

THE CANADIAN NUMISMATIC RESEARCH SOCIETY



Transactions
2015

Vol. 3, New Series

**TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE CANADIAN NUMISMATIC
RESEARCH SOCIETY**



©copyright
2015

The Canadian Numismatic Research Society
c/o Scott E. Douglas
273 Mill St. East
Acton, Ontario
L7J 1J7

Copyright Notice

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or entering in an information storage or retrieval system, without the prior, written permission of the copyright holders. None of the images which appear herein may be copied, stored, distributed, published, or communicated in any form or any medium by any means, including print, electronic, satellite, broadcast, on-line or network access.

Canadian Numismatic Research Society

**President – Scott E. Douglas
Vice President – Rob Turner
Secretary/Treasurer – Ron Greene**

Editorial Committee

Len Buth, Scott Douglas, Chris Faulkner, Ron Greene

Medals Committee

Len Buth, Scott Douglas, Chris Faulkner, Ron Greene

Contributors

Warren Baker, Paul Berry, John Deyell, Scott Douglas, Chris Faulkner

Fellows 2015

**Walter Allan
Jim Astwood
Darryl Atchison
Warren Baker
Richard Becker
Geoff Bell
David Bergeron
Paul Berry
Richard Bird
Jack Boddington
Pierre Brouillette
Gregory Brunk
Len Buth
Ron Cheek
William Clarke
Freeman Clowery**

**Stan Clute
Leslie Copan
Brian Cornwell
Michael Curry
Brian Denman
John Deyell
Ralph Dickieson
Scott E. Douglas
Graham Esler
Chris Faulkner
Robert Graham
Ron Greene
James Haxby
Les Hill
Wayne Jacobs
Harry N. James
Mel Kyle**

**Ryan Lawson
Eric Leighton
Ted Leitch
Jean Levesque
Chris McCreery
Peter Moogk
Henry Nienhuis
Jean-Pierre Paré
Robert Puddester
Barrie Renwick
Don Roebuck
Chris Ryan
Donald Stewart
Rob Turner
Barry Uman
William Waychison
Norm Williams**

Table Of Contents

A Guide for Contributors

Orphans of the Storm – Money in Canada during the 1759-63 regime change	John Deyell	5
The Broke Coppers	Warren Baker	32
Iliffe or Iliff, Which Witch is Which: Thomas Iliffe, His Family, Their Bakery and Bread Tokens 1849-1907	Paul Berry	45
Dr. Thomas Barnardo and His Reclaimed Children	Scott E Douglas	73
Afterword	Scott E Douglas	90

A 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.
9. All illustrations must be cleared of copyright and, where applicable, permission granted for reproduction.
10. Submissions will be reviewed and returned to the author for response, with corrections, suggestions, and comments in the track changes feature of MS Word.

Orphans of the Storm: Money in Canada During the 1759-63 Regime Change

by
John Deyell, FCNRS¹

Money Under the French Colonial Administration

Under the *ancien régime* in Canada, the volume of circulating currency was small. Appropriately so, since the population of New France is estimated to have been only 70,000 in 1760.² The colonial economy was largely based on agriculture and resource extraction, particularly fish, furs, and lumber. There were small industries such as the iron forges at St-Maurice, grist and sawmills at most settlements, canoe-building along the St. Lawrence and a brisk wholesale and retail trade in goods imported from France. But the colonial administration was, by far, the largest contributor to the economy.

The money of account was the *livre*, although no such coin circulated. Indeed, very little circulated at all. Peter N. Moogk remarks:

When the Swedish-speaking botanist Par Kalm visited New France in 1749, he observed “a great want of small coin here” and wrote that he “hardly ever saw any coin, except *sols*” which “were quite thin by constant circulation.” For higher values, Kalm wrote that “Canada had scarcely any other money but paper currency” (Moogk and Jacobs 2007: 7, quoting Benson 1966: 410-1).

The circulating money in New France was divisible into two categories: small coins for daily transactions and large bullion coins and paper currency for major payments. Low-value copper and billon (*vellon*) coins were imported from the home country, mostly by merchants who made an arbitrage profit from the difference in value of the minor coins in France and in New France. Occasionally administrators officially imported such base coins in order to share in this profitable exchange.

Merchants dealt with rural customers on a barter and credit basis, exchanged manufactured goods for produce and tallied up the difference on account. Outstanding accounts were settled as necessary, often after the harvest. In a similar vein, rural tenants were obliged to tender the rents due to their landlord or *seigneur* annually, usually after the late summer harvest and often in kind. This might be a portion of the crop and some livestock, such as capons. So, on a daily basis rural dwellers needed very few coins. Even itinerant hawkers and other travelling salespersons accepted “foodstuffs and other products” (Moogk 2000: 192-3). The Church too collected its tithe in kind.

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Peter N. Moogk, FCNRS, and Prof. Christopher Faulkner, FCNRS, for their invaluable comments and editorial suggestions. Any errors or omissions are my own.

² According to Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/98-187-x/4151287-eng.htm>. General Amherst reported that the French officials told him the most recent census before capitulation was 76,172 (Atherton 1914: 11).

In the urban areas, more transactions were undertaken on a cash basis, although even there merchants and professionals extended credit to trusted customers to a degree that would be hard to fathom nowadays. The merchants themselves needed higher-value currency to settle wholesale accounts with importers of liquor and European goods. All citizens regardless of rank needed to settle the various claims made on them by government, in terms of duties, licenses, permissions, *laissez-passers*, etc., in higher value currency. Within the colony, paper money served this need, in the form of playing card money issued by the governmental administration, as well as various *ordonnances* and commercial bills of exchange drawn on Paris. The major merchants who handled the wholesale trade from France were themselves seasonal visitors based in French ports, managing their affairs through credit instruments on their home base (Moogk 2000: 194). Only those who purchased directly from Yankee traders (like the administration and merchants of Louisbourg) needed hard money, usually in the form of French silver *écus* and half *écus*, or Spanish colonial silver (Moore 1990: 40-3). Additionally, the French army battalions that came out in the 1750s, as well as men of the colonial garrison troops (*les troupes de la marine*), usually returned to France to be replaced by new recruits. Each newly-arriving regiment brought in its train its own system of pay involving high value coins, mostly silver *écus*, but at times gold *louis*.

The royal government itself imported coins of high value from France on a regular basis. This was dramatically highlighted by the contents of a lost government transport ship carrying troops and coins. On August 25-26, 1725, the French ship *Le Chameau*, en route from France to Québec, sank off Île Royale (Cape Breton). In September 1965, private divers discovered the shipwreck and recovered some 7,861 coins. Of these, there were 149 gold *louis d'or* dated 1723, 355 dated 1724, and 97 dated 1725. There were also 101 silver *écus* dated 1724 and 2,620 dated 1725 (some 5,394 coins were unidentified or unaccounted).³ Subsequent research revealed that the *Chameau* was carrying a sum of 289,696 *livres* (an accounting denomination) to be delivered to the Clerk in Québec, to cover the annual expenditures of the colony of New France (letter dated 5 June 1725 from M. Beauharnois, the Intendant of Rochefort, to M. de Vaudreuil, Governor of Québec, quoted by Storm 2002: 34). Salvage operations in 1726 failed to find and raise the treasure (Storm 2002: 45). This great sum was lost to the Québec authorities and presumably not replaced until the 1726 sailing season.

How to qualify and quantify this complex mixture of money forms? The official transmission of annual budgets from the French government to the colonial government, as well as the contents of regimental treasuries, were recorded in correspondence and official papers, some of which remain in archives. Adam Shortt early in the last century spent decades patiently uncovering these documents, presenting them in reasoned volumes which treated of the evolving monetary situation from the governmental perspective. He also closely researched the records of the government itself and published the official decrees

³ The coins were never accounted as a lot, but sold in parcels. The best reconstruction of the whole recovery is by Kleeberg (2009: 81-2).

and laws concerning the money of the colony (Shortt 1925). He described a normative or prescriptive situation; i.e., the monetary situation as the administration wished to portray it.

A second source of information about the money which passed through official channels is offered by the archeological records, public or private, of shipwreck marine excavations. A number of ships carrying the annual cash transmission sank in storms or during warfare, and the coinage recovered from these wrecks has been more or less recorded, if not published. The money of daily life was occasionally lost, and a number of archaeological excavations of public places associated with colonial New France give a view of just what these coins were.

Prof. Peter Moogk, over many decades, has patiently sifted through marine and terrestrial archaeological reports, colonial and metropolitan archives, legal documents, and even the notarial lists of chattels attached to Canadian estates, to get a broader picture of what precise forms the money of the colony took at various periods. He finds that different types of evidence focus on different classes of money: land excavations tended to recover 'small change,' the sort of coins that would be casually lost without any major effort at retrieval; marine excavations tended to recover the 'high value' coins in gold and silver that most efficiently transmitted large sums; the codicils of wills tended to avoid mention of cash money altogether (to safeguard hidden savings), although occasionally they list in some detail the mix of coinage that was available over a lifetime in a savings hoard (Moogk 1976, 1987, 1989, 1990). Generally what Professors Shortt and Moogk have concluded is that the vast majority of coin types identified as circulating in New France by nineteenth-century numismatic works, or indeed in the early modern coin catalogues of the 1950s, were either very rarely used or not used at all. Rather, a narrow range of other coins comprised the bulk of the circulating medium.

