	2.20 mm
G	J T cmk	6.29	97.0	26.83 mm	1.70 mm
H	J McK cmk	6.54	100.9	27.55 mm	1.80 mm
I	J McK cmk	6.41	98.9	27.05 mm	1.80 mm

J	J McK cmk	8.82	136.1	26.39 mm	1.70 mm
K	ctft w/o cmk	10.12	156.2	26.65 mm	2.20 mm
L	ctft w/o cmk	10.03	154.9	26.60 mm	2.20 mm
M	ctft w/o cmk	7.94	122.6	26.47 mm	1.70 mm
N	ctft J McK cmk	5.84	90.1	26.05 mm	1.70 mm

What do these specifications tell us exactly? First of all, they tell us that the weight range among the eleven examples judged to be good is extremely variable, from a low of 5.84 grams or 90.1 grains to a high of 9.05 grams or 139.7 grains. The mean weight for these eleven examples is 7.45 grams or 114.9 grains and the median 6.54 grams or 100.9 grains. The median weight tells us that there is a significant spread between those pieces in the neighbourhood of 6.5 grams and those over 8 grams. One conclusion to be drawn is that the weight of a specimen is not in itself a sure indication as to whether a piece is good or not. Two of the three counterfeits are the heaviest pieces examined – no doubt, as we will see, from their greater percentage of lead – but the third at 7.94 grams or 122.6 grains falls only slightly above the mean for the non-counterfeits and is actually lighter than all examples above the median. The mean diameter of all pieces, including counterfeits, is 26.62 mm with the smallest diameter 26.05 mm and the largest at 27.55, with the latter only one of two pieces greater than 27 mm. In any case, the difference between the two extremes is a mere 1.50 mm, a figure which does not tell us very much when we are dealing with tokens whose conditions of production – given the weight variance – would seem to have been less than ideal. Nevertheless, the diameters shows a surprising uniformity, especially when the three counterfeits, apparently cast, do not show the expected shrinkage, but are at or around the mean. The thicknesses vary by up to .60 mm with a mean of 1.83 mm, although it has to be admitted that because of specimens with uneven planchets in various states of preservation the absolute accuracy of these figures, as with those for the diameters, can be disputed. In sum, an average Lauzon Ferry token which was judged to be legitimate might weigh 7.50 grams or 115.7 grains, would be 26.60 mm in diameter and 1.80 mm thick. What is clear, however, is that the parameters in *TABLE 1* do not tell us how to distinguish a good Lauzon Ferry token from a bad.

An analysis of the composition of a number of token was therefore undertaken. In order to determine the composition of both legitimate and counterfeit Lauzon Ferry tokens, seven of those in *TABLE 1* were subject to non-destructive X-Ray Fluorescence analysis. At the beginning of this paper, I said that the Lauzon Ferry token has been described as made of pewter, lead or white metal, and that counterfeits were said to be from an "alloy of bismuth." These claims were tested.

TABLE 2
Composition of Lauzon Ferry and Communion Tokens

Token	Style	Tin	Lead	Copper	Antimony	Titanium	Other
B	w/o cmk	95.56%	.96%	1.01%	----	2.15%	----
D	w/o cmk	35.81%	57.93%	----	----	1.33%	4.49%
F	JT cmk	93.20%	2.41%	1.76%	----	2.06%	.25%
I	JMcK cmk	94.65%	.96%	1.86%	----	2.18%	----
K	ctft w/o cmk	2.19%	95.01%	.20%	1.66%	.70%	----
L	ctft w/o cmk	1.81%	95.00%	----	2.10%	----	----
N	ctft JMcK cmk	88.44%	----	3.58%	5.18%	1.97%	.37%
Bo. 35	1821	46.20%	46.34%	----	1.23%	1.19%	4.81%
Bo. 88	1823	34.56%	58.60%	----	2.20%	1.35%	3.41%
Bo. 109	1818	95.67%	.52%	1.65%	----	1.96%	----

A look at five of the tokens in *TABLE 2* above, that is, B, D, F, I, and N, indicates that four of them, one without a countermark (B), one with the J T mark (F), one with a good J McK mark (I), and one with a false J McK mark (N), all consist of large quantities of tin (in the neighbourhood of 95% for three of them and over 88% for the other), small amounts of lead

(under 2.5%, or none), copper and/or antimony, and titanium. These proportions of tin to lead qualify the four pieces in question as pewter.[12]

Fig. 20. *Token D from TABLE 2, a legitimate white metal anomaly among the balance of non-counterfeit Lauzon Ferry tokens in pewter. From the collection of the author.*

The fifth token (D) is anomalous in that it is made up of approximately 36% tin, 58% lead, a small amount of titanium, and 4.49% other elements. In general, any token or medal which contains less than 85% tin with a high percentage of lead, along with small amounts of additional elements such as titanium, may be considered white metal. Based on an analysis of their composition, there seems no good reason to doubt that all five tokens are legitimate issues from 1821. The meaning of the anomalous token D will be addressed in due course. In terms of physical appearance, alloys of pewter and white metal are not easily distinguished one from another or even from lead, especially if the token or medal has been subject to wear. Cases in point are tokens K and N. The former was presumed to be a legitimate issue on the basis of its appearance, but proved to be over 95% lead with small amounts of tin and other elements. In other words, it is effectively lead and a counterfeit.

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[12] Historically, the composition of the different grades of pewter has been controlled by the Worshipful Company of Pewterers, which has existed in London, UK, since the Middle Ages. To qualify as pewter, an object has to contain at least 85% tin, with the balance of the alloy made up of lead (only added to objects not used for food or drink), along with copper and/or antimony (both used for hardening purposes) (Ditchfield 1904: 295-300). To be designated lead, almost 100% of that metal would have to be present. Provided there is no nickel present, anything else falls under the category of white metal.

Fig. 21. *Token K from TABLE 2, judged to be good on the basis of appearance but proved to be bad upon analysis. Courtesy of National Currency Collection, Bank of Canada.*

Because token N has a false J McK countermark, it was presumed to be a counterfeit as well. (See Fig. 17 above for the illustration of token N.) However, analysis revealed that it had a sufficient quantity of tin to qualify as pewter, along with small amounts of copper, antimony, and titanium, but no lead. Token L was assumed to be a counterfeit prior to analysis and it proved to have virtually the identical composition to K. In sum, legitimate tokens are pewter or white metal, and (cast) counterfeits are made of lead (and no bismuth). Without the benefit of analysis, however, and no clear visual evidence a piece has been cast, it can be difficult if not impossible to distinguish a good Lauzon Ferry token from a bad.

The point has been made that the history of the Lauzon Ferry and its token exemplifies the business interests that bound together a number of like-minded Scots in Quebec City and environs during the early part of the nineteenth century. The ties of business also extended to social connections and religious affiliation. Settler communities in Colonial Canada were much more likely to be first drawn together and defined by a common ethnicity, language, and religion than by any other factors. This common ground virtually determined in advance one's occupation, political association, and marital prospects. So, for example, Gaelic speaking (often unilingual), largely Roman Catholic, Highland Scots had little in common with their English speaking, Protestant, Lowland countrymen beyond their country of birth. The former were a poor, mostly illiterate, largely rural people who had been forced from their farms by the land enclosures of the late eighteenth century and who turned once more to farming upon their arrival in various parts of Canada. By way of contrast, Lowland Scots were educated, practical, well to do, and formed a part of the merchant class in all of the emergent urban centres of Colonial Canada. From this class came the likes of a James McGill, a John Young, and a James Lesslie. They traded with one another and with their kinsmen back in Dundee and Glasgow and Edinburgh, they socialized together, married into one another's families, and they worshipped together. Consequently, it comes as no surprise to discover that all but one of the principals (i.e. François Languedoc) involved in the business of the Lauzon Ferry were Presbyterians and that

they were all members of the same congregation at St. Andrew's on rue Ste. Anne in Quebec City. This fact is as pertinent to the history of the token as any other.[13]

Fig. 22. *James Pattison Cockburn watercolour, Ste. Anne St., Quebec City, with St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in the middle ground. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, ROM 942 48 89.*

In physical appearance, size, and general style, a Lauzon Ferry token is remarkably like a contemporary communion token. Consequently, three communion tokens, whose dates of issue approximate the date of the Lauzon token, were also analyzed by X-Ray Fluorescence along with the six ferry tokens (see *TABLE 2*, above). The 1818 dated communion token for Perth, Ontario,

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[13]Population figures at Quebec City by religious affiliation are not available for the period of the Lauzon Ferry. However, figures for the number of Presbyterians among the city's population are available for 1851 and 1871. For 1851, they number 1,371 or 3% of the total population, and for 1871, 1,623, or 2.7% (Hare et al 1987: 327, tableau 13). If an approximate percentage of 3% held for 1818, the number would work out to 475 people, and for 1825 still only 663. By any reckoning, that is a tiny percentage of the population and a very small number to have had such enormous influence upon the affairs of the city.

is more than 95% tin and very similar in composition to Lauzon tokens B, F, I, and N in *TABLE 2*. In other words, it is pewter, like a number of other communion tokens of the period.

Fig. 23. *Communion token for Perth (Bowman 109). Courtesy of Richard Cooper.*

By way of comparison with the Perth token, the 1823 dated communion token for Kingston, Ontario, is white metal, rather than pewter, and contains 34.56% tin, 58.60% lead, 2.20% antimony, and 1.02% titanium. The element under the "Other" column for this token in *TABLE 2*, in a proportion of 3.41%, is hafnium, a metal not ordinarily found in alloys of pewter and white metal. Hafnium is also the additional metal found in the anomalous white metal Lauzon Ferry token D, to the extent of 4.02% (under the "Other" column, along with a trace of iron). The compositions of token D and the Kingston communion token are virtually identical, with an absence of iron and the addition of antimony in the Kingston piece. Given the all but identical composition of the two tokens, one might wonder whether the ferry's owners could have been provided the opportunity (of cost and convenience) to order their token from a maker of communion tokens and acted upon that opportunity. As noted earlier, John Goudie had business – and presumably religious – connections in Kingston from his time there during the War of 1812.

Fig. 24. *Communion token for Kingston (Bowman 88). From the collection of the author.*

In addition to the 1821 dated Lauzon Ferry token, there is, of course, a Quebec City communion token for the year 1821. That is the token for St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church on rue Ste. Anne, which is the oldest Presbyterian congregation in Canada (Bowman 1965: 13). The first token for the St. Andrew's congregation at Quebec was issued in 1810 (Bowman 1965, no. 34). The 1821 dated token in *TABLE 2*, Bowman 35, is of white metal, similar in composition to the Lauzon token D in the *TABLE*, but with a little more tin and less lead.[14] What is telling, however, is that it too contains a significant amount of hafnium at 4.40%. The circumstantial evidence provided by the unusual presence of hafnium points to all three of Lauzon token D, and the 1821 Quebec and 1823 Kingston communion tokens originating from the same source and/or being struck at the same time.[15] Where was that source and when was that time?

Fig. 25. *Communion token for Quebec City (Bowman 35). Courtesy of Richard Cooper.*

The 1821 St. Andrew's token must have been ordered either immediately before or shortly after a new minister arrived at Quebec to take up office in 1820. When new ministers replaced their dead or departed predecessors in Presbyterian churches overseas, as a mark of their office it was not uncommon for them to introduce a new supply of tokens to replace the old (Shiells 1902: 24-25). The new minister's name at Quebec was James Harkness (1790-1835). He had been ordained by the Presbytery of Ayr, Scotland, in March 1820, and left that same month for Quebec City. From March 1819, when Harkness' predecessor died, to Harkness' arrival a year to the month later, the Church in Quebec had been without a regular minister (Stewart 1928: 14; Anon. 1936: 442). The Quebec City merchants John Mure and John Greenshields had been delegated to find a new minister and they recommended Rev. Harkness. John Mure (d. 1823) was

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[14] At 4.45 grams or 68.7 grains and a diameter of 23 mm, however, it is smaller and lighter than a Lauzon token and their respective lettering is in no way die-linked.