This paper will attempt to identify the precise coins which were extant in the market of Montréal at the time of the transfer of authority from French to British governments, starting in 1760. It will also try to determine the relative quantities of these coins, their origin, and the likely means of transmission from place of manufacture to place of use. The monetary situation of Montréal at that time set the stage for the development of Canada's money in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Indeed, some vestiges of it were still in evidence at Confederation.

Money in Canada During the Regime Change

From 1754 onwards, the French and British colonies in North America were engaged in a military struggle known in the United States as the French and Indian War. The first decisive event was the capture of the great French fortress and harbour of Louisbourg on Île Royale (Cape Breton Island) by a British force on July 26, 1758. General Wolfe's defeat of the Marquis de Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759, led to the British capture of the citadel and city of Québec. The subsequent British naval blockade of the St. Lawrence River left Montréal and the French garrisons of the Great Lakes and Ohio isolated. In the summer campaign of 1760, British General Jeffrey Amherst advanced northeast from Fort Niagara to take Montréal, connecting with smaller detachments coming from Québec and the Richelieu Valley. Lacking both military supplies

and reinforcements, French Governor Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, surrendered Montréal on September 8, 1760. This effectively ended French control of Canada. The change of regime was confirmed in the Treaty of Paris on February 10, 1763. Unlike the wholesale expulsion of the francophone Acadians after the capture of Ft. Beauséjour in 1755, upon the surrender of Montréal the inhabitants of Canada were pragmatically left in possession of their lands and property and allowed freedom of religion. Effectively, there was a change of regime, not a displacement of population. Québec, Trois-Rivières, and Montréal experienced a British military presence as well as an influx of English-speaking merchants in the train of the military, and the arrival of a small administrative and judicial class.

The British forces occupying Montréal were a mixed lot. In addition to British Regiments of the Line, there were the Provincial Regiments of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut (Hervey 1906: 124), New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and the Royal American Regiment (Atherton 1914: 9). Consequently, they brought in their wake a broad variety of metallic currency, reflecting British origins: gold guineas, silver shillings and copper halfpennies and, from American colonial sources, gold moidores or ‘Joes’, silver 8 *reales*, pistareens, and copper halfpennies. Local merchants and those involved in provisioning the army had to come to an accommodation between the British and French monetary systems. This was regulated by the military administrator, as shown by this extract from the daily orders of Major General Gage, Governor of Montréal: “At Montréal, Sunday, November 2, 1760: All merchants to take half Johannes at £3 – 4, or 8 dollars, the dollars to be equal to the French crown or six livres” (Hervey 1906: 135).

The military government suspended use of the French colonial fiscal paper, and the new English merchants (many from the American colonies), refused to accept the old playing cards and other French promissory notes. Prolonged negotiations by the French Government for the redemption of their bills of exchange, “card money, *ordonnances* and certificates” dragged on and were not concluded until the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (Shortt 1986: 186-99). This placed the occupied Canadian population of Montréal under great duress. Indeed, General Gage observed “... the Distresses of most of the Familys here, which increase visibly. Plate, watches, Boxes, Cloaths, Books in short everything that can procure hard cash to go to the market is sent privately about, for sale.” (Rochette & Won 1992: 10). It appears that the hidden wealth of the locals was disposed of during this period of transition, which means in practical terms that many old high-value gold *louis d’or* and silver *écus* and *demi-écus* would appear in circulation, some bearing quite old dates of minting. As will be discussed below, into this mix of old French money was inserted the new English money, much of which actually comprised Portuguese gold and Spanish silver.

Soon after the conclusion of peace, it became necessary for government to regulate the exchange of these many coinages, at least for purposes of keeping official revenue and expenditure accounts. The following table was published to this effect:

TABLE 1

The principal coins circulating in Canada after the British conquest, and their relative exchange values as fixed by the ordinance published on October 4, 1764 “for regulating and establishing the currency of the Province” (Short 1986: 205).

	Coins	Weight		Rating		
		dwt.	grs.	£	s.	d.
Gold	Johannes of Portugal	18	6	4	16	0
	Moydore	6	18	1	16	0
	Carolin of Germany	5	17	1	10	0
	Guinea	5	4	1	8	0
	Louis d’Or	5	3	1	8	0
	Spanish or French Pistole	4	4	1	1	0
Silver	Seville, Mexican and Pillar dollar	17	12		6	0
	French Crown. or six Livre piece	19	4		5	6
	French piece, passing at present for 4s. 6d. Halifax Currency	15	6		5	6
	British shilling				1	4
	Pistareen				1	2
	French nine-penny piece				1	0
	Twenty British coppers				1	0

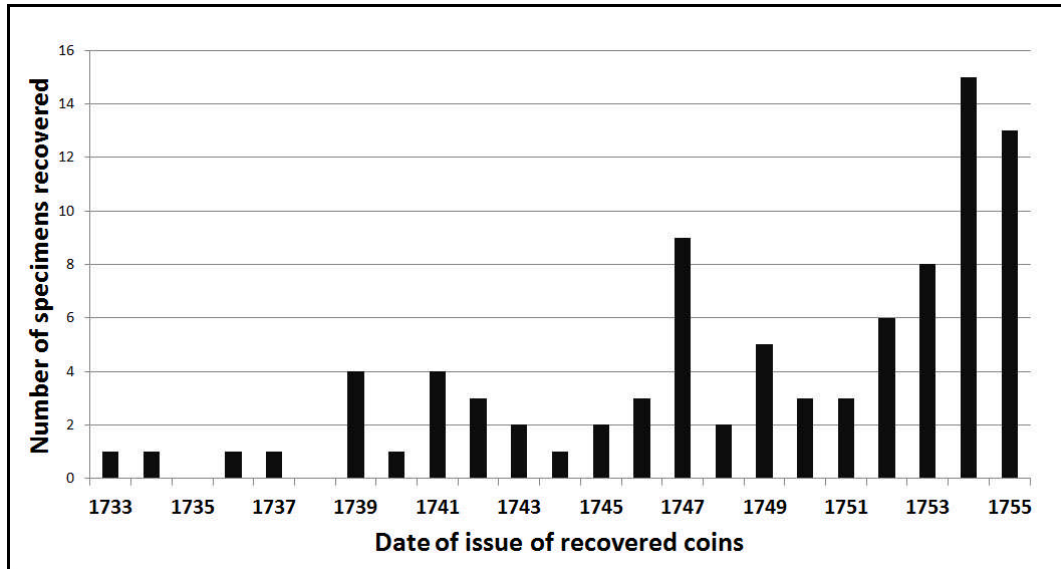
But is it possible to get a more precise picture of the coins circulating in Montréal during this transition, especially as to their relative quantities? To address this question, we shall review the evidence provided by shipwrecks of the period.

The Evidence of the *Tilbury* Shipwreck

In 1757 the British ship *Tilbury* sank off Louisbourg, Cape Breton, during the naval blockade of that French fortress. Its voyage originated in Cork, Ireland, and en route it embarked troops from New York in Halifax. Part of the wreck’s cargo was salvaged in 1986 (Storm 2002: 141-51). Some 430 silver and 16 gold coins were recovered, with detailed information available on 92 silver and 2 gold coins (Laramée 1989; detailed listing in Kleeberg 2009: 103-4). Of the identified silver coins, 88 were Spanish American 8 *reales*, comprising 9 Potosí cobs and 79 milled pillar dollars. The mints of origin of the milled dollars were Mexico 92.4%, Lima 5.1% and Guatemala 2.5%. While the gold and minor silver coins could have been carried by individual passengers, it is likely that the Spanish American dollars were part of the military paymaster’s chest. Whether this originated in New York or Ireland is uncertain.

GRAPH 1

Spanish milled dollars recovered from the wreck of the Tilbury, 1757, sorted by year of issue.



As *GRAPH 1* shows, despite the small sample size, the coins exhibit a fairly normal distribution when sorted by date of issue, with a peak at 1754, roughly three years before the sinking, and an extended tail for older dates. It is reasonable to conclude that this date range was fairly representative of the distribution on the money market when the expedition was outfitted. The exception is currency from 1747, which is disproportionately represented. Interestingly, the nine Potosí cobs were among the most recent coins: 1753 (2), 1754 (3), 1755 (4). In the eighteenth century, cobs seldom circulated as money, but rather were a broadly acceptable form of silver bullion, passing readily on the exchange markets. The Dutch east Indiaman *Vliegenthart* which sank in 1735 off Rotterdam, carried boxes of newly-minted Dutch ‘Rider’ dollars dated 1734 and Mexican 8 *reales* silver cobs dated 1732.⁴ These latter had obviously been obtained through the famous Wisselbank of Amsterdam, Europe’s pre-eminent bullion depository.