[15] According to the US National Laboratory at Los Alamos, California, hafnium is a ductile, corrosion-resistant metal with a bright silver lustre which is easily alloyed with other metals. Its properties have led to its use for nuclear reactor control rods, among other applications. However, because it was not discovered until 1923, its presence in the tokens under discussion must be an accidental by product of some other element. It alloys well with titanium, for example, with which it is in the same Group on the Periodic Table. Titanium is also present in all three tokens. Hafnium is fairly rare and is not easily separated out as a pure metal, which makes its presence here all the more remarkable (see www.periodic.lanl.gov/72). However, there is also a possibility that the XRF machine's software has misinterpreted the wavelength of the energy released during electron recapture as hafnium when it may in fact be oxidized copper, and that the former is not present in the tokens at all. Be that as it may, the presence of a distinct signature does suggest a common origin and/or site of production for the three tokens.

a very important Lower Canadian merchant in the wholesale import and export business with interests in furs (he was a partner in the XY Company), timber, salt, potash, and transatlantic shipping. He owned over a dozen ships, some of which had been built for him by John Goudie (Roberts 1987: 531-32). Goudie and Sir John Caldwell, like Mure – and John Thomson and James McKenzie (both discussed earlier) – were all Scots Presbyterians, and all did continuing business with merchant interests in Scotland. Caldwell had actually been tutored as a boy by Rev. Alexander Spark, James Harkness' predecessor as minister of St. Andrew's (Lambert 1983: 768). They would all have been very familiar with communion tokens, both from the practice of worship in Scotland as well as in Quebec. Throughout the interregnum when the Church was without a regular minister, there must have been frequent communication between Quebec City and Scotland as every effort was being made to secure a new appointment. Was the Lauzon Ferry token, like the *Lauzon* itself, also Caldwell's idea? Presumably, just as Harkness would have acted to order a new communion token for the use of his congregation at St. Andrew's, so he might have been asked to place an order for the Lauzon Ferry token with the same or a similar maker and directed that a stock of those be sent to Quebec as well. This might explain how both the ferry token D and Quebec communion token come to be white metal – rather than pewter – each with the telltale presence of hafnium.

THE REVEREND JAMES HARKNESS, D.D.
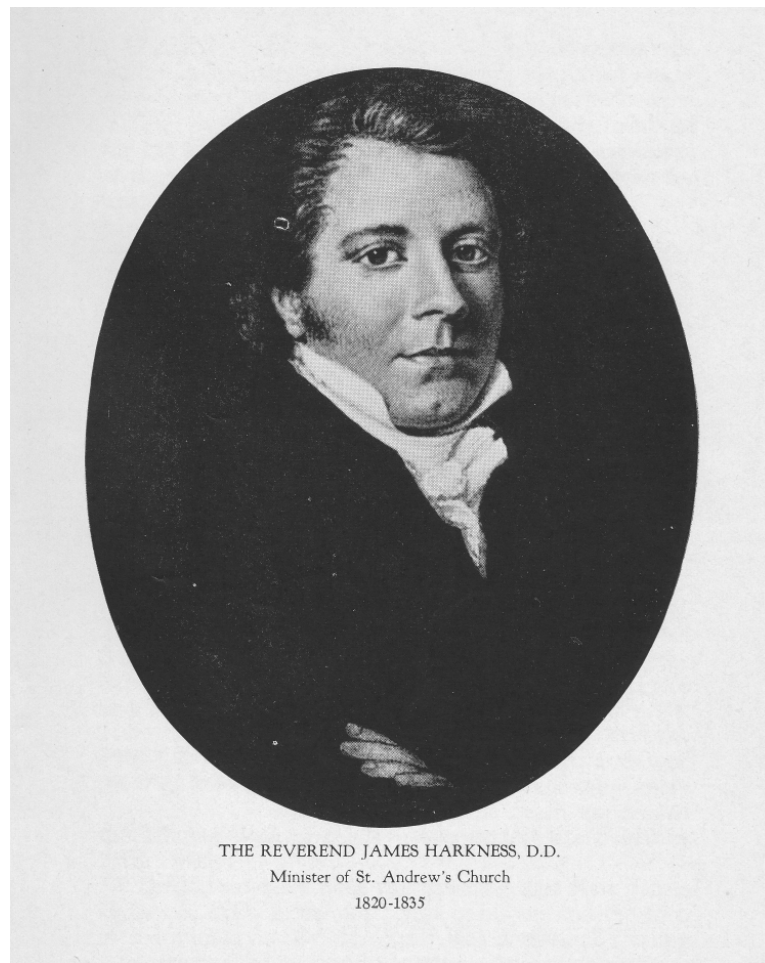Minister of St. Andrew's Church
1820-1835

Fig. 26. *Portrait of Dr. James Harkness. From Stewart 1928, facing page 14.*

Harkness did make a trip to Scotland in 1834 to secure a third communion token for St. Andrew's (Bowman 1965, no. 36). He made that trip with the Rev. Alexander Mathieson of Montreal's St. Andrew's church. Bowman notes that during that visit Mathieson "secured new dies and a stock of the new tokens" for his Montreal congregation (Bowman 1965: 7). That remark seems to hint at the possibility that the actual dies were brought back to Canada, which would have permitted additional tokens to be struck as needed. There is evidence of this practice elsewhere, such as for the Truro, Nova Scotia, congregation in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth for the Indian Lands congregation at Maxville, with the original dies for the latter still around in the 1960s (Bowman 1965: ix, 29). If the Lauzon token was not ordered from Scotland through James Harkness after he took up his ministry in 1820, is it possible that both token D and the communion token for St. Andrew's were struck in Quebec City from dies made in Scotland? Does that explain the presence of hafnium in both pieces? That circumstance would make the Lauzon Ferry token the first transportation token to have been struck in Canada. Finally, the difference in composition between Lauzon tokens B, F, I, and N, which are pewter, and D, which is white metal, might also beg the question as to whether there were two separate issues of the Lauzon Ferry token at two different periods of time (perhaps struck in two different places, Scotland and Quebec City). At the moment, any notion about where the Lauzon Ferry token was struck and whether there were two different issues is purely speculative. Based on the circumstantial evidence, all that can be said is that the Lauzon Ferry token, both in pewter and in white metal, was in all probability ordered from a maker of communion tokens.

Because the device of the ferry on the token bears a great deal of similarity to the actual *Lauzon* – with its side wheel, its single funnel, and especially its tillers at either end – a sketch from the life must have been provided for the die work. Perhaps such a sketch was taken to Scotland with an order for the tokens. On the other hand, the familiarity of the sketch artist or engraver with the actual *Lauzon* may also argue for the token being of entirely Canadian manufacture. The softness of white metal does allow for that possibility inasmuch as sophisticated machinery exerting enormous pressure would not be required to strike the tokens. Numerous Canadian communion tokens were made on the site at which they were issued using available letter punches and moulds. The comparatively soft metal in which the Lauzon tokens were struck would certainly have shortened the life of individual tokens. (Hence the number in existence with serious corrosion or in low grades.) The owners of the ferry must have known they could have had the token made in copper or brass, if they had so chosen. They might even have been familiar with the unfortunate Bout de l'Isle tokens of Montreal, expertly produced in copper in Birmingham (albeit with two spelling mistakes which clearly indicate the engraver's ignorance of French and of the geography of the Island of Montreal). On the other hand, perhaps the owners of the *Lauzon* did not want to go to that expense, or perhaps they had another, local option ready to hand.

Conclusion

What happened to the *Lauzon*? How did it meet its end? A brief note in *The Quebec Gazette* records the *Lauzon*'s untimely fate: "On Sunday afternoon [i.e. December 15 1833], while towing a boom of logs, the steamboat *Lauzon* hit a rock opposite Foulon and immediately

sank. Her deck was under a foot of water at low tide." [Translation by C.F.][16] L'Anse au Foulon, also known as Wolfe's Cove, is at Sillery, about one and a half miles above Quebec City. That is where James Wolfe landed his troops in 1759 for the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

Fig. 27. *L'Anse au Foulon, Wolfe's Cove, filled with cut timber. Watercolour by James Pattison Cockburn, ca. 1830. Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1989-262-16, MIKAN no. 2896207.*

Acknowledgments

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[16]"Le Steam-boat *Lauzon* pendant qu'il avait un cajeux de bois en remorque dimanche l'après-midi, a frappé un rocher vis-à-vis le Foulon, et a aussitôt coulé bas. Il se trouvait un pied d'eau sur son pont à marrée bas" (cited in Roy 1904, IV: 65-68).

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The Early Tokens of Nelson, B.C.
by
Ronald A. Greene, FCNRS

This article is based on a talk presented at the Educational Symposium of the Canadian Numismatic Association Convention at Niagara Falls, Ontario, on July 11, 2007. The total number of token issuers for Nelson is more than could be covered in a short talk. This article adds issuers and tokens not mentioned in the talk, up to about 1930.
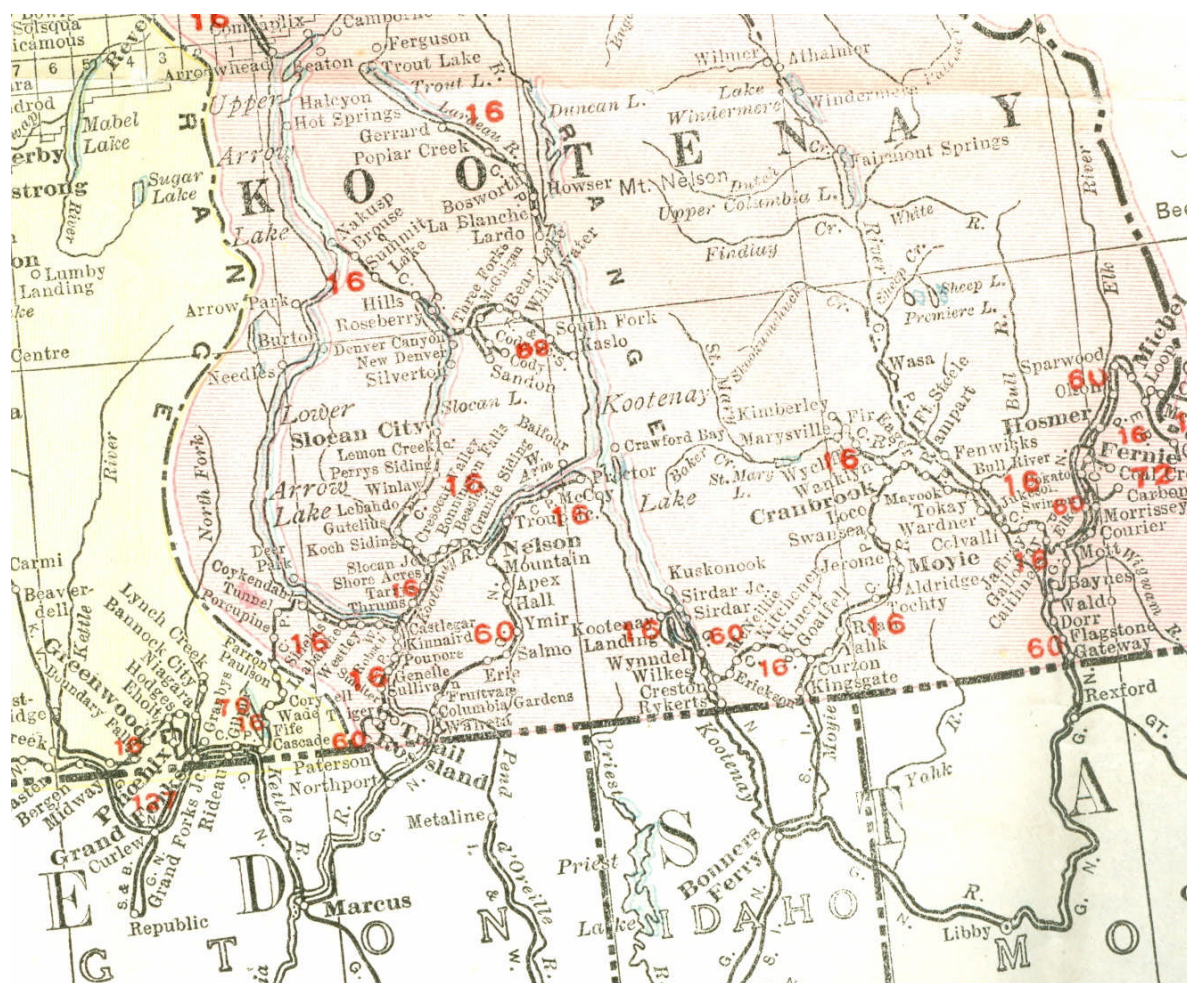
Map showing Nelson to left of centre (Rand-McNally 1914).