The *Tilbury* coins may or may not be typical of money in Nova Scotia during the Seven Years’ War, but they certainly tell us much about the money accessible to British Army paymasters during that conflict.

The Evidence of the *Auguste* Shipwreck

Although the city of Québec was captured by the British in 1759, it was the following summer, in 1760, that Montréal fell. Under the “Articles of Capitulation” drafted by British General Jeffrey Amherst and signed on September 8, 1760, by the French

⁴ http://www.sedwickcoins.com/shipwreck_histories/vliegenthart.htm

Governor the Marquis de Vaudreuil and his General Monsieur de Lévis, "...the French Troops... are to be sent back to Old France as are also the Governors and Principal Officers of the Legislature of the Whole Country..." (Atherton 1914: 4). In the following fortnight all the illustrious French regiments and their commanders were embarked for the voyage overseas. "By the 22nd every French soldier had left Montréal, except those who had married in the country and who had resolved to remain in it and transfer their allegiance to the new government" (Atherton 1914: 6). Among this latter group who wished to stay were some public figures that the new government was not keen to permit continued residence. Some, like the family de la Corne, were native-born Canadians and so would be 'repatriated' to a country they had never seen. St-Luc de la Corne was a prominent soldier who fought the British tenaciously and who maintained strong allies among the anti-British Indian tribes. His brother Louis, the Chevalier de la Corne, was a Knight of the military Order of St. Louis who wore the Cross of the Order on ceremonial occasions. The British, ever sensitive to the niceties of honour and nobility, held that de la Corne had pledged his life-long allegiance to the French Crown and could not revoke it.

As the anniversary of the surrender at Montréal approached, the military Governor of Montréal, General Gage, pressed these reluctant deportees to set sail for France. On September 27, 1761, this group of colonial *noblesse* left Montréal for Québec. There, General Murray arranged for three chartered ships to sail as cartels (under flag of truce) for the repatriation of French colonial officials and officers. The group carried out hurried business arrangements prior to boarding. In the view of Parks Canada historians: "Recognizing ... the insecurity of their own positions, many of the passengers carried a substantial portion of their personal wealth with them in trunks, boxes and portmanteaux. Some passengers also carried credit notes for people remaining in the colony" (Rochette & Won 1992: 22). They did not depart from Québec until October 15, 1761, by which time the weather was changing. Under stormy autumn conditions, they had only reached the western coast of Newfoundland by November 10. A resurgent gale blew them across the Gulf of St. Lawrence onto the shore of Aspy Bay on Cape Breton, where their ship broke apart on November 15. Of the 123 passengers and crew, only seven survived the disaster. (Proulx 1979: 3; Tameanko 2010: 40, reported 121 aboard). One, St-Luc de la Corne, trekked back to Québec City overland, eventually winning the right to remain with his family in Montréal.

The wreck area was a shallow sandy bay, and the remains of the ship were soon lost to salvagers sent out from Louisbourg. In 1977, following a storm, some remains were revealed, and a joint excavation was undertaken by Parks Canada archaeologists and local divers. No wood or timber was recovered and it is assumed these materials had succumbed to erosion and rot. Other than cannon and cannon balls, mostly small scattered metallic objects were found, consistent with the domestic belongings of families in transit. Among the 3,982 objects recovered over the 1977-78 diving seasons, fully 1,182 were coins (Ringer 1979: 18).⁵ The coins were thoroughly studied and listed, although the report has

⁵ I am grateful to the librarians at Archives Canada for bringing this report to my attention and making a photocopy available.

remained unpublished (Bradley 1999).⁶ The findings were tabularized by A.B. McCullough in his well-known book on Canadian money (McCullough 1984: 53). The results are summarized in the fourth column of *TABLE 2*, below.

In the early 2000s, a private consortium from Syracuse, NY, called Auguste Expedition LLC, was formed to conduct further undersea excavations on the *Auguste* site.⁷ With a salvaging license from the Government of Nova Scotia under the provisions of that province's Treasure Trove Act (repealed 2011), they excavated successfully in the years 2001-04. Exact details are difficult to determine since there appears to be no written documentation of their activities.⁸ A large lot of 813 of the coins found was auctioned in 2008 (Canadian Numismatic Company 2008) and a smaller lot of 33 coins in 2013.⁹ The catalogues of those two auctions are the only detailed published record of the coins recovered by this second expedition. Additionally, the Government of Nova Scotia made a "royalty selection" of about one hundred coins under the terms of its marine permits with the salvage expeditions. An account of this selection has not been published.¹⁰ It is unclear if these three sources represent all the coins found in the 2000s expedition, or only select portions. The numbers reported are summarized in the fifth column of *Table 2*, following:

⁶ I would like to express my appreciation for the invaluable assistance of Parks Canada librarian Paula Clark Mann in retrieving and photocopying this rare report for me. Although dated 1999, a summary table of recovered coins based on this report was published in 1984.

⁷ This consortium appears to have wound up its activities: its web site www.nediscoveries.com is defunct, and apparently the only public report of its activities, "The Wreck of the Auguste" by Auguste Expedition LLC, 2004-2008, is no longer available online at http://nediscoveries.com/auguste/wreck_auguste.html. Nor does this information appear to be cached by the major search engines. According to Courchesne (2011: xvii), the consortium was headquartered in Syracuse, New York, and its principals were Norm Miles and Ron Sirota. The dive master was Captain Joseph Amaral.

⁸ A documentary on the ship and the 2001-2004 excavation attempts, based on research by Dr. John de Bry and scripted by Herrie ten Cate and David Brady, entitled "Mysteries of the Deep - a Treasure Ship's Tragedy," aired on the National Geographic Channel in 2004. Source: Billy Cox, "Detective of the deep back in action: Melbourne Beach archaeologist's latest story of treasure on TV," *Florida Today*, uncertain date in 2004, <http://www.floridatoday.com/!NEWSROOM/peoplestoryL316DEBRY.htm> now inoperative but cached on Google.

⁹ The very late second auction of 33 coins from the so-called "Auguste Research Collection" was held by Daniel Frank Sedwick LLC, Oct. 30 – Nov. 1, 2013, in Orlando, Florida. According to a company principal, these coins were likely the choicest recovered specimens put aside by the salvors themselves (private communication, May 2015). A detailed composite listing of the coins found in both the 1970s excavation and the 2000s excavation was published in Kleeberg (2009: 107-8).

¹⁰ I am grateful to Assistant Curator Stephen Powell, the Registrar of Marine Treasure Trove for the Nova Scotia Government in Halifax, for providing me with an inventory of the 437 gold, silver and copper coins of the 17th and 18th centuries received as 'royalty selection' from marine salvage permit holders. This provision under the Treasure Trove Act was suspended in 2011 when that Act was abrogated. These coins are now in the custody of the Nova Scotia Museum and some are on loan to the Nova Scotia Maritime Museum, Halifax, for display.

TABLE 2

A summary of available information on the coins recovered from the underwater Auguste wreck site, Aspy Bay, Nova Scotia, by the 1977-8 Parks Canada excavations and the 2001-4 private consortium excavations.

Country	Material	Denomination	Number recovered 1977-8	Number recovered 2001-4	Total recovered
France	Gold	Double <i>Louis d'Or</i>	1	3++1	5
	“	<i>Louis d'Or</i>	23	25++4	52
	Silver	<i>Ecu</i>	491	30+17++11	549
	“	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Ecu</i>	85	7++2	94
	“	<i>Sol de 15 Deniers</i>	2	1	3
	Minor silver /billon		80	17	97
	Copper	<i>Six Denier</i>	2	0	2
	“	<i>Liard</i>	16	0	16
Spanish Colonial	Silver	<i>Eight Reales</i>	453	725+16++77	1,271
	“	<i>Two Reales</i>	1	0	1
	“	<i>One Real</i>	1	0	1
Great Britain	Gold	Guinea	5	2++2	9
	“	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea	1	2++1	4
	Copper	$\frac{1}{2}$ Penny	16	0	16
Portuguese Possessions	Gold	<i>Dobra de Cuatro-Escudos</i>	4	0++1	5
	“	<i>Peca</i>	0	1	1
Denmark (Norway)	Silver	<i>Two Skillings</i>	1	0	1
Column totals:			1,182	813+33++99	2,127

N.B. In the fifth column, the coins of the 2013 auction are kept segregated by a + sign, and the Nova Scotia Treasure Trove selections by a ++ sign.

It must be emphasized that while the Parks Canada reports were inclusive, i.e., all of the coins uncovered in the 1970s were catalogued, the private consortium numbers are partial, and may represent either what was found in the 2000s or what the salvors chose to sell.

What does this table tell us? Well, firstly, it confirms that in Canada in 1761 the circulating medium was typical of that of the Atlantic world during this period. According to John Kleeberg:

The major silver coins of the eighteenth century were French *écus* and Spanish *reales de a ocho* (Spanish dollars). The *écu* was minted in large numbers because the French gold-silver ratio favored silver. The Spanish dollar was minted in large numbers because the most abundant silver mines were in Spanish territory. (Kleeberg 1997: 1166).

That being said, the relative importance of the two coins remains uncertain. We must recognize that the excavation report tabled above represents only the coins found in the particular areas of the sea floor subject to close inspection. The archaeological reports indicate that there was little organic matter remaining from the *Auguste*, a wooden ship. Wood, rope, and leather comprised a mere five percent of the materials raised. Most of the remnants found were earth-based, that is, bricks, glass, and ceramics, or metallic, that is, cannons, cannon balls, utensils, and the coins themselves (Ringer 1979: 2, 50). However, while the cannons tended to show the outline of the ship, the coins were found in a few areas. Of the twenty excavation grid sections mapped, three yielded about sixty percent of the coins recovered (Bradley 1999: 37, 87). French gold and silver predominated along this main grid line, with Spanish silver less than a third of the total recovered. The most prolific source of coins was some 24 metres off the grid line altogether, which yielded a quarter of all coins recovered. Interestingly, this latter offshoot was made up almost exclusively of Spanish American silver 8 *reales* (289 of the 292 found) (Bradley 1999: 38). As the marine archaeologist reports: “The evidence suggests that much of the material of a personal nature (silverware, coinage, etc.) ... came from the stern of the vessel. Besides the large concentrations of personal items ... there were also from this area draught marks and window glass which relate to the stern of the vessel. Coupled with this is the documentary evidence of St. Luc de la Corne who rented the stateroom of the *Auguste* [in the stern] for his group of aristocrats” (Ringer 1979: 34).

The next thing we must recognize in this table is what is absent, namely the full report of the 2004 excavations. It is striking that in the 1970s excavations, the French crowns and Spanish silver dollars were roughly in equal proportions, while in the auctions of the 2000s excavation, the Spanish outnumbered the French by almost fifteen to one. Did the second expedition excavate a different section of seabed, with different results? Or did they simply decide to sell by private means most of the French *écus* they found? It is noticeable that in the “Auguste Reserve Collection” sold in 2013 (footnote 9, above), there were 17 *écus* and 16 eight *reales*, a rough balance. Was this typical or atypical? It is clear that there is much data absent from *TABLE 2*.

What exactly did this harvest of coins represent? According to the 2008 sale catalogue: “Those on the ship had to bring their belongings as ‘moveable wealth’ in the form of gold and silver coins. ... *The Auguste* is an example of a savings hoard which are diverse, high quality coins saved over many years, in this case the savings of the wealthy officials being exiled from New France” (Canadian Numismatic Company 2008: 76). Is

this interpretation valid? The archaeological record indicates that the coins were found either scattered randomly, or in concentrations or packets, probably corresponding to chests or bags of coins kept in various cabins. Therefore, *TABLE 2* does not represent a single hoard, but rather a number of individual hoards as well as ‘pocket change.’ The nature of these holdings can be better understood when presented in a summary table:

TABLE 3

*The coins of the Auguste excavations sorted by metal, and assigned a current value by the Ordinance of 1764 (Table 1, above). *As of 1726 (rounded).*

	Number of coins	Pct. of total specimens	Value in French livres of account*	Value in British £ (1763 ordinance)	Pct. of total value
Gold	76	3.6%	2,776	£127/15s	18.68%
Silver	1,920	90.2%	11,980	£545/8s	80.60%
Billon	97	4.6%	106	£4/17s	0.71%
Copper	34	1.6%	2	-/1s16d	0.01%
<i>Totals</i>	<i>2,127</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>14,864</i>	<i>£678/2s</i>	<i>100.00%</i>

It can be seen immediately that the billon and copper, at 6.2% of the coins found and less than one percent of the total value, were ‘casual change,’ exactly the sort of small change one would expect most passengers, and indeed many of the seamen, to have in their possession. The particular mix is not unlike that found in the excavations of contemporary sites in Québec and the Maritimes. As historian Peter Moogk puts it:

Archaeological excavations and shipwreck finds do allow one to identify some of the circulating coins with precision. The buried currency does have an inescapable bias. Since people were more apt to notice the loss of high value coins, and silver or gold is more visible against a natural background, the archaeologists tend to find minor coins struck in base metals... Of 781 recognizable coins discovered on the site of Louisbourg... 93.7 per cent were small coins in base metals (Moogk 1987: 10 Moogk 1976: 97-104).

Moogk observed the same relative frequency for Québec’s Place Royale excavations (Moogk 1989: 246-9).

The issue of visibility that Prof. Moogk raises is an interesting question, not only for those losing the coins in those days, but for those intent on finding them in our times. In terms of underwater recovery, base coins are generally small and oxidized and hard to see; often they are discovered at the processing stage when the silt is washed and sieved through

screens. Silver coins are also quite dark due to oxidation, but the larger denominations still stand out on a sandy sea floor.



Fig. 1. Gold Louis d'or, Paris mint, 1726, 8.10 g., similar to those recovered from the *Auguste*. Source: *Elsen Auction 123-780* (with permission).

Gold coins were neither oxidized nor covered in concretions, indeed looking “like the day they were minted,” as this photo of the *Auguste* wreck site dramatically shows:



Fig. 2. Gold and silver coins “in situ in rock and gravel stratum” at the *Auguste* wreck site (*Ringer 1979: 61*).

In practical terms, this means that gold coins have the greatest likelihood of being recovered; large silver and base metal coins have a middling chance of being found; while small base metal coins will be elusive. It is noticeable that despite the very different profile for silver coins in *TABLE 2* for the 1978 and 2004 excavations, the number of gold coins found by each expedition was of the same order of magnitude: 34 versus 42. It is likely that all the gold that was exposed was recovered. Despite this, there were not many gold coins, only 3.6% by quantity and 18.68% by value. This modest amount can hardly represent “the savings of wealthy officials.” In fact this can be said of all the coins recovered by the two expeditions: together they comprised only 14,864 *livres* (French) or £678 (British) in current value. Parks Canada cataloguer Charles S. Bradley noted: “The small total value of

the coins recovered appears incongruent with the amount of wealth represented on board” (Bradley 1999: 42).

Does the recovered treasure represent an unexpectedly modest sum? The notarial records of estates in Montréal from 1700 onwards reveal that three officers of the nobility left estates with an average net worth of minus 4,836 *livres*; three merchants left estates valued on average at 6,825 *livres* each; and twelve ordinary citizens of various occupations (mostly farmers and tradesmen), left estates valued on average at 1,311 *livres* each (Moogk 2000: 154-6). Similarly, for the same place and period, the recorded marriage dowers of four senior officials and officers averaged 2,675 *livres* each (Moogk 2000: 164).

It would appear that the value of the recovered coins was of the right order of magnitude for the economic situation of the high status passengers, but given the large number of passengers, certainly not enough to represent all of their cashed-in estates. Therefore, it is unlikely that many of the passengers, however wealthy, took their entire fortune in cash on board; rather it is more likely that they carried enough cash for immediate needs on arrival, while carrying the bulk of their financial assets in the form of notes on creditors in Paris or London. Charles Bradley makes this point:

Another very important element is the amount of wealth in these hoards that were [*sic*] represented by the various forms of paper currency – bills of exchange, notes, receipts and orders drawn on the colonial treasury which circulated in New France as legal tender. Although no such evidence was recovered from the site itself due to the biodegradable nature of the material, this factor must be considered as a very real possibility (Bradley 1999: 42).

Indeed, that is what we may infer was the case with the survivor Luc de la Corne; for in his journal is appended a letter from General Jeffrey Amherst, expressing sympathy with his great misfortune, but also assuring him that “the sum due to you has been given to Mr. Franks, in London.”¹¹

Still, not all on board had the knowledge, connections or influence to rely upon the extant system of credit. Some, in fact, may have been positively averse to such paper transactions. Adam Shortt devoted much research to the question of the long and ultimately fruitless campaign by holders of the French Regime’s notes and credit instruments to seek redemption (Shortt 1986: 185-99). Prof. Moogk, in his researches on French Canadian notarial documents of the *ancien régime*, listed the assets of one widow in 1713 as 21 gold coins and 718 silver coins (Moogk 1987: 55). One must conclude that while gold was a more compact and imperishable store of wealth, because it was simply not available in the required quantities, people resorted to silver. This would appear to be the main lesson imparted by the *Auguste* coins: fully 90.2% of them were silver, representing 80.6% of the total value recovered. It would seem that while gold held its allure, silver was the work horse of the colonial economy, even during the transition to British rule.