In the 1880s the Kootenays started seeing many prospectors coming into the valleys searching for minerals. The mountains, valleys, and rivers in British Columbia run north-south. Transportation across them or around them was extremely difficult. It was much easier working north-south and so the first supply points were those in Washington State. But even if the prospectors found mineral deposits and managed to get a claim staked, transportation remained a problem. In order to develop some cash, flow the early mines which had rich ore would high-grade the ore, sort it by hand, and rawhide the ore to the lakes where they would load it on a lake

steamer and send it to a smelter. Rawhiding was a winter activity. The high-grade ore was put into rawhide bags – the untanned hide of a cow or steer – and dragged down the hill by horses, or held back by a horse. All very fine, unless the bag went faster than the horse! This process of rawhiding and loading on and off steamers was very labour intensive and only high value ore would provide any return. The development of the railways was critical. The mines needed reliable, inexpensive transportation to get the ore to a smelter. The railways needed mines to provide enough freight to pay for construction and to make a profit. It was a classic chicken and egg situation. The U.S. railroads obtained Canadian charters and extended into B.C. from Washington State. The Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) built short feeder lines between lakes and relied on the lake steamers to connect them. Later they built railways around the lakes and constructed the Crow's Nest line in an effort to cut off the U.S. railroads.

The first major mine in the area, the *Silver King*, was located on Toad Mountain in 1886. Crop failures that summer had forced a number of individuals from Colville County, Washington, to try their luck prospecting. Towards the end of the prospecting season two men from Colville belonging to the Hall party, which consisted of Winslow Hall, his five sons, a brother, nephews, cousins, and several others, stumbled across an outcrop of ore (Norris 1995). The samples they took were found to be rich in copper and silver. The group came back next year and staked four claims, the "Silver King," the "Kootenay Bonanza," "American Flag," and the "Koh-i-noor." The mine was ready to start producing ore in 1888. Nelson was established on the West Arm of Kootenay Lake below Toad Mountain as the transportation point. The community was first called Salisbury after the British Prime Minister, then Stanley after Lord Stanley, the Governor General of Canada (1888-1893). Finally in 1888 the name Nelson was selected in honour of Hugh Nelson, the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia (1887-1892).

The Halls and their partners had to fight off claim-jumpers, but they won the ensuing legal battle. They also needed much more capital, as the mine was a hardrock mine and thus expensive to develop. One of the partners, John McDonald, visited Scotland in 1891 to raise money, which was quickly expended. So he, Henry Croasdaile, and Winslow Hall made a trip to England to seek additional financing. In June 1893, The Hall Mines, Limited, was formed and purchased the mine for $1,000,000. This U.K. incorporated company was registered in British Columbia in October 1893. With it came modern equipment, an air compressor plant, air powered drills, and ore crushing machinery.

The repeal in the U.S. of the Sherman Act following the Panic of 1893 closed many mines in the Kootenays, and the imposition of a 30% duty on lead ores closed the U.S. smelters to Canadian mines. Thus there was a push to build Canadian smelters. A smelter at Pilot Bay on Kootenay Lake was blown-in March 1895 (*The Miner*, March 16, 1895: 1). The Hall Mines smelter was started in September 1895 and it was blown-in January 14, 1896 (*The Miner*, September 14, 1895: 1; January 16, 1896: 1). At first the smelter was a small single furnace

Postcard view, overlooking Nelson, ca. 1905. From the collection of the author.

facility with a capacity of 100 tons per day; later it was expanded. The C.P.R. became involved in the Trail smelter in 1898 when its American builder, F. Augustus Heinze, decided to give up his Canadian interests to fight his Montana battles.

In these early days Nelson was truly a remote corner of British Columbia. The easiest way out was by steamer across Kootenay Lake and down the Kootenay River to Bonners Ferry, then by foot or stage to Kootenai Station on the Pend d'Oreille to catch the Northern Pacific Railroad to Seattle, then by steamship to Victoria or Vancouver. A second way was down the Kootenay River to Sproats Landing on the Columbia, then by steamer down the Columbia to Little Dalles, Washington, where the Spokane Falls and Northern Railroad could be boarded. The third way was down the Kootenay River to the Arrow Lakes, then up the Columbia River to Revelstoke, where the C.P.R. mainline could be caught either to Vancouver or to the east.

The lack of efficient transportation meant that the cost of freight was very high. As a result, prices in Nelson were high, but nonetheless it developed as a regional supply centre. It remained awkward to travel east or west from Nelson until the C.P.R. built the Crow's Nest Line; subsequently, transportation was much easier. The banks seemed reluctant to pay to bring coins in, there was not much demand for them, and it was not until the First World War that Nelson was to join "the cent belt," in other words to see the first one cent coins in circulation. As a result there are many more token issuers in Nelson than one would expect from a small city. The 1890 population was 250, but 450 people made it their headquarters. In the Canada Census for 1901 the population was 4,510, which was significant compared to Vancouver with 26,000 (*The Miner*, August 30, 1901: 1).

The Silver King mine was more or less exhausted by 1902 and the company leased the mine out to its former mine superintendent on a share basis. Without a guaranteed source of ore, the Nelson smelter had to handle custom ore and its copper "stack" was converted to processing lead so that it could utilize the Slocan ores. It was unable to compete with the Trail smelter as it was designed specifically for the ore coming out of the Silver King mine, which was unlike anything else in the Kootenays. The Hall Mines smelter closed in September 1907.
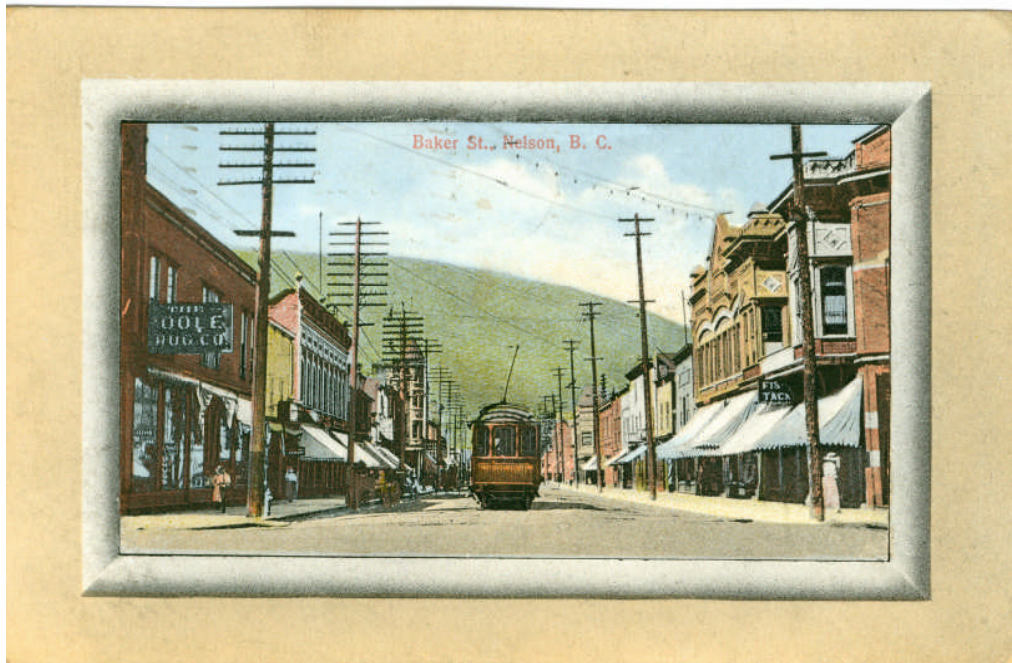
Baker Street, Nelson, ca. 1912. From the collection of the author.

In September 1911 the dormant plant burned down, the victim of a "firebug." With the closing of the smelter, Nelson entered into a long, quiet period mostly dependent upon the forest industry. The city managed to hold on as a government administrative centre for many decades, but lack of economic growth meant that there was little pressure to redevelop the town. Today it has a wonderful collection of 1890s and early 1900s brick buildings.

Licensed premises at one point included five saloons, the Athabasca, the Bodega, the Manhattan, the Office, and the Glue Pot, plus a number of licensed hotels. After 1914, provincial liquor regulations eliminated stand-alone saloons. From that time forward to have a licence one had to have a hotel of a certain standard. Prohibition in British Columbia came into effect on October 1, 1917, but only lasted a few years.[1] Pressure from returned troops who fought in the Great War resulted in Prohibition being repealed and replaced by an Act to provide for government control of the sale of alcoholic beverages. This Act allowed for government liquor stores, which opened in early 1922.[2] An Act passed in 1923 allowed for clubs to sell beer as of February 1, 1924.[3] Another Act passed following a plebiscite held June 20, 1924, permitted beer parlours to be established in hotels in electoral districts which voted in the affirmative.[4]

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[1] *An Act intituled the 'British Columbia Prohibition Act,'* Chapter 49 (1916).

[2] *An Act to provide for Government Control and Sale of Alcoholic Liquors*, Chapter 30 (1921). The short title was the *Government Liquor Act*. Studies of the liquor regulations of British Columbia could produce more than one PhD thesis.

[3] *An Act to amend the 'Government Liquor Act,'* Chapter 38 (1923). This Act provided for the sale of beer by the glass by clubs defined as: "'Club' means a society or association of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, organized or carried on for the purpose of furnishing refreshment or amusement, or for social, athletic, recreational, fraternal, benevolent, educational, or other purposes." It also provided in Part II for Beer Licences subject to the outcome of a vote under the *Liquor-Control Plebiscites Act* of 1923. The plebiscite took place on

Hall Mines Canteen

N3720b: Aluminum: Round: 32.8 mm[5]

The Hall Mines, Limited, was incorporated in the United Kingdom in June 1893 and registered in British Columbia in October of the same year. The company operated a boarding house at the mine site on Toad Mountain. The company was re-organized in 1900 as the Hall Mining & Smelting Co., Ltd., and incorporated in June 1900. The mine appeared to be exhausted by 1902 and was leased out to the former mine manager on a profit-sharing basis. The company reopened the mine in 1908.

The associated smelter, situated in Nelson, occupied thirteen acres and was one of the largest plants of its kind in Canada. It was closed in September 1907, unable to compete with the Trail Smelter. The plant was destroyed by arson on September 6, 1911. The Canteen was undoubtedly at the mine site. It acquired a liquor licence from November 1899.

International Hotel

The hotel was opened in July 1890, one of the first hotels in Nelson. William Hunter and James Dawson were the first operators. By February 1891 Bruce Craddock took over Hunter's interest and Dawson & Craddock operated the hotel until it was destroyed by fire in January 1894. Dawson & Craddock did not rebuild, but took over a hotel at Halcyon Hot Springs.

N3965c: Brass: Scalloped: 28.6 mm

N3965d: Brass: Round: 29.5 mm

June 20, 1924 and the Nelson Electoral District was one of the districts which voted against allowing beer parlours. See the *Third Annual Report of the Liquor Control Board of the Province of British Columbia for the period April 1st, 1923 to March 31st, 1924*, Microfilm D25, Reel 39, British Columbia Archives. The licensed clubs are listed on pages N8 and N9.

[4] *Fourth Annual Report of the Liquor Control Board of the Province of British Columbia for the period April 1st, 1924 to March 31st, 1925*, Microfilm D25, Reel 40. The licensed hotels are listed on pages J10 and J11.

[5] Reference numbers (here N3720b) refer to the B.C. Token Database developed by Ronald Greene and T.A. Thomson.