¹¹ “...j’ai parlé à M. Bayard, qui m’assure que la somme qui vous est due a été remise à M. Franks, à Londres, et M. Bayard doit vous écrire à ce sujet” (de La Corne 1863: 27-28).

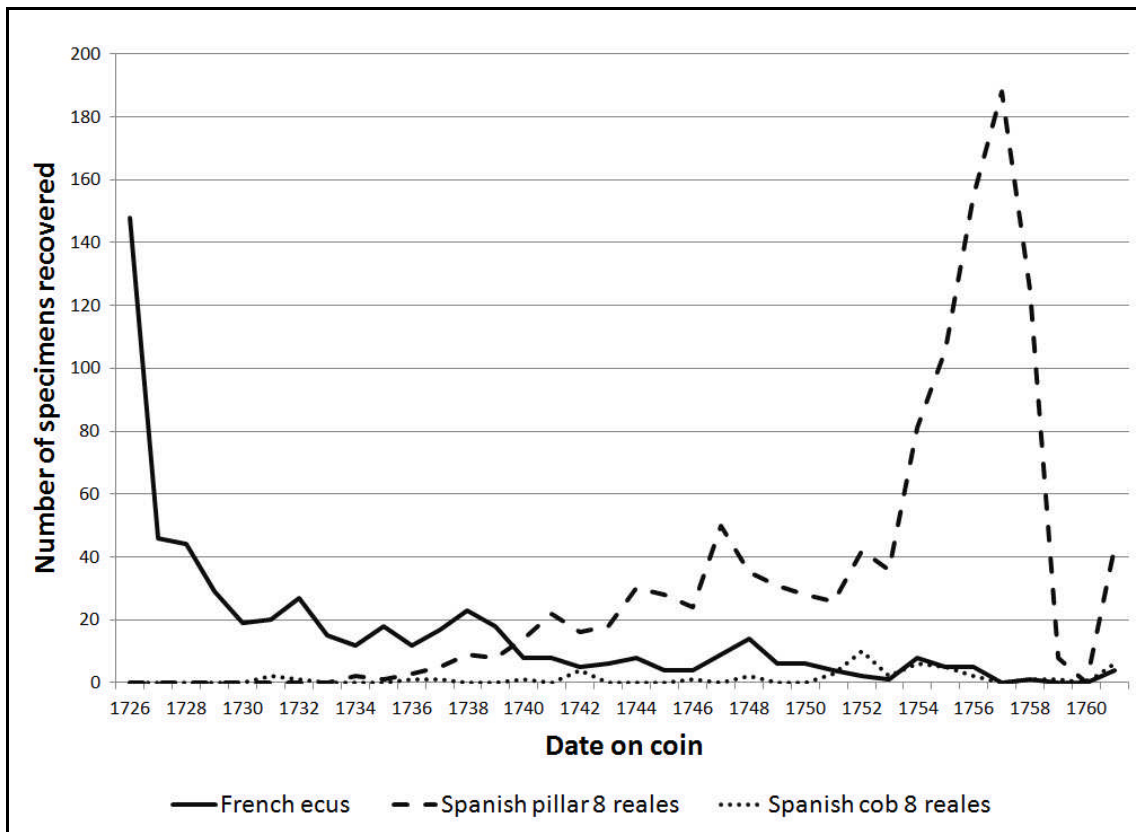
Peter Moogk noted a propensity to hoard amongst Canadians, a tendency echoed by Adam Shortt. Bradley, in his analysis of the *Auguste* coins, made the interesting observation that the weights of the French *écus* recovered tended to be at the high end of the minting parameter, suggesting that the coins had been selected for their good qualities as silver bullion, rather than for their currency as a circulating denomination (Bradley 1999: 40-2). However, Moogk has also noted that the taxation system of Nouvelle France targeted private holdings of coinage, but left unmolested any domestic family utensils. Hence there was a marked tendency for families and individuals to have their savings of silver coinage melted and fashioned into silverware and other utensils (Moogk 1987: 57-8). It is no accident that early Canadian silversmiths were so renowned; they had plenty of practice in fashioning coins into dinnerware, church silver, and ornaments for the trade with aboriginal peoples. Indeed, we must recognize that a large number of silver utensils were also recovered at the *Auguste* site.

The ship's passengers were reluctant emigrés, but they certainly had enough time to arrange their financial affairs before departure. Thus it is fair to assume that the recovered coins represent either small family accumulations made over many years, as suggested by Charles Bradley in the 1999 archaeological report and later by Randy Weir in the 2008 auction catalogue, or else ready money available in the summer of 1761 in the Montréal market. Many wealthy individuals, after all, were fully invested in land or businesses; the nobility decidedly in land. In selling these real estate or commercial assets, payment had to be accepted in any specie that came to hand, unless it was arranged through written credit instruments.

If we are to have a better idea of the nature of these shipwreck coins in terms of how they came to be in Montréal in 1761, it is useful to consider the data on when and where the coins were manufactured. This is summarized on the following graph:

GRAPH 2

The distribution of silver coins from the *Auguste* by issuer and date of manufacture (based on Figures 41-43 in Bradley (1999: 88-90), updated to include the coins of the 2001-4 expedition.



It can be observed immediately that the French *écus* and Spanish 8 *reales* had diametrically opposite profiles. In terms of 1761, the Spanish milled dollars were manufactured more recently, and they conform to the expected ‘normal’ distribution with a peak of 1757 and a long left tail showing progressively fewer coins with age; these were exactly the characteristics shown in circulation. Coincidentally, there is a small spike in numbers in 1747, the same year that was noticed in the coins of the *Tilbury* wreck (GRAPH 1, above). Because the ships came from two different port cities, it looks like this distribution may represent the profile of Spanish milled dollars in circulation in the late 1750s or early 1760s.

The *écus*, however, tell a dramatically different story. Against all expectations, their peak is 1726, with a declining right tail as the date of issue approaches the 1761 date of loss. Bradley notes: “...very few French coins predate 1726. This is probably directly attributed to the last recoinage which occurred that year. During this process all coined currency from New France was collected and transported to the continent in order to be revalued and restruck” (Bradley 1999: 39, quoting Shortt 1925: lxxvii). Kleeberg explains

this in terms of the reaction to the collapse of the French Regency's fiscal experiments in 1721:

Because of the financial turmoil ...during the system of John Law, French gold and silver coinage underwent a series of drastic monetary reforms. As a result, nearly all French silver hoards of the middle and late eighteenth century have no coins earlier than 1726 (Kleeberg 2013: 4033-4).

Nor should we overlook the remarkable coincidence of this preponderance of 1726 coins with the loss in 1725 of the ship carrying the colony's annual supply of coinage for the conduct of government (see the discussion on the *Chameau* shipwreck, above). One wonders whether the re-supply ship the following year carried only freshly-minted 1726 coins, which was still reflected in the dates of the circulating medium some 35 years later? These explanations do not account, however, for the long diminishing trend line between 1726 and 1761. These latter numbers clearly represent not a one-time infusion of cash into the colony, but rather a long and frugal and increasingly unsuccessful process of supplying the colony with fresh specie from the mother country. This was a period when New France was isolated from the Nova Scotia and New England trading axis, both by commercial policies and by the progress of two wars. This was not the best of times to be dependent on metropolitan France, which was itself in dire financial straits from the time of John Law onwards.

It is possible to trace some of the internal financial connections within the French kingdom by listing the places of issue of the French coins found in the *Auguste* shipwreck. Each *écu* was marked with a *différent* (symbol indicating the assayer or mint master) and a letter representing the mint of issue.



Fig. 3. Silver *écu* recovered from the *Auguste*, showing clearly the date of issue (1726) and the letter B = Rouen. Photo: Sedwick 2013, lot 1266.