The story of the International Hotel's destruction mentioned that: "…The main building was a 2-story frame, with a frontage on Vernon street of 50 feet and a depth of 50 feet on Stanley street. It was erected in 1890 and added to in 1892, at a cost of $5,000. It was one of the few hotels in Nelson that was always run as a hotel and not merely as a saloon. The building and contents were insured … for $3,000, and the loss will be fully $3,000 more …" (*The Tribune*, January 20, 1894: 1).

Nelson News Depot

N4710a: Aluminum: Round: 30.8 mm

The Stanley brothers came from Quebec to Vancouver in 1889 where they opened a photographic studio. Gilbert moved to Nelson and established a photographic studio in the spring of 1892 with his brother Edward Hall Stanley, known as 'Ned.' Within a year Gilbert Stanley had given up this business and opened a news and tobacco stand. It later morphed into a book and stationery store. Gilbert and his wife had their only child, a daughter, in September 1904, but she lived only four days. When Gilbert died in 1915 he was the only surviving charter member of the local Masonic lodge. He was survived by his wife and his brother, who passed away July 17, 1924, apparently unmarried.

Nelson Hotel

The newspaper, *The Daily Miner*, was first published in June 1890. By the third issue the Nelson House, operated by A.J. Marks and Charles Van Ness, was advertising as the largest hotel in Nelson. By February 28, 1891, it was already expanding: "Ground was broke [*sic*] on Friday for an addition to the Nelson house. The addition will be 2 stories high, with a frontage of 24 feet on Baker Street, and have a depth of 70 feet. Thirty feet will also be added to the present building. This will make the hotel 50 x 70 feet, 2 stories high. There will be 28 bed-rooms, besides parlor, billiard, and club rooms. Marks & Van Ness, the owners, claim that they intend to keep fully abreast with the requirements of Nelson, and do not purpose allowing any hotel in the lake country to lead the 'Nelson' …" (*The Miner*, February 28, 1891: 8).

N4660a: German Silver: Round (star cut-out): 21.3 mm   N4660c: Aluminum: Round: 25 mm

N4655a: Brass: Round: 21.3 mm

N4660d: Brass: Round: 25.1 mm

Charles Van Ness left Nelson in September 1891 to try his hand at mining in Mexico, leaving Marks to manage the business, which he did until February 1897 when he leased the Nelson Hotel to Mr. Stephen White of Brandon: "…Mr. A.J. Marks, the proprietor, retires from the business and will devote his time to mines and mining…." (*The Miner*, March 27, 1897: 1).

White sold his interests, the lease, and the furnishings to Clements & Reisterer in June 1900, and left for the east shortly afterwards. Arthur Vaughan of the Manhattan Saloon bought out Clements' interest in May 1901. The hotel restaurant was operated by a number of different people over the years.

Charles Van Ness was living in Rossland in 1899 when he died suddenly while visiting Grand Forks. This proved interesting as two different death certificates were issued for him, which makes one wonder if he had used up the last two of his nine lives! His body was sent to his home town of Clinton, Indiana, for burial. His old partner, A.J. Marks, passed away in 1904.

The hotel passed to Ink and Boyd in November 1904 and in 1906 Boyd retired, to be replaced by W.A. Ward. Ink and Ward were still running the hotel at the end of 1909. The hotel was destroyed by fire on May 23, 1922. We will look at Ink and Boyd more closely under the Manhattan Saloon.

Athabasca and Bodega Saloons

N2910a (also McColl 259):
German Silver: Round (triangular cut-out): 20.9 mm

N3010a (also McColl 261):
Brass: Round (holed): 21.0 mm

The Bodega token is bifacial except that the maker's name, "J.C. Irving, S.F." appears on the reverse. A German Silver example is also known.

James Neelands transferred the Athabasca Saloon to Patrick Russell in April 1900. The saloon was not mentioned previously in any issue of the newspapers, but was first listed in the Williams' B.C. Directory for 1899. In 1901 the Athabasca added a free lunch to attract business. Unfortunately, Russell became bankrupt in the fall of 1901. A trustee ran the business until it could be sold to E.J. Brown and E. Ferguson. Ferguson was out by May 1905. The saloon appears to have been part of a hotel as it was occasionally shown in the B.C. Directories as the Athabasca Hotel. However, the saloon was the focus of the operations. In later years the hotel

became the Savoy. The saloon would have closed on October 1, 1917, when Prohibition came into effect. The token is listed in the McColl Sale of 1903 as no. 259.[6]

Abe Johnson opened the Bodega Saloon in November 1898, but not without some difficulty in obtaining his licence. H. Colin Cummins took over the cigar and tobacco concession by April 1899, but later Johnson and R.E. Smith were operating it as well. Smith bought out Johnson in December 1899, but by March 1900 had sold to W.G. Robinson. In October 1902 Robinson sold the business to Davison and Walmsley, the latter a partner in the Gluepot Saloon. A fellow named William Muller was shot in the saloon in October 1900, and on December 26, 1900, the Jeffries-Sharkey fight was shown by a Projectoscope set up in the saloon. The last mention of the Bodega Saloon was 1912.

The Manhattan Saloon, Ink & Boyd

N4310b: German Silver: Round: 24.8 mm   N4310c: German Silver: Round: 24.8 mm
(also known in Brass, N4310b2)

W.A. McVeigh, the owner of the Manhattan, died in September 1897. Strangely, this was the first mention of the Manhattan Saloon. Charles Waterman sold the Manhattan in March 1901 to Charles H. Ink and Siegel "Doc" Boyd. Boyd had been a bartender at the Manhattan until he and Frank A. Brewer leased the bars on three of the C.P.R. lake steamers in November 1898 with Boyd reported in charge of the bar on the *S.S. Nelson* until the *S.S. Moyie* was in service. The *Moyie* is now a museum ship in Kaslo, B.C. Charles H. Ink had been a partner with John Houston in *The Miner* – Ink being an appropriate name for a printer – until 1892, and continued to be a printer (foreman) in Nelson until his death, although he was involved in such outside operations as the Manhattan, and later the Nelson Hotel.

N3960b: Brass: Round: 21.2

Ink and Boyd sold the Manhattan to H.H. Pitts and Tom Rankin in November 1903, while at the same time they purchased the Nelson Hotel. Rankin sold his share in the business to J.J. Langridge in March 1904. Pitts and Langridge ran the business until March 1906, when Archibald Reid purchased the saloon and changed its name to the No Place Inn. The name had reverted to the Manhattan by 1910. In 1911 a young Englishman shot and killed two men in the saloon.

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[6] The W.R. McColl Sale of 1903 was undated, but Ken Palmer convincingly established the date as early 1903. See the *Transactions of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society*, 7, 2 (April 1971): 55. The sale was particularly important because a number of uncatalogued tokens and medals were included.

Queen Cigar Store
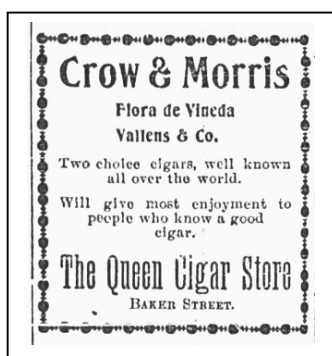
N5660a (also McColl 238):
Brass: Round: 21.1 mm: Bifacial

N3250c: Brass: Round: 24.2 mm
(attribution not confirmed)

Crow & Morris, who operated the Queen Cigar Store in Rossland, opened a branch in Nelson in April 1900, with Max Crow the resident partner. They also opened a Greenwood branch in 1899 as the Queen Cigar Company. In October 1901 they decided to concentrate on their Rossland business and closed down their branches, selling the fixtures in the Nelson store to H.J. (Jasper) Phair, son of E.E. Phair of the Phair Hotel, who carried on as the Queen Cigar Store. In April 1904 Dan McNichol and Harold Smyth purchased the business from Jasper Phair, who was planning to take a trip to California, and then to the World's Fair in St. Louis, before returning to Nelson. In February 1905 Jasper joined his father in Spokane where E.E. Phair was running the Grand Hotel. The father eventually came back to Nelson, but Jasper does not appear to have returned to Canada. He died in Minnesota in 1945. Note the odd denomination of "5 12½¢ cigars only." A number of Nelson tobacconists used this denomination, which we have not seen elsewhere.

N5460d:
Aluminum: Rectangular: 32.4 x 19.5 mm

N6310a:
Aluminum: Octagonal: 25.1 mm

McNichol left the partnership in the Queen Cigar in December 1904 and Smyth carried on until May 2, 1907, when Howard Bush and Gus Matthew took over the Queen Cigar Store. Bush and Matthew advertised in *The Daily Canadian* until its last issue, May 2, 1908.

Bush Bros. and H. Bush

In early September 1908 the Bush Brothers advertised as proprietors of the Queen Cigar Store and continued to run it until 1923, when Harold Bush bought out his brother, Arthur. Harold continued to operate the business for many years and passed away at age 99 in December 1969.

N3080a: Brass: Round: 21.1 mm

THE QUEEN CIGAR STORE
JUST RECEIVED—A consignment of G.B.D , H.B. Band
Peterson pipes. Call and inspect. No trouble to show goods.
BUSH and MATTHEW, Props.
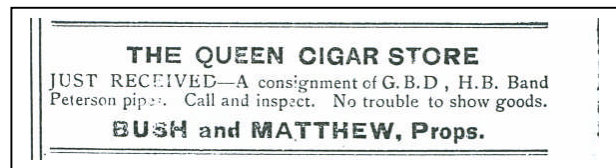
N3060a: ("One" and "Cigar" have serifs)
Aluminum: Octagonal: 27.2 mm

N3060b: ("One" and "Cigar" sanserif)
Aluminum: Octagonal: 26.8 mm

N3060e:
Aluminum: Rectangular: 33½ x 21 mm

N3060f:
Aluminum: Rectangular: 32.4 x 19.6 mm

Kirby & Bush

This partnership was listed in the B.C. City Directories for 1927 and 1932 only. In the intervening years Robert E. Kirby was shown as "cigars and tobacco" while Arthur Bush was a government employee. Arthur had been a partner in Bush Bros. from 1908 to 1923. He died in 1966 at age 89. Kirby was electrocuted in June 1936 while working as a steel worker. His obituary in the *Nelson Daily News* mentioned that he had taken up this occupation at age 52 in

N4095b: Aluminum: Square: 25.5 mm

1935 after he had lost his business because of the Depression (*Nelson Daily News*, June 15, 1936: 10). The obituary mentioned that in 1924 Kirby had become a partner with John Daly, a tobacconist, at 518 Baker Street, but did not mention Kirby's partnership with Bush. Kirby worked with Daly from 1924 to 1926.

Sherbrooke House, Joseph Sturgeon

N6160b: Aluminum: Octagonal: 25 mm

Joseph Sturgeon was first mentioned in early 1896 when he applied for a liquor licence for his Home Restaurant. In 1897 he was fined $2 and $1 costs for speeding over a bridge – exceeding 8 m.p.h. and not proceeding at a walk. He was running the Sherbrooke House by the end of 1899. The hotel was named after his hometown of Sherbrooke, Quebec. Locally, the names Sherbrooke Hotel and Sherbrooke House seem to have been used interchangeably. In 1901 the verandahs of all the hotels in Nelson, including the Sherbrooke, were taken down because they had been built out over the sidewalks. Later that year the sidewalk in front of the hotel was raised to match the new street level. Sturgeon built an 18-room addition to the hotel in the spring of 1901. Like a lot of other people in Nelson, he was interested in one or more mining claims. He sold his hotel to J. Boyer in August 1905. Boyer had the Vancouver Hotel in Ymir, which he left in the hands of his brother.

After Sturgeon sold the Sherbrooke House he took some time off, then tried running a general store, but returned to the hotel business by buying the Club Hotel in July 16, 1906. In November 1908 he was reported as the owner of the Goldhill townsite on the Lardo River. When his health deteriorated he tried ranching. Joseph Sturgeon died of cirrhosis of the liver in February 1910. The Sherbrooke Hotel, which had not been used as a hotel for many decades, was torn down in 1994.

J.W. Gallagher

N3560a: Aluminum: Octagonal: 24.9 mm

James William Gallagher first advertised in December 1904 and there were no earlier references to him, although a 1922 advertisement stated "since April 1, 1900" (*Nelson Daily News*, April 22, 1900: 20). He ran a general store, which included groceries, but sold his stock to Joseph Sturgeon, formerly of the Sherbrooke House, in February 1906. Sturgeon bought the Club Hotel only a few months later, so did not remain in the merchandise business for long. A credit

directory published late in 1906 showed Gallagher still in business and he remained in business until 1931. He was not listed in the 1932 B.C. Directory. He passed away in 1943 in Nelson, at age 79. His store was located at 102 Baker Street, near the C.P.R. station.

Fairview Grocery, G. Fleming & Son

N3460a: Aluminum: Octagonal: 25.0 mm   N3460b: Brass: Octagonal: 25.0 mm

George Fleming seems to have flown under the radar, so to speak. The first newspaper reference to him is in early 1908 when he was said to be planning to build a new store. He occupied that store in December 1908, at which time it was stated that he had started the first grocery store in Fairview eight years earlier. His store was the first two story brick structure to be built in Fairview. Ross Fleming took over from his father in September 1910 and remained in business until 1953 when he retired.

Cabinet Cigar Store, G.B. Matthew

N3160a (also McColl 257):
German Silver: Round (sq. hole): 21.2 mm

N3160c:
Aluminum: Round: 25.2 mm

N3160d: Aluminum: Round: 25.0 mm   N4360b: Brass: Round: 21.0 mm

Gustave B. Matthew was an American who ran a tobacconist's shop in Ymir. In October 1899 he bought the Nelson Cigar Store from R. Ince and moved to Nelson. By March 1900 he was advertising as the Cabinet Cigar Store. In May 1901 he and John Henry Matheson, a barber, rented a building together. In 1906 Gus had cleared five acres of a 118 acre ranch he owned nine

miles west of Nelson, which he then put up for sale. Later he had a ranch on Kootenay Lake to which he retired, leasing the Cabinet Cigar Store at 518 Baker Street in April 1919 to John Daly, formerly of Ymir. Unfortunately he had to take the business back in 1926. He finally retired for good in the mid 1930s. There are many reports through the years of his fishing expeditions on Kootenay Lake. Several of his tokens have survived in the family, his great-grandson being a B.C. token collector. For a short time, between May 1907 and September 1908, he was a partner with Howard Bush in the Queen Cigar Store. There is also a Matthews' [sic] Cigar Store token (N4360b), which may have been used in B.C. by Gus Matthew prior to his coming to Nelson.

Columbia Cigar Store

N3260a: German Silver: Round (crescent cut-out): 21.2 mm

In 1901 Frank Graham was in partnership with John Henry Matheson, Matheson & Graham, barbers. In early June 1901 he opened the Columbia Cigar Store at 212 Baker St. By the time of the 1903 B.C. City Directory he was no longer listed in the city. The years 1901 through 1903 were tough times in Nelson as metal prices were low and most of the mines were not operating. In the late 1990s a small hoard of these tokens (10+) was found in Alberta. All had been dug out of the ground and were blackened. The crescent cut-outs are known facing either right or left on the obverse.

Unique Cigar Store

FOUND

A lot of solid comfort in smoking a choice cigar or pipe of good tobacco. We sell the best.

Unique Cigar Store

Ward Street, Near Postoffice
TRY OUR 10c. LA CORTEL CIGAR
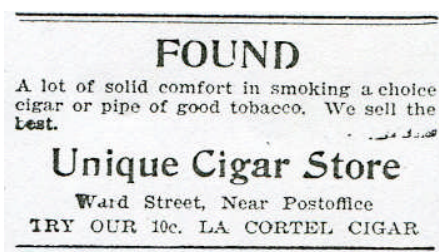
N6710a: Brass: Round: 21.5 mm

William Henry Dowsing was listed as early as the 1898 B.C. City Directory working as an agent or broker of real estate and mines. When the real estate business slumped, he also became a tobacconist. The earliest reference to him and the Unique Cigar Store was April 2, 1904, when he was quoted in *The Daily* News as being glad to see Gilbert Stanley out and about after an illness. Dowsing's first advertisement for the Unique appears to have been August 19, 1904, and his last was January 20, 1905. He was not listed in the 1905 B.C. Directory and there are no births, marriages, or deaths recorded for anyone named Dowsing in British Columbia.

Hotel Hume

Hotel Hume   Original. 1900.   Nelson, B. C.

Photograph from the collection of the author.

J. Fred Hume, a native of New Brunswick, was an early resident of Nelson. He was a general merchant until mid-1894 when he sold that business but retained ownership of the Hume Block. In January 1898 he and his brother, Horace, received a liquor licence for the Hotel Hume. By June they were already building additional rooms. Horace was the hotel manager while J. Fred successfully ran for the provincial legislature in 1894. In 1898 he entered the Cabinet of Premier Semlin, remained until the 1900 general election, at which time he retired from provincial politics. The hotel had a billiard and pool room, a barber shop, and a cigar stand. In 1899 it also had two bear cubs which were kept in a compound beside the hotel.

N3750b: Aluminum: Cloverleaf: 29.3 mm

In April 1901, Fred bought out Horace, who had been suffering ill health and had been through two bouts of typhoid fever. Fred and his family moved back to Nelson from Victoria, where they had been living while he was an MLA. Over the next few years his main interest seems to have been adding ore specimens to his display cabinet in the lobby. The hotel was sold in mid-1907. The Hume Hotel name has recently been reinstated, after having been known as the Heritage Inn for some years.

George Maurer

N4410a: Brass: Round: 21.3 mm: Uniface

George Maurer was an American born in Sioux City, Iowa, who moved to Canada with his family in 1905 at age 35. He owned the Kootenay Club Cigar Factory. The family was living in Fairview in 1908 when a cigar maker living with them shot a fully grown lynx from the kitchen doorway. At the beginning of April 1910 Maurer took over the Hotel Hume cigar stand from E.A. Taylor, who on March 23, 1911, purchased the cigar factory from him. Maurer moved to Kamloops in November 1913, but left his brother, Joseph, in charge of the Hotel Hume cigar stand. George kept ownership of the Hotel Hume's cigar stand at least into 1915. In Kamloops, he ran a wholesale and retail cigar and tobacco business, but by 1918 he was in Vancouver, as was Joseph. Both moved to Chilliwack by 1919 where George operated a billiard parlour and a wholesale and retail cigar and tobacco business. Although by then a Canadian citizen, George moved to Washington State in November 1947.

Grand Central Hotel

      The Grand Central Hotel was operating by 1897. The proprietors, Farley & Simpson, added forty rooms in June 1898, which made it one of the larger hotels in Nelson. The owners of the Lakeview Hotel, A. Thomas and Gus Erickson, purchased the Grand Central on April 23, 1901, for $20,000. Erickson took over the management of the Grand Central. In September 1905 the partners dissolved their joint hotel ownership, Thomas taking control of the Lakeview and Erickson taking the Grand Central. They remained partners in their joint mining interests. Erickson took a trip to Sweden in May 1906, the first time he had been back to his native country in 18 years. He continued to run the Grand Central for many years. A disastrous fire destroyed the hotel on October 13, 1920.

N3660a:
German Silver: Round: 21.3 mm

N3660b:
German Silver: Round (crescent cut-out): 21.3 mm

Strathcona Cigar Stand

N6525a: Brass: Round: 21.3 mm

N6525a2: Brass: Round (holed): 21.3 mm

The Phair Hotel, later the Strathcona, Nelson. From the collection of the author.

The Phair Hotel was built by E.E. Phair and opened in November of 1891. In late 1897 the basement was excavated to make room for the bar and billiard rooms. In December 1898 steam heat was introduced to the hotel, replacing the stoves that had heated the building previously. Mr. Phair sold the hotel to F.W. Padmore on December 1, 1902. At the end of February 1903, Belville Tompkins became the proprietor. He changed the name to Hotel Strathcona in September 1903. Tompkins ran the hotel until Pat Burns and several associates purchased the hotel in March 1907. In 1908 E.E. Phair came back to manage the hotel for several years. James Marshall, formerly of the Hotel Brooklyn in Phoenix, B.C., became the proprietor in 1913 and lasted until 1915.[7] The hotel had a reputation as one of the best Nelson hotels. The hotel was destroyed by fire in May 1955 with the loss of six lives.

The cigar stand appears to have been operated as a concession. The following ad was noted: "Cigar and News Stand Strathcona Hotel. I have taken over the above stand from J. Weir. Laurence Peverelle, Successor to J. Weir" (*The Daily News*, March 29, 1917: 8). The various operators over the years are unknown, therefore we do not know who issued the token. Examples are known with an 8 mm hole (N6525a2). The token was probably holed to prevent coins from being used in a candy or gum machine and thus avoid prosecution for gambling.

Russell & Thurman and W.A. Thurman

Russell and Thurman were partners in a tobacco shop from 1895 until 1898, when they parted company. Billy Thurman continued to run the business until the early 1930s. His twin brother was employed as a clerk, but apparently was not a partner. More than thirty years ago I interviewed Billy's son and wrote an article which appeared in the *Transactions of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society* (see Greene 1984).

N5910a (also McColl 260): Brass: Round: 21.1 mm

N6660a (also McColl 247): German Silver: Round (holed): 21.2 mm

N6660c: Aluminum: Scalloped: 28.8 mm

Semaphore Cigar Store

N6060a: Brass: Round: 21.2 mm   N6060b: Brass: Round: 21.1 mm

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[7] The Hotel Brooklyn, of Phoenix, was a token issuer, P3880 (see Greene 1993: 37-42).

The Daily News for February 21, 1908, mentions that: "T.J. Williams has opened a billiard parlor and cigar stand in the old Bank of Commerce building, corner of Stanley and Baker streets, and has in place an English billiard table, an American billiard table and a pool table, all of the finest make. Mr. Williams formerly was a locomotive engineer on the C.B. and Q. railway, and in choosing a name for his place of business has stuck to railway parlance by calling it The Semaphore." A later advertisement placed the business at 324 Baker Street. In April 1909 Williams sold the business to Messrs A.J. McDonnel and D.R. McDougall. Sometime before 1912 McDonnel had left the business, but this fact was not reported in the newspapers. In October 1912, McDougall sold the business to A.G. Gelinas, who ran it for many years. He dropped the name Semaphore about 1928.

Note that the tokens read Williams and Dooner. I have not found the name Dooner in Nelson, and Williams seemed to be on his own both when he opened and when he sold the business. I wonder if 'Dooner' was a dog who spent his hours in the store as the official greeter!

A.G. Gelinas

A.G. Gelinas is a later issuer of tokens, starting in 1912 when he purchased the Semaphore Cigar Store from D.R. McDougall. Sometime about 1928 he began trading as the Gelinas Cigar Store and continued into the 1960s. One of his several tokens, N3610e, was a denomination peculiar to Nelson.

N3610a: Brass: Round: 21.0 mm

N3610b: Aluminum: Octagonal: 26.6 mm

N3610c:
Aluminum: Octagonal (holed): 26.5 mm

N3610d:
Aluminum: Round (holed): 30.6 mm

N3610e: Aluminum: Round: 24.4 mm

N3610f: Aluminum: Round (holed): 24.3 mm

The two pieces ('c' and 'f') were holed later to reduce their value to 10 cents.

Queen's Hotel, Mrs. E.C. Clarke

N5710a: Brass: Round: 21.4 mm

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Clarke came to Nelson from Calgary where she had been associated with the Royal Hotel. She ran the Clarke Hotel for two years until May 1898, when she took on the lease of the Queen's Hotel. At no time was there a mention of her husband. The 1901 Canada Census showed her as a married woman, head of the household, and a Roman Catholic. From 1910, British Columbia liquor licensing Acts permitted women to hold licences only when they were not living with their husbands.[8] She had two daughters and a son, James, who entered McGill medical school in 1904. In August 1908 Mrs. Clarke retired and the 1911 Census showed her living on her own means. However, following the sudden death of Thomas Madden she took over the Madden House for several years from late 1912 to 1917. She was still living in Nelson in April 1925, but may have left the province later as she neither remarried nor died in British Columbia.