By carefully recording these marks, the cataloguers of the *Auguste* artifacts were able to give a comprehensive listing of the mints of origin for all the coins that were legible enough to read. Their observations are summarized in this table:

TABLE 4

*The relative quantities of French silver écus recovered from the Auguste shipwreck, by mint of issue. *Atlantic or Channel port. **Mediterranean port.*

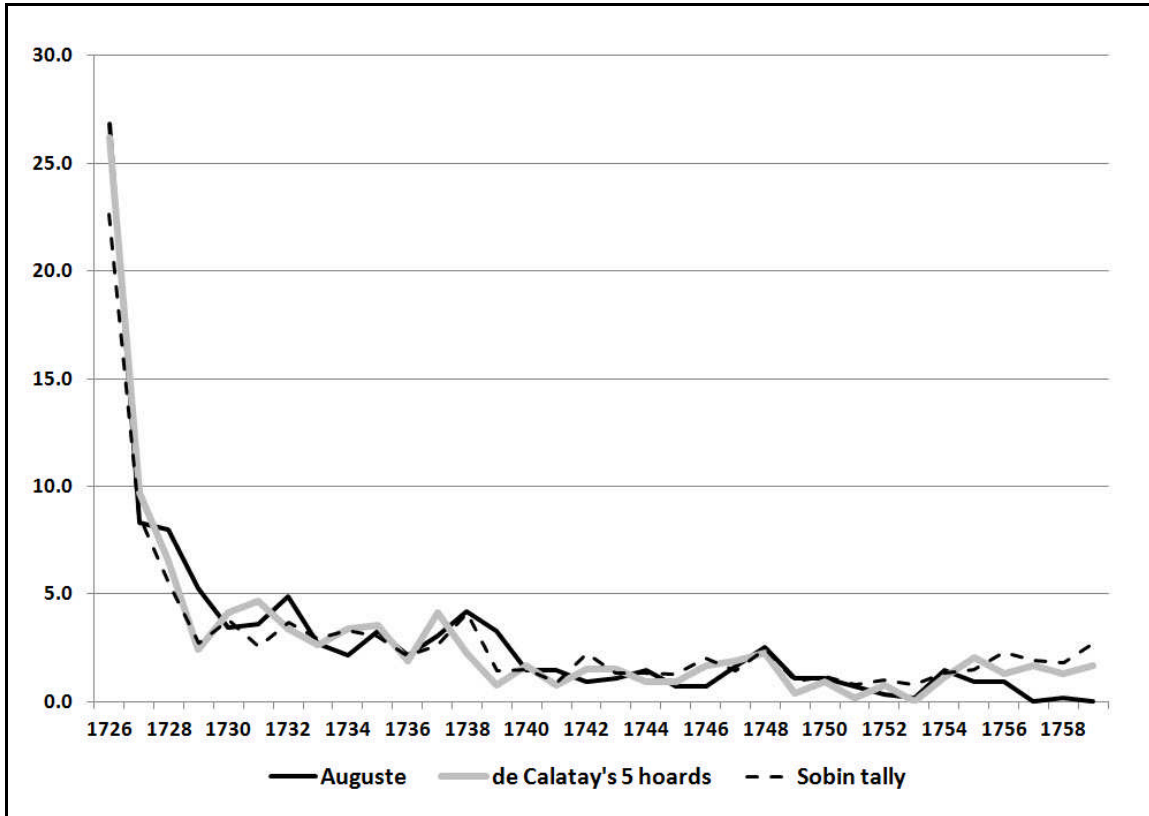
Mark	Mint	Qty	Pct.	Mark	Mint	Qty	Pct.
A	Paris	85	18.85	C	Caen*	9	2.00
&	Aix	37	8.20	Q	Perpignan**	9	2.00
L	Bayonne*	36	7.98	X	Amiens	9	2.00
B	Rouen*	29	6.43	O	Riom	8	1.77
K	Bordeaux*	25	5.54	S	Reims	7	1.55
N	Montpellier**	23	5.10	AA	Metz	7	1.55
9	Rennes	23	5.10	G	Poitiers	5	1.11
H	La Rochelle*	19	4.21	Y	Bourges	5	1.11
D	Lyon	18	3.99	V	Troyes	4	0.89
T	Nantes*	18	3.99	W	Lille	4	0.89
M	Toulouse	15	3.33	Z	Grenoble	4	0.89
E	Tours	12	2.66	Cow	Pau	4	0.89
R	Orléans	12	2.66	CC	Besançon	3	0.67
I	Limoges	11	2.44	F	Angers	0	0.00
BB	Strasbourg	10	2.22	P	Dijon	0	0.00

Fully 27 percent of the *écus* were struck in the two administrative/financial centres of Paris and Aix. A further 30 percent originated in port cities of the Atlantic and Channel coasts. However the profile of coins on this outgoing ship cannot be said to be as concentrated as that of the incoming ship *Chameau*, some 36 years earlier. Of this earlier shipment, Moogk remarked: “58.7 percent of these gold coins were issued by the mints of Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Bayonne and Toulouse. There was a natural tendency to draw the coins from the nearest mints with good waterborne communications to the port of embarkation” (Moogk 1987: 57). Rather, the French coins circulating within Canada at the end of French rule came from virtually every operating mint in France.

The minting records for silver *écus* in eighteenth century France are regrettably incomplete. Some effort at their reconstruction has been undertaken (Sobin 1974; Droulers 1979 and 1986), but at best we are left with relative quantities year-to-year. TABLE 7 in the Appendix summarizes these sources. The following GRAPH 3 compares the year-of-issue profile of the *écus* recovered from the *Auguste*, with five European hoards reported by de Callataÿ (1994: 292) and a tally made by American numismatist George Sobin (de Callataÿ 1994: 293-4). The curves of the three are remarkably congruent.

GRAPH 3

Comparison of the percentage of silver *écus* surviving from each year of issue in the Auguste shipwreck, five European coin hoards, and a tally undertaken by numismatist George Sobin.



We have to conclude that the *écus* carried on the *Auguste* in 1761 exhibit the same profile of year-of-issue as coins circulating in France and Belgium later in the eighteenth century, and indeed with the count of known specimens made by a numismatist in the mid-twentieth century.

Despite the chronic underfunding of the government of La Nouvelle France, the economy continued to develop, and this may have been due in no small part to the 'informal' economy. Outside the formal trade regulations of the *ancien régime*, Montréal-based trappers and traders carried on a thriving illicit business with their counterparts at Albany. This was based on British North America's hard currency, which at that time was largely a few Portuguese gold pieces and a plenitude of Spanish-American silver 8 *reales* and pistareens (debased 2 *reales* coins from metropolitan Spain). Therefore, the Spanish coins in *GRAPH 2* above had three possible sources:

1. The black market which flourished under the French regime, linking Montréal with Albany (and indeed which linked Louisbourg with Boston);

2. The large group of English merchants from New York who arrived in the train of the British army in 1760 and set up shop locally, after Montréal's conquest;
3. The paymasters of the British and American regiments who occupied Montréal from 1760 until the peace of 1763.

Ultimately (with the possible exception of the paymasters of British regiments), the source of Montréal's Spanish silver was the other American colonies, especially New York. The date profiles we see in the graph were reflective not of events in Montréal, but in the American-European maritime trading axis.

In international trade, proximity to sources of coinage was a critical factor in distribution. The Spanish milled dollars, although of a standard design throughout the empire, were carefully marked with symbols representing the mint and assayers.



Fig. 4. Silver 8 reales recovered from the Auguste, showing clearly the date of issue (1755) and the mint letter (LM = Lima). Photo: Sedwick LLC 2013, lot 600.

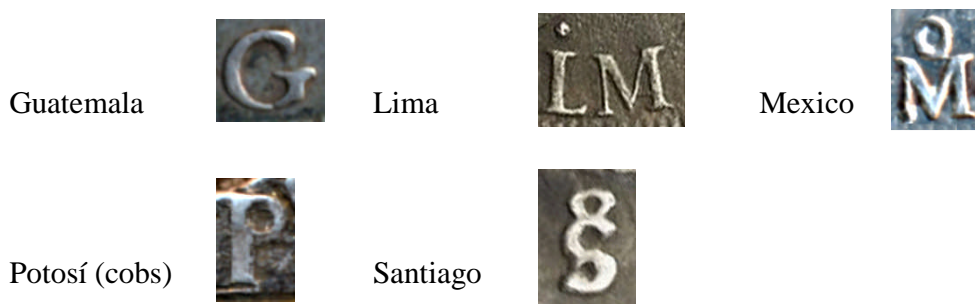


Fig. 5. Spanish American mintmarks on coins from the Auguste.

This clear marking of the mints of issue has enabled the cataloguers of the maritime excavations to compile their coin lists with both date and mint of issue. This enables us to monitor the relative composition of different hoards as to their ultimate source. This can be demonstrated by comparing hoards of the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries:

TABLE 5

Proportions by mint of origin for the silver 8 reales coins in various hoards.