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[8] *An Act respecting Liquor Licences,* Chapter 39 (1899), Section 34, restricted married women as follows: "No licence shall be granted to any married woman, unless she be the owner or tenant in her own right of the premises for which the licence is sought and she shall satisfy the Commissioners that the business to be carried on is for her own use and benefit irrespective of her husband." A xenophobic Section 36 stated: "No licence under this Act shall be issued or transferred to any person of the Indian [First Nations], Chinese or Japanese race." This Act was disallowed by the Federal Government on April 24, 1900, the objection being that Japan was an ally of Great Britain. The provincial government replaced that Act with *An Act respecting Liquor Licences*, Chapter 18 (1900) of which removed the offending restrictions on Chinese and Japanese, but still retained the restriction against any person of the Indian race. Not to be dissuaded, an *Act to amend the 'Liquor Licence Act, 1900',* Chapter 40 (1902), was passed with Section 37 reading: "No licence under this Act shall be issued or transferred to any person of the Indian race, or to any person who is not on the list of voters for the Legislature of the Province of British Columbia." Chinese and Japanese were not allowed to vote, so the Act now achieved its original intention. However, the unintended consequence was that women were no longer allowed to hold liquor licences as they also were not allowed to vote. So another Act was necessary, *An Act to amend the 'Liquor Licence Act, 1900,'* Chapter 16 (1903), with Section 2 of Chapter 40 (1902) amended to read: "The above provision, that no licence under this Act shall be issued or transferred to any person who is not on the list of voters for the Legislature of the Province of British Columbia, shall not apply to women over the age of 21 years." *An Act Respecting Liquor Licences and the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors,* Chapter 30 (1910), defined the qualification of the licence holder as a) an adult male of Caucasian race, in B.C. 12 months before applying, on the voter's list of some electoral district of the Province of B.C. b) co-partnership of a), c) a joint-stock company or body corporate, directors Caucasian, d) an adult spinster of Caucasian race, or widow … or married woman who is living separate and apart from her husband and whose husband is not permitted to lodge or live in, upon or about the premises, e) no criminal convictions within 3 years.
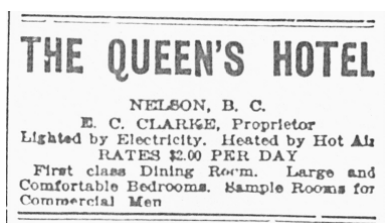
Two different ads, but the same person operating the hotel.

Humphreys & Pittock

Thomas Stanley Humphreys opened a fruit stand and confectionery in late 1898. By early 1899 he had been joined by his cousin, John Whistance Pittock. Unfortunately, the business failed and the stock was sold off in December 1899. They had shared premises with Frank Tamblyn, who was running the Nelson Wine Company. After the business collapsed, Pittock returned to Idaho where he sold real estate. In 1906 he married Frank Tamblyn's daughter, Stella. He was stricken with diabetes and died in 1908.

HP & Co.

N3860a (also McColl 229a): Brass: Round: 21.3 mm

N3860b: Brass: Round: 21.5 mm: Uniface (attribution not confirmed)

After the store's failure Humphreys worked as a bookkeeper, then joined the C.P.R. as a car repairman. He worked at Eholt, Grand Forks, and then at Beavermouth, on the main line. It is believed that he was hit by a locomotive in the early 1920s and suffered brain damage.[9] Humphreys was institutionalized for the last 15 years of his life. A sad ending for both partners. A more detailed article on the firm and its founders has been published in the *Transactions of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society* (Greene 2001).

Frank A. Tamblyn

N6610a (also McColl 240): Brass: Round: 21.3 mm

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[9] This information was on Humphreys' patient file, GR-1754 Mental Hospital Records 1872 – 1962. I have not located a newspaper account of the incident.

Frank Tamblyn was born in Ontario. For a time he homesteaded in Manitoba, arriving in the Kootenays by 1897. He prospected for a time, then ran a hotel in Ymir. In May 1898 he bought the Nelson Wine Company, which had been started in September 1897, and ran it for several years. The newspapers do not mention it closing, but in 1904 he was a bartender on the *S.S. Moyie* and his wife was operating the Nelson Cafe. In 1905 he was offered an opportunity in Moscow, Idaho, and left Nelson. (For a more detailed article on Tamblyn, see Greene 2001a). .

Silver King Hotel

N6210a: Brass: Round: 21.3 mm

The Silver King Hotel opened in April 1891 at 418 Baker Street. The partnership of Mahoney and Johnson lasted just over a year, until Mahoney left to go to Slocan Lake. Johnson continued to run the hotel until his death from pneumonia in October 1897. The hotel had a series of proprietors, while Johnson's daughter, Mrs. Caroline Thelin, remained the owner of the building. When Joseph Harwood took over in December 1901 he changed the name to the Imperial Hotel, but A. Kleinschmedt restored the name in November 1902. By 1908 there had been five or six more proprietors. Which proprietor issued the token is unknown. Mrs. Thelin sold the hotel in 1913 to Norman McLeod. The last ad for the Silver King was September 30, 1914, although the hotel was still listed under Nelson in the February 1916 *Boundary-Kootenay Telephone Directory.*

Eli Sutcliffe

Eli Sutcliffe was a native of England. He came to Canada at age 21 and settled at Moosomin, Saskatchewan, about 1887. In the late 1890s he moved to Kaslo, then to Sandon, and finally settled in Nelson. Here he ran a barber shop on Baker Street, selling tobacco, fishing tackle, and some other goods. He appears to have retired about 1933, but then moved to Ymir, where once more he entered the tonsorial profession. He died in May 1942.

N6560a: Brass: Round: 21.5 mm

Nelson Street Railway

N4810a: Aluminum: Octagonal: 19.7 mm   N4810b: Aluminum: Round: 19.4 mm

The Nelson Electric Tramway Company was an English firm which established the streetcar system in Nelson. The first spike was driven August 1, 1899. With never more than two cars in operation and three miles of track, it was the smallest streetcar system in the British Empire. It ran into serious problems quite regularly and the city took over the operation on a profit/loss sharing basis in 1905. A fire destroyed the car barns and equipment in April 1908 and it was not until 1910 that the Nelson Street Railway arose phoenix-like from the ashes and re-established the streetcar system, which operated until June 20, 1949. There are two references, neither of which mentions the tokens, and the Atwood-Coffee transportation token catalogue (6th edition) does not date the tokens (Parker 1961; Joyce 2000). The tokens likely were introduced in the late 1920s.[10]

Vienna Bakery

N6859a: Aluminum: Square: 24.3 mm   N6859b: Aluminum: Square: 24.3 mm

In 1897 this was called the oldest bakery in Nelson. It was founded by John Humer in July 1893 and was also a restaurant. Humer sold to Robert Hurry in May 1897 who, in turn, sold to the Robinsons of the Palace Bakery in April 1901. The Palace Bakery was bought by the Choquette Bros. of the Star Bakery in September 1904.

N6860c: Aluminum: Square: 24.5 mm

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[10] Larry Gingras had been told that the tokens were in use 1918-1921, but there was absolutely no mention in the newspapers of tokens, which leads the author to believe that the date was later.

Star Bakery, Choquette Bros.

N6410a:
Aluminum: Rectangular: 32.1 x 19.2 mm

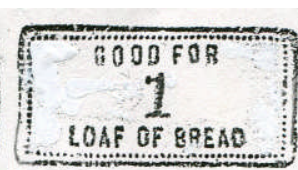N6410b:
Aluminum: Rectangular: 37.9 x 18.9 mm

N6410c:
Aluminum: Rectangular: 37.9 x 18.9 mm

N6410d: (no comma after Nelson)
Aluminum: Rectangular: 38 x 19 mm

According to an 1899 advertisement, the Star Bakery was established in 1895. But the first mention of it in the newspapers was in mid-1899, although the proprietor, R.G. Joy, was added to the voters' list in January 1899 because he had a business licence. Joy sold much of his bread through grocery stores, but he did open a Baker Street store in September 1899. He sold the business to L.H. and Arthur Choquette of Trail, B.C. as of May 15, 1902. In December of that year Joy purchased a grocery store and remained in that business the rest of his working life. Besides being a pioneer, he was a noted fiddler and local historian. In the 1940s he wrote a newspaper column of historical reminiscences about old Nelson.

In September 1904, during a very slow time in Nelson, the Choquettes purchased the business of one of their main competitors. Their advertisement at the time read:

Consolidation of Bakeries. Choquette Brothers have purchased the Palace Bakery on Ward Street. There was not room in Nelson for two bakeries to live and make any profit. Flour is advancing in price and as Choquette Bros. did not desire to raise the cost of bread they hit on the plan of purchasing their competitors' [*sic*] establishment. By securing all of the bread trade they say they will be enabled to keep bread at present prices and in this way the public will really get the benefit of the consolidation which they have affected. It would be necessary to raise the price of bread had the trade been divided between the two establishments, but as it is the price will be the same as heretofore.

The Palace Bakery on Ward Street has been closed and the customers will be served at the shop on Baker Street. There will be a fine line of pies and cakes kept on hand to suit everybody. Mother's bread, the same as was sold by the Palace Bakery, will be kept on hand. Send your orders in. Phone 205 (*The Daily News*, March 29, 1917: 8).

L.H. Choquette served as Mayor of Nelson for two years in the early 1920s.

Star Grocery

N6460a: Aluminum: Round: 25.0 mm

The Star Grocery first appeared in November 1911 when A.S. Horswill, a grocer at 420 Baker Street, sold out. In December 1912 Robert Bell bought the business from Andrews & Addington. Robert Bell was only 25 years of age and had been associated with his father and brother in the Bell Trading Company in Nelson. He operated the business until either 1932 or 1933 when he sold to J.H.M. Greenwood (*The Daily News*, December 3, 1912: 8; Burry 1980: 162).[11] There was no relationship between the Star Bakery and the Star Grocery.

O.K. Bakery

David Crawford and R.B. Hay started the bakery in 1904. In 1906 Crawford withdrew and Hay carried on. At the beginning of November 1920 he sold the business to the Kelderman family and they introduced a new token, which is unusual because it is dated. Their tokens were subsequently counterstamped by later operators of the bakery (not illustrated). Hay later ran a bakery in Trail, B.C. An article on the bakery by Leslie C. Hill was published in the *Transactions of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society* (see Hill 1975).

N5209a: Aluminum: Scallop 9: 28.3 mm   N5210a: Aluminum: Scallop 10: 32.7 mm

S.J. Gridley's Bakeries

N3675a: Aluminum: Square: 23.5 mm   N6010a: Aluminum: Square: 25.8 mm

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[11] Burry's article does not agree with *The Daily News* article, which I have relied on. Burry was told by a surviving family member that Robert Bell's father owned the Star Grocery.

S.J. Gridley, an Englishman, moved to Nelson, worked for Choquette Bros. for about two years, then moved to Winnipeg to work in the T. Eaton bakery. After two years he returned to Nelson and worked for the Choquette Bros. again until 1917 when he left to work for Ledingham's Scotch Bakery. When Ledingham left for the old country in 1919, Gridley bought him out. Gridley operated as the Scotch Bakery until November 1922, when he moved and opened the Palace Confectionery and Electric Bakery. He retired due to ill health about 1930. His obituary, April 28, 1933, mentions that he was married but there were no children. His brother, Herbert Charles "Bert" Gridley, died unmarried at age 74, November 22, 1957. Bert had worked for the Choquettes and later for his brother.

Ledingham's Bakery

N4210a: Aluminum: Square: 23.4 mm   N4210b: Aluminum: Round: 25.0 mm

N4210c: Aluminum: Octagonal: 25.2 mm   N4210d: Aluminum: Octagonal: 26.1 mm

N4210e: Aluminum: Square: 25.9 mm   N4210f: Aluminum: Square: 25.6 mm

Thomas Wyness Ledingham was born in Scotland and came to Nelson about 1913. The first ad for his Scotch Bakery was July 28, 1914. He sold the bakery to S.J. Gridley in 1919 in order to take a trip to the old country. There was no mention of him until April 1921 when he and his wife moved to Banff, Alberta. They returned the following year in May when Thomas bought the downtown confectionery store of the Choquette Bros. He remained in the bakery and confectionery business until he sold to Robert Hood in 1937. Ledingham and his wife then moved to the coast. He died in 1964, survived by his widow.