	<i>Tilbury 1757</i>	<i>Auguste 1761</i>	<i>Irish 1806</i> ¹²	Actual mint production ¹³
<i>Mint</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>
Mexico	83.0	87.3	70	71.7
Lima	4.5	8.8	16	12.7
Potosi	10.2	1.9	14	15.6
Santiago	2.3	0.1	0	0
Guatemala	0	1.0	0	0
Uncertain	0	0.8	0	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

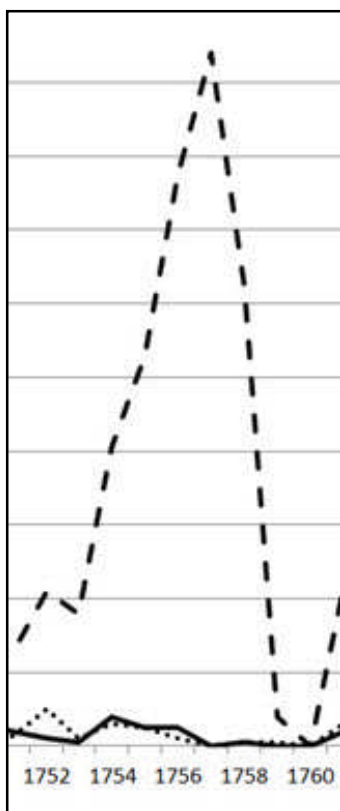
If we compare the mint of origin of the Spanish milled and cob dollars in the *Auguste* and *Tilbury* shipwrecks with Britain's largest discovered hoard of Spanish silver, we notice the proportions of the mints are in roughly the same relation, but not identical. These variations in the relative orders are due to two factors:

- The mint output of the various colonial mints varied from one to the other, as well as from year to year. Hence hoards comprised of coins from different periods will have slightly different profiles; and
- The coin production from the Mexico and Guatemala mints of the Viceroyalty of New Spain and from the Lima, Potosí and Santiago mints of the Viceroyalty of Peru, travelled separately even within the same treasure fleets. Hence they tended to pass through the Genoese, Dutch, and English money markets in packets. At any one time, European financiers tended to have variable access to different New World mints.

The principal question that this analysis raises, of course, is whether the evidence indicates that these Spanish American coins entered circulation in Canada during the French regime, or whether they were brought to Canada by the military or civilians in the course of the 1760 British invasion of Montréal.

¹² Wellington Bridge hoard, Ireland, 1807, reported in Kleeberg (1997: 1169).

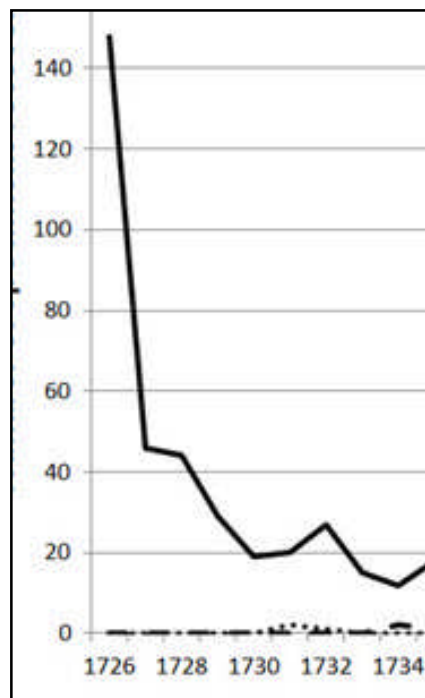
¹³ Source: Appendix, TABLE 6.



The Spanish milled dollar curve of *GRAPH 2* (extract, left) clearly shows the majority of the Spanish 8 *reales* taken from Montréal in 1761 were dated after 1754, that is, they were struck during the course of the Seven Years' War. It is unlikely the French, under military pressure from 1754 and subject to naval blockade from 1757 onwards, would have been capable of importing these coins during the hostilities. It would seem the bulk of the evidence favours the interpretation that most of them were imported into Canada in the wake of the British invasion.

No doubt some of the earlier Spanish coins were imported informally during earlier decades while Montréal was still under French authority, but *it is safe to conclude that the large quantities of Spanish silver in the Montréal market in 1761 were introduced under the new regime.*

Likewise, the French *écu* curve of *GRAPH 2* (extract, right) equally clearly shows the majority of the French silver taken from Montréal in 1761 was dated 1726, that is, the coins were



struck some 35 years previously, and may have entered circulation at that time. Charles Bradley observed that the weights of the *écu* coins of the *Auguste* are at the top of their minting parameter, and interpreted this to mean that many of the coins had lain dormant in savings hoards for some decades. However, as *GRAPH 3* above and *TABLE 7* in the Appendix demonstrate, this curve is the same as found in other hoards dating from the eighteenth century found in Europe. Indeed, it was found to be the date profile of all known silver *écus* tallied by a numismatist in the mid-twentieth century. In other words, this skewed date profile of coins in circulation in Canada was similar to that obtaining in metropolitan France. So the coins may not have lain dormant for as long as Bradley hypothesized. Still, witnesses during the French regime attested to the virtual absence of large silver coins in circulation in New France. *Therefore, we conclude that the large quantities of old French silver in the Montréal market in 1761 were a recent effect of the financial distress of the French Canadian community, augmenting the coins still in circulation at the Conquest.*

Conclusions

This paper has considered the issue of money circulation in Montréal, Canada's second city, after its capture by Britain in 1760. The ordinance of 1764 regulating the exchange values of foreign coins gives only one impression of what was in circulation. To elaborate this picture, the inventories of the coins retrieved from two shipwrecks, that of the inbound *Tilbury* in 1757, and that of the outbound *Auguste* in 1761, were analyzed in some detail. By a number of means, it was concluded that while a broad range of gold, silver, and copper coins of France, Britain, and other countries was in circulation, in practical terms a few predominated, namely the French silver *écu* (crown) imported during the old regime, and the Spanish silver *8 reales* milled dollar imported under the new regime. While French, British, and Portuguese gold coins circulated, and, by virtue of their high value, provided up to twenty percent of the money supply, it was the 'big silver' that comprised the other eighty percent of the money supply. Small change, in the form of French billon and copper coins, British halfpennies, and a smorgasbord of other small value coins, was ubiquitous, highly necessary to daily exchange, and little regarded as a store of value. Under both the French and British jurisdictions, financial notes and bills of exchange remained an important element in the operation of finance in the colony. The documentation about the *Auguste* survivors confirms this. Interestingly, while the holders of officially-issued playing card money and various credit instruments of the old regime drawn on Paris or other French cities waited weary years for redemption, those Montréalers cashing in their assets in 1761 were able to raise fresh bills of exchange on London. The doomed passengers of the *Auguste* did not carry their entire fortunes in physical currency; less than £680 worth of coins (in 1760s value) was recovered from the shipwreck.

Appendix

TABLE 6

Mintage production of the Mexico, Lima, and Potosí mints, 1726-1761, in silver pesos of 8 reales (TePaske 2010: 248, 252, 256-7). Key: Shaded numbers represent cob production; unshaded numbers represent milled production. Cob coins were hand cut and hand struck, and served more as ingots than as coins. Minting machinery to make milled dollars was installed at Mexico in 1732, Santiago in 1751, Lima in 1752, and Potosí in 1767.

Date	Mexico	Lima	Potosí	Date	Mexico	Lima	Potosí
1726	8,466,146	1,094,022	1,628,351	1744	10,303,735	1,592,866	1,961,860
1727	8,133,089	1,536,704	1,666,604	1745	10,428,355	1,630,487	2,116,393
1728	9,228,545	1,507,454	1,904,926	1746	11,524,180	1,664,020	2,356,645
1729	8,814,970	1,809,461	1,808,392	1747	12,883,668	1,060,287	2,335,367
1730	9,745,870	2,111,468	1,711,658	1748	11,644,788	2,589,912	2,484,894
1731	8,439,871	1,323,858	1,518,456	1749	11,898,590	2,066,593	2,633,039
1732	8,726,466	1,485,852	1,688,755	1750	13,228,030	1,568,613	2,809,699
1733	10,024,193	1,324,156	1,655,710	1751	12,657,275	2,235,849	3,044,709
1734	8,522,782	1,441,813	1,372,930	1752	13,701,533	2,154,675	2,966,857
1735	7,937,260	1,559,155	1,624,198	1753	11,697,974	1,827,016	2,818,010
1736	11,035,512	1,438,642	1,704,040	1754	11,608,024	2,054,023	3,009,170
1737	8,209,685	2,029,809	2,090,653	1755	12,606,340	2,059,243	2,837,768
1738	9,502,206	2,031,806	1,769,748	1756	12,336,733	2,092,918	3,234,369
1739	8,694,108	2,442,331	2,021,881	1757	12,550,035	2,114,599	3,058,854
1740	9,589,268	1,842,775	2,182,716	1758	12,773,187	1,939,687	3,234,548
1741	8,655,415	2,040,774	2,107,428	1759	13,031,337	2,084,183	3,289,704
1742	8,235,390	1,834,751	2,142,808	1760	11,975,347	2,654,306	2,669,711
1743	8,636,013	1,759,398	2,108,484	1761	11,789,390	2,988,665	3,112,063
				Total	379,235,310	66,992,171	82,681,398
					71.7%	12.7%	15.6%

TABLE 7

Relative mintage production of all French mints combined for the Louis XV silver écu, 1726 to 1759. Columns 2 and 3: L'Auguste; columns 4 and 5: five European hoards (de Callataj 1994: 292); columns 6 and 7: George Sobin's tally (de Callataj 1994: 293-4).