The Nelson and Pioneer Dairies

Very little about either of these dairies appeared in the press. In 1903, McGregor and Towner bought out R. Laird [probably Leard]. Slightly contradictory information in A.C. "Ike" Towner's obituary said that he and Alex Moore were operating the Pioneer Dairy by 1901 *Nelson Daily News*, May 28, 1948: 2). They sold out in August 1913. Towner later went on to run the Occidental Hotel in Nelson, then the Allan Hotel in Rossland.

J.M. Fraser operated the Nelson Dairy by 1908, and perhaps earlier, until about 1918, when James Balding bought the dairy and ran it until 1930.

N4510b: Aluminum: Oval: 31.8 x 21.3 mm   N5510a: Aluminum: Oval: 25.7 x 17.8 mm

N5520a: Aluminum: Oval: 31.5 x 21.5 mm   N5520b: Aluminum: Square: 22.0 mm

N5520d: Aluminum: Round: 24.8 mm   N5515b: Aluminum: Square: 22.6 mm

It is not known who issued the Pioneer Dairy token, N5510a. However, F. Hurry was referred to as the pioneer dairyman of Nelson in 1905, but was this his dairy?

Fairview Dairy, James Balding

N3455a: Aluminum: Scalloped: 28.5 mm

James Balding and his wife, Beatrice, came to Canada from England in 1886. They first went to Assiniboia (Saskatchewan), then came to Nelson in March 1900.[12] By 1901 Balding was a dairy farmer, but the first mention in the newspapers of the Fairview Dairy or its proprietor was in July 1906. In 1911, milk testing showed that of the six Nelson dairies, none received the top two rankings in quality. J.M. Fraser of the Nelson Dairy, with 49 cows, received a "C," and the others, including J. Balding, with 43 cows, received a "D." If the test standards were the same as those used in the mid 1940s, none of the milk would be considered good enough for human consumption. The Fairview Dairy's milk also failed the cleanliness test in October 1913. Balding purchased the Nelson Dairy about 1918 from J.M. Fraser and the Fairview Dairy name does not appear after that date. According to his obituary, Balding moved to Blewett, B.C., about 1912 and died there in 1931 *(Nelson Daily News*, July 3, 1931: 3). However, B.C. Directory listings still show him in Fairview in the early 1920s.

The YMCA, the Great War Veterans' Association, the Nelson Recreation Club, and the Canadian Legion

Nelson YMCA Building. Courtesy of Touchstones Nelson (Museum of Art and History), Nelson.

These organizations have been grouped together as they all operated in the same facility, although not at the same time. Through 1909 the Nelson YMCA organized a building campaign which raised enough money that a fine three story building containing a gymnasium, a swimming pool, bowling alleys, club and card rooms, and accommodation was built. The building opened in May 1910. The timing was not ideal because a depression hit the province by 1913, and then the Great War saw many young men enlist in the army. Over the next few years the YMCA made several appeals for money to help pay off the mortgage, but never achieved that goal. The YMCA was unable to earn enough to pay the interest on the mortgage or repay the capital. It was also in arrears on its civic taxes, consequently the city purchased the property through a tax sale in October 1922, which triggered a one-year period to pay the taxes and

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[12] Microfilm A0864, Vol. 3/18, Kootenay Pioneer Sons and Daughters Assoc., Family Record for James Balding.

recover the property. A group of concerned citizens consisting of about a dozen people, calling themselves the Nelson Community Buildings Syndicate, bailed the YMCA out of a losing situation. The Syndicate purchased the YMCA property and building for $13,400 – about a third of what the facility had cost the YMCA – and also assumed the YMCA's liabilities. The Syndicate's purchase was turned over to an incorporated company, Nelson Community Buildings, Limited, for shares in the company.[13]

Another entity, the Nelson Recreation Club, managed by Harry Blundell, leased the building and facilities for several years. The Great War Veterans' Association (GWVA), which had been a tenant in the building from 1919 until late 1920, entered into an agreement to purchase the building. The date of this agreement is not known, but the company's balance sheet dated December 31st, 1926, showed a $ 9,000 balance under "Agreement for Sale."[14] The GWVA acquired a club licence in the period between February 1, and March 31, 1924, which was renewed for 1925 and 1926. The Nelson Recreation Club received a

NOTICE :
NELSON RECREATION CLUB

The Nelson Recreation Club has leased the building formerly owned by the Y.M.C.A. from Nelson Community Buildings, Limited. The Nelson Y.M.C.A. is out of existence.
Membership is invited in the Nelson Recreation Club, as only members will be admitted to the privileges of the club, which include:

Gymnasium, Swimming Pool, Shower Baths, Bowling Alley, Billiard Room, Large Club and Card Room.

Building has been renovated and is now the most comfortable place in town to spend your spare time.

H. BLUNDELL, Manager.

Nelson Daily News, Sept. 23, 1923, p. 8

licence after April 1, 1926, for 1926. At the end of 1926 the licence was not renewed and the Nelson Recreation Club ceased to exist. The Nelson branch of the Canadian Legion, Branch 51, received its charter November 16, 1926 (*Legion Histories* 2005: 249). The Royal Canadian Legion ("Royal" since 1960) still owns and occupies the building at 402 Stanley Street. Neither the YMCA nor the GWVA is known to have issued tokens.
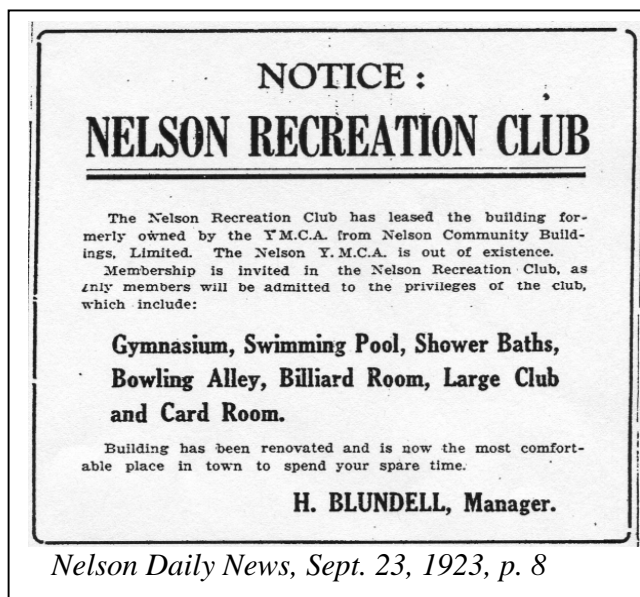
N4760a
Aluminum: Round: 19.9 mm

N4760b
Aluminum: Round: 23.9 mm

N4760c
Aluminum: Round: 27.3 mm

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[13] GR1526, Registrar of Companies, BC6857, Microfilm B5162, British Columbia Archives.

[14] I have given the information from the Nelson Community Buildings, Limited Company file, but a handwritten ledger in Touchstones Nelson: Museum & Art Gallery, with the page heading, "To be made to Assessors by Registrar and District Registrars of Transfers of Land registered during the Quarter ending 31.3.26 within the Assessment District of Nelson City," offers contradictory evidence that the GWVA purchased the property from the City. Either way it appears the GWVA purchased the property and building in 1926.

N5810b: Aluminum: Round: 25.0 mm

Royal Shoe Store, R.A. Andrew & Co.

N5860b: Aluminum: Round: 25.0 mm

This company was in business in 1902. R.A. Andrew took it over in 1904 and operated it until 1947. We surmise that the shoe business was not as fascinating to the editors as the liquor trade for there was no mention of the company in the newspapers, other than ads. Robert Andrew was on City Council in 1919. After Andrew sold the business it carried on under his name for some time. He died in April 1957 age 85. His only son died overseas in WWII.

Victoria Billiard Hall

W.E. McCandlish, Sr. was born in 1850 in Ottawa. He worked in several locations in Ontario, Michigan, Manitoba, and Alberta before moving to Nelson by 1900. In December 1900, he bought the Victoria Hotel, which he opened as a temperance hotel. The hotel was destroyed by fire in April 1905. He later bought the Queen's Hotel on Baker Street, but Mrs. Elizabeth Clarke held the lease (see Queen's Hotel above), so McCandlish leased the Silver King Hotel until 1907. In August 1905 he fitted up the lower floor of the Silver King for a billiard parlour and called it the Victoria Billiard Parlors. In June 1908 he moved along Baker Street to the Tribune building, added an additional English billiard table, and in October a lunch counter. In September 1909 the site was converted into the Gem Theatre, ending the billiard parlour's brief run.
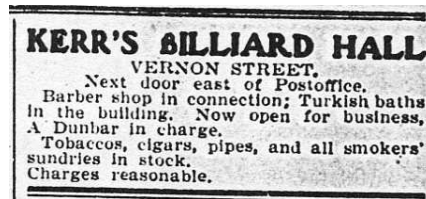

N6810a: Brass: Round: 21.5 mm

N6810c: Brass: Round: 23.8 mm

Kerr's Billiard Hall

Edward Kerr was born in Salton, Ontario, spent many years at Thornbury, Ontario, and came to Nelson in 1898. He had two sons, John and David Lewis. Edward purchased the Occidental Hotel in 1902 and later built the Kerr Apartments, which stood on the former site of the Victoria Hotel until destroyed by fire in January 2011. David Lewis Kerr had worked as an expressman before February 1910, when he opened a cigar and billiard parlour in the building adjoining the post office. To promote his business he had pool tournaments and raffles. In 1911, he married Emily Mercer Conner, who came from Thornbury, Ontario. His obituary mentions that he stopped operating the billiard hall in 1912 to assume the management of the Kerr Apartments (*Nelson Daily News*, July 24, 1957: 2). There was a McTavish & Mack billiard hall at 510 Vernon Street listed in the 1913 *W.A. Jeffries Nelson City Directory*. Perhaps they were his successors in the billiards business. In 1918 he was operating Kerr's Jitney Service. He moved to Victoria about 1954 and passed away there in 1957.

KERR'S BILLIARD HALL

VERNON STREET.

Next door east of Postoffice.

Barber shop in connection; Turkish baths in the building. Now open for business. A Dunbar in charge.

Tobaccos, cigars, pipes, and all smokers' sundries in stock.

Charges reasonable.

Nelson Daily News, March 3, 1910, p. 8

N4060a: Brass: Round: 21.1 mm

N4060c: Aluminum: Round: 25.5 mm

Club 777

N6110a: Brass: Round: 21.5 mm

N6110b: Brass: Round: 21.2 mm

In June 1912 the proprietor of 777 Lake Street – an address which could not exist as it would place the building in the middle of the recreation grounds – was fined $100 for selling liquor without a licence. This "establishment" was, in fact, a brothel located at 522 Lake Street in the Red Light District. Such operations tried to keep out of the limelight and "777" managed to do that quite well. The 1908 and 1916 West Kootenay telephone directories list a number of single women on Lake Street. There is a photograph of the Chinese Nationalist League building at 524 Lake Street, which shows part of the building next door, which is actually 522 Lake Street, with the number 777 above the door. The 1921 Canada Census listed a George Beaumont as the resident of the building; the club was no longer there.[15] In March 1924 a small fire broke

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[15] Canada Census 1921, Kootenay West District 18, Sub-district 23, Nelson City, p. 31. Provided by Greg Nesteroff.

out in the building, which had been unoccupied for some time. The name "777" may have arisen from a winning turn on a slot machine – older machines had only three wheels and 7-7-7 paid off. It has been suggested that the illustrated tokens, which were found in Nelson, were used to operate a player piano. Who "Bossie" was is not known. The working girls usually used aliases.

Pastime Billiard Hall

N5360b: Brass: Round: 21.2 mm

This is a mystery token, since the Pastime Billiard Hall is not mentioned in any of the B.C. Directories, although it is listed in the Bradstreet's Credit Listing for 1928. There was also no mention of the Pastime in the *Nelson Daily News.* I do not know who operated the Pastime. The denomination of 6¾¢ is highly unusual and is likely an engraving error.