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Year of issue	<i>Auguste</i>	Pct.	Five European hoards	Pct.	Sobin tally	Pct.
1726	148	26.8	140	26.2	842	22.6
1727	46	8.3	52	9.7	322	8.7
1728	44	8.0	35	6.5	204	5.5
1729	29	5.3	13	2.4	101	2.7
1730	19	3.4	22	4.1	141	3.8
1731	20	3.6	25	4.7	96	2.6
1732	27	4.9	18	3.4	136	3.7
1733	15	2.7	14	2.6	110	3.0
1734	12	2.2	18	3.4	123	3.3
1735	18	3.3	19	3.6	113	3.0
1736	12	2.2	10	1.9	80	2.2
1737	17	3.1	22	4.1	98	2.6
1738	23	4.2	12	2.2	153	4.1
1739	18	3.3	4	0.7	54	1.5
1740	8	1.4	9	1.7	56	1.5
1741	8	1.4	4	0.7	34	0.9
1742	5	0.9	8	1.5	84	2.3
1743	6	1.1	8	1.5	49	1.3
1744	8	1.4	5	0.9	49	1.3
1745	4	0.7	5	0.9	48	1.3
1746	4	0.7	9	1.7	75	2.0
1747	9	1.6	10	1.9	53	1.4
1748	14	2.5	12	2.2	92	2.5
1749	6	1.1	2	0.4	36	1.0
1750	6	1.1	5	0.9	43	1.2
1751	4	0.7	1	0.2	30	0.8
1752	2	0.4	4	0.7	37	1.0
1753	1	0.2	0	0.0	30	0.8
1754	8	1.4	6	1.1	49	1.3
1755	5	0.9	11	2.1	56	1.5
1756	5	0.9	7	1.3	86	2.3
1757	0	0.0	9	1.7	72	1.9

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Year of issue	<i>Auguste</i>	Pct.	Five European hoards	Pct.	Sobin tally	Pct.
1758	1	0.2	7	1.3	67	1.8
1759	0	0.0	9	1.7	101	2.7
	552	100%	535	100%	3,720	100%

Select bibliography

- Atherton, W.H. 1914. *Montréal 1535-1914; Under British Rule 1760-1914*. Vol. II. Montréal: Clarke.
- Benson, Adolph (ed.). 1966. *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*. Vol. II. New York: Dover Publications.
- Bradley, Charles. 1999. "Numismatic Analysis of the Coins Recovered from the 1761 Wreck of *L'Auguste* off Dingwall, Nova Scotia." Ottawa: Parks Canada (unpublished manuscript report).
- Canadian Numismatic Company. 2008. *Auction Catalogue by the Canadian Numismatic Association 2008 Convention, Ottawa, July 20, 2008*.
- Courchesne, Stéphanie. 2011. "La chasse aux trésors subaquatiques: portrait d'une industrie marginale à l'ère de l'internet." Montreal: Université de Montréal (unpublished M.A. thesis).
- Daniel Frank Sedwick LLC. 2013. *Auction 14, Oct. 30 – Nov. 1, 2013*.
- de Callataÿ, François. 1994. "Les écus de Louis XV et de Louis XVI à la lumière du trésor de Châtelet (Belgique)," *Revue numismatique*, 6th Series, Vol. 36: 271-307.
- de la Corne, Saint-Luc. 1778. *Journal du voyage de M. Saint-Luc de La Corne, écuyer, dans le navire l'Auguste, en l'an 1761*. Montréal: F. Mesplet (First Edition); Québec: A. Coté et Cie. (Second edition), 1863.
- Droulers, F. 1979. "Écus de la période 1726-1794 : quelques implications statistiques tirées de l'ouvrage de G. Sobin," *Numismatique et Change*, no. 74 (May 1979): 14-9.
- Droulers, F. 1986. "Quantité de pièces d'argent frappées par ateliers de 1726 à 1774 au nom de Louis XV," *Numismatique et Change*, no. 149 (March 1986): 37.
- Hervey, William. 1906. *Journals of the Hon. William Hervey in North America and Europe, from 1755 to 1814, With Order Books at Montreal, 1760-1763, With memoir and Notes*. Bury St. Edmund's: Paul and Mathew.
- http://www.sedwickcoins.com/shipwreck_histories/vliegenthart.htm
- Kleeberg, John M. 1997. "The International Circulation of Spanish American Silver and the Financing of the Napoleonic Wars," *Proceedings of the International Numismatic Congress*. Vol. II. Berlin: International Numismatic Council: 1166-75.

- Kleeberg, John M. 2009. *Numismatic Finds of the America: an Inventory of America's Coin Hoards, Shipwrecks, Single Finds and Finds in Excavations*. New York: American Numismatic Society.
- Kleeberg, John M. 2013. "The Circulation of Leeuwendaalders (Lion Dollars) in England's North American Colonies, 1693-1733," *The Colonial Newsletter*, August 2013: 4031-52.
- Laramée, Serge. 1989. *Auction Catalogue for the Canadian Numismatic Association 1989 Convention, Québec, July 28-30, 1989*.
- Lepczyk, Joseph. 1977. *Auction Catalogue of The George Sobin Collection of French Écus, Chicago, 7-8 March, 1977*.
- McCullough, A.B. 1984. *Money and Exchange in Canada to 1900*. Toronto: Dundurn Press.
- Moogk, Peter N. 1976. "A Pocketful of Change at Louisbourg," *The Canadian Numismatic Journal*, 21, 3 (March 1976): 97-104.
- Moogk, Peter N. 1987. "When Money Talks: Coinage in New France," *The Canadian Numismatic Journal*, 32, 2 (February 1987): 55-75.
- Moogk, Peter N. 1989. "Coins of Québec's Place Royale," *The Canadian Numismatic Journal*, 34, 7 (July-August 1989): 327-31.
- Moogk, Peter N. 1990. "A New Source on Circulating Currency in Eighteenth Century French Canada," *The Canadian Numismatic Journal*, 35, 9 (October 1990): 246-9.
- Moogk, Peter N. 2000. *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada – a Cultural History*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Moogk, Peter N. and Wayne L. Jacobs. 2007. "Historical Introduction to Canadian Currency and Numismatics," in Darryl A. Atchison (ed.), *Canadian Numismatic Bibliography*, Vol. I. Victoria: Numismatic Education Society of Canada: 5-19.
- Moore, Christopher. 1990. "Cape Breton and the North Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century," in Kenneth Donovan (ed.), *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton's History, 1713-1990*. Fredericton: Academic Press: 30-48.
- Proulx, Jean-Pierre. 1979. "Histoire et naufrage des navires le Saphire, la Marguerite, le Murinet et l'Auguste." Ottawa: Parks Canada (unpublished report no. 337).
- Ringer, Jim. 1979. "Underwater Archaeological Excavation of the Auguste Site, Nova Scotia." Ottawa: Parks Canada (unpublished report).
- Rochette, S.H. & R. Won. 1992. *The Wreck of the Auguste*. Ottawa: Parks Canada.
- Shortt, Adam. 1925. *Documents Relatifs à la Monnaie, au Change et aux Finances du Canada sous le Régime Français*. Ottawa: Ackland.
- Shortt, Adam. 1986. *History of Canadian Currency and Banking 1600-1880*. Toronto: Canadian Bankers' Association (repr.).

Sobin, George. 1974. *The Silver Crowns of France, 1641-1973*. Teaneck, New Jersey: Richard Margolis.

Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/98-187-x/4151287-eng.htm>.

Storm, Alex. 2002. *Seaweed and Gold*. Sydney, Nova Scotia: City Printers.

Tameanko, M. 2010. "The Coins of the Auguste Shipwrecked in 1761," *Coin News* (UK), October 2010: 39-41.

TePaske, John J. 2010. *A New World of Gold and Silver*. Boston: Brill.

The Broke Coppers
by
Warren Baker, FCNRS

The Broke coppers represent contemporary artifacts of the most famous and important British naval battle of the War of 1812 in North America. The encounter between the *Shannon* and *Chesapeake* was the sixth naval engagement of the war, and the result was the first victory for the British. The obverse of the coppers portrays the hero of that event, Captain Philip Bowes Vere Broke, who was created baronet before he arrived home as a result of that victory. The reverse represents the seated figure of Britannia and, in the background to her left, the *Shannon* entering Halifax harbour with its prize, the *S.S. Chesapeake*. I have not undertaken a description of the conflict, nor have I even attempted a few biographical lines on the life of Broke as competent historians have covered the subject well, and some of these are noted in the bibliography.

These issues undoubtedly evoked patriotic sentiments and their popularity caused them to be struck and circulated beyond what would normally be expected in the case of typical commercial coppers. Courteau comments that: "From the absence of any indication of value these might be looked upon as a medallet, rather than a token, though doubtless they passed as currency with the others" (Courteau 1910: 22). The Brokes were probably struck in Britain, and though not circulated there likely had souvenir value.¹

This study represents the organization of my own gathering of Broke coppers as well as two pieces from the Faulkner collection of the varieties described by Courteau under his numbers 325 to 329 in his privately printed monograph on the coins of Nova Scotia, published in 1910. It