Union Cigar Store

Z9926b: Brass: Round: 21.5 mm
(attribution to Nelson not confirmed)

Another mystery token is that for the Union Cigar Store. In the 1910 B.C. Directory, but for that year only, there was a Union Cigar Store listed at 318½ Baker Street, E. J. Curran, proprietor. There was no mention of the Union Cigar Store in the *Daily News*. Edward John Curran came to Nelson about 1896. In 1897 he took over and reopened the Stanley Hotel and applied for a liquor licence for the hotel, which he renamed the Club Hotel. The newspaper mentioned that he had formerly been the steward of the Nelson Club (*The Miner*, June 26, 1897: 1). In 1899, "Mr. E.J. Curran, proprietor of the Club Hotel had his left arm amputated at the Kootenay Lake General Hospital, on Sunday, on account of tuberculosis of the bone. Last night he was reported as doing very well and his speedy recovery is now looked forward to" (*The Miner*, September 14, 1899: 3). In 1906 his wife, Mary Elizabeth Curran, applied to transfer the liquor licence for the Club Hotel to Joseph Sturgeon. Curran died in December 1910 and his obituary stated that after he left the Club Hotel he was employed by the provincial government as a timekeeper on bridge construction (*The Daily News*, December 12, 1910: 1). Strangely, the obituary failed to mention the Union Cigar Store.

Appendix A: List of all the known Nelson tokens from before WWII, dated to the best of present knowledge

N2910	Athabasca Hotel	1899 - 1917	(renamed Savoy)
N3010	Bodega Saloon	1898 - 1912	
N3060	Bush, H.	1923 - 1948	(Queen Cigar)
N3080	Bush Bros.	1908 - 1923	(Queen Cigar)
N3160	Cabinet Cigar Store	1899 - 1935	(see N4360)
N3250	C. & M.	1900 - 1901	
N3260	Columbia Cigar Store	1901 - 1902	
N3455	Fairview Dairy	ca.1901 – ca. 1918	(see N4510)
N3460	Fairview Grocery	1900 - 1953	
	as G. Fleming & Son	1905 - 1910	
N3560	Gallagher, J.W.	1900 - 1931	
N3610	Gelinas, A.G.	1912 – ca. 1960	
	as Semaphore Cigar Store	1912 - 1928	
	as Gelinas Cigar Store	1928 – ca. 1960	
N3660	Grand Central Hotel	1897 - 1920	
N3675	Gridley's Electric Bakery	1922 - 1930	(see N6010)
N3720	Hall Mines Canteen	1899 - 1902	
N3750	Hotel Hume	1898 - 1917	(still operating)
N3860	Humphreys & Pittock	Feb. to Dec. 1899	
N3960	Ink & Boyd	1901 - 1906	
	as The Manhattan Saloon	1901 - 1903	(see N4310)
	as Nelson Hotel	1904 - 1906	(see N4660a)
N3965	International Hotel	1890 - 1894	
N4060	Kerr's Billiard Hall	1910 - 1912	
N4095	Kirby & Bush	1927 - 1932	
N4160	Kootenay Valley Co-Op. Dairy	1923 - 1964	(token use 1951-1964)
N4210	Ledingham's Bakery	1922 - 1937	
N4310	Manhattan Saloon, The	1901 - 1903	(see N3960)
N4360	Matthews' Cigar Store	before 1899	(see N3160)
N4410	Maurer, George	1910 - 1914	
N4510	Nelson Dairy	1903 - 1930	(see N3455)
N4655	N [Nelson Hotel]	1890 - 1922	
N4660	Nelson Hotel	1890 - 1922	(see N3960)
	Nelson Hotel, M. & V.	1890 - 1896	(Marks & Van Ness)
N4710	Nelson News Depot	1895 - 1915	(Gilbert Stanley)
N4760	Nelson Recreation Club	1923 - 1926	
N4810	Nelson Street Railway	1910 - 1949	(token use likely began late 1920s)
	(operated as Nelson Electric Tramway from 1899 until 1908)		
N5208	O.K. Bakery, Crawford & Hay	1899 - 1906	(no tokens known)

N5209	O.K. Bakery, R.B. Hay	1906 - 1920	
N5210	O.K. Bakery, Kelderman	1921 - 1923	
N5211	O.K. Bakery, Smith & Green	1923 - 1935	(N5210 counterstamped "——")
N5212	O.K. Bakery, Rex Little	1935 - 1950	(N5210 counterstamped "O")
N5360	Pastime Billiard Hall	ca. 1928	
Z9927	Pastime Billiard Parlor, Joe Manfrido		(formerly N5360a)

[likely not from Nelson, maybe Northport, WA, although pieces have been found in Nelson]

N5460	Phair, H.J.	1901 - 1904	(Queen Cigar)
N5510	Pioneer Dairy	... ? ...	] further
N5515	Pioneer Dairy, Towner & Moore	1908 - 1913	] information
N5520	Pioneer Dairy, R.S. Leard	- 1903	] required
N5660	Queen Cigar Store	1900 - 1948	
	as Crow & Morris	1900 - 1901	(see N3250)
	as H.J. Phair	1901 - 1904	(see N5460)
	as McNichol & Smyth	1904	(no tokens known)
	as W.H. Smyth	1904 - 1907	(see N6310)
	as Bush & Matthew	1907 - 1908	(no tokens known)
	as Bush Bros.	1908 - 1923	(see N3080)
	as H. Bush	1923 - 1948	(see N3060)
N5710	Queen's Hotel, E.C. Clarke	1898 - 1908	
N5810	(Royal) Canadian Legion	ca. 1927 -	(Service Check)
N5860	Royal Shoe Store	1904 - 1945	
N5910	Russell & Thurman	1896 - 1898	(see N6660)
N6010	Scotch Bakery, S.J. Gridley	1919 - 1922	(see N3675)
N6060	Semaphore Cigar Store	1908 - 1928	
	as T.J. Williams	1908 - 1909	
	as McDonnel & McDougall	1909 -	(no tokens known)
	as D.R. McDougall	- 1912	(no tokens known)
	as A.G. Gelinas	1912 - 1928	(see N3610)
N6110	Club 777	- 1912 -	
N6160	Sherbrooke House, J. Sturgeon	1899 - 1905	
N6210	Silver King Hotel	1891 - 1917	
N6310	Smyth, W.H.	1904 - 1907	(Queen Cigar)
N6410	Star Bakery, Choquette Bros.	1902 - 1943	
N6460	Star Grocery	1911 - 1932	
N6525	Strathcona Cigar Stand	1903 - 1953	
N6560	Sutcliffe, Eli	1898 - 1932	
N6610	Tamblyn, Frank A.	1898 - 1903	
N6660	Thurman, W.A	1898 - 1930	(see N5910)
Z9926	Union Cigar Store	1910	(attribution to Nelson not confirmed)
N6710	Unique Cigar Store	1904 - 1905	
N6760	Van de Kamp's Bakery	1934 - 1952	
N6810	Victoria Billiard Hall	1905 - 1909	
N6859	Vienna Bakery, J. Humer	1893 - 1897	
N6860	Vienna Bakery, R. Hurry	1897 - 1901	
N6910	Wright's Cigar Store	1932 - 193	

Appendix B: Explanation of Sources and Methodology

In general, the following sources have been consulted: B.C. City Directories from 1890; Registrar of Companies records (incorporation documents, annual reports; sometimes interesting information, other times nothing); the daily and weekly newspapers. There were three main newspapers in Nelson. *The Tribune*, *The Miner*, and *The Daily News*, which took over from *The Miner* and was called the *Nelson Daily News* from 1930. There was also a short lived *The Daily Canadian*. Working with old newspapers can be rewarding. With luck one might find a chatty editor, or an editor who likes to mention his friends, and if his friends were token issuers a lot of information can be garnered. From time to time, around Xmas or New Year's, the newspapers would write up the leading merchants. While usually laudatory, these short articles can provide useful material. One should overlook the standard phrases, "offers nothing but the best," or "only the best of liquors and cigars are supplied." The newspapers were read thoroughly from their beginning in the 1890s until 1926, and spot checked for the next three years.

Vital events, records of deaths, marriages and births, are useful. The B.C. Vital Events Indexes are on line. With a death date known, one can look for an obituary in the newspapers. Sometimes a person was prominent enough to have some details of his or her career given. Sometimes the names of children and grandchildren, and their whereabouts can be found. Scholefield and Howay's *British Columbia From the Earliest Times to the Present,* published between 1912 and 1914, comprises two volumes of biographical articles and mentions two token issuers, Gustave B. Matthew and L.H. Choquette. Voters Lists at the B.C. Archives can also help place a person if he or she was a British subject. There was an 1897 publication entitled, *First History of Nelson, B.C.*, written by a newspaper man named Charles St. Barbe, and among the short articles on prominent merchants and businessmen were several on token issuers. On occasion I have been able to trace descendants and that can be useful for photographs and family stories, but rarely for tokens. An annual government publication, the *Annual Report of the Minister of Mines*, provided some useful background information on the mines which created and sustained Nelson. I also have at hand Leslie C. Hill's notes on the Nelson tokens and have used his rubbings when I could not obtain good scans or photographs.

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Afterword

On September 20, 2013, the Canadian Numismatic Research Society lost a Fellow and the numismatic community lost a great Canadian pioneer in James E. Charlton. Jim became a Fellow of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society in 1993 and was a wonderful contributor and ambassador to our pastime. He is deeply missed.

The response to the resurrection of the *Transactions* in 2013, in conjunction with the celebration of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society's 50th anniversary, was remarkable and gratifying. Any doubt as to the relevance of producing this journal was swiftly laid to rest. All 70 copies of the *Transactions,* Vol. 1, No.1, New Series 2013*,* were quickly circulated and work on this volume, Vol. 2, New Series 2014, began almost immediately. To say numismatic research in Canada is alive and well would be an understatement. There have been some amazingly brilliant pieces of Canadian numismatic literature come forward in recent years and nothing could be more pleasing to the Canadian Numismatic Research Society than to be a part of this resurgence.

Once again I would like to acknowledge the hard work and dedication of the CNRS editorial committee. I particularly want to thank Chris Faulkner. Chris has proven to be indispensable with his proof reading skills and unwavering commitment to this project. I would also like to thank all of the contributors to these pages. Their dedication to numismatic research is clearly obvious in their writing.

On behalf of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society I genuinely hope you enjoy this year's *Transactions.* If you have any thoughts or comments you wish to share about our journal please do not hesitate to contact me at sdouglas333@gmail.com any time. Enjoy!

Sincerely
Scott E. Douglas

Guide for Contributors

The *Transactions of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society* is intended to be a venue for longer articles of original research which may be unsuitable for publication in magazines like *The CN Journal* or periodicals like *Numismatica Canada*. Articles from Fellows of the CNRS on any aspect of numismatics in Canada are welcome. Contributors are encouraged to adhere to the following guidelines.

1. Submissions should be in MS Word, Times New Roman, 12-pt.
2. Single-spacing is acceptable, including between paragraphs. The first line of each paragraph should be indented.
3. Quoted material longer than seven or eight lines should be double-indented ½ inch from the left and right margins and separated by a space from the body of the text before and after it. It should not be enclosed by the addition of quotation marks or be italicized. All quoted material should be quoted with absolute fidelity, including any use of quotation marks, italics, capitals, spelling, punctuation, etc., as in the original.
4. For reasons of copyright and research ethics, the source of all quotations, paraphrased material, and borrowed ideas must be acknowledged accurately.
5. The preferred style for acknowledging source material is to embed the reference in the body of the text, preferably at the end of sentences or paragraphs, with the author's surname, the date of publication, and the page number, as follows (Breton 1894: 47). This reduces the proliferation of footnotes.
6. Footnotes should be reserved for expository material of a supplemental or explanatory nature. Avoid endnotes.
7. The bibliography, arranged alphabetically by author, should include all works cited in the text of the article, in the following style: Breton, P.N. 1894. *Illustrated History of Coins and Tokens Relating to Canada.* Montreal: P.N. Breton & Co.
8. Illustrations should be submitted with the article along with the desired captions.
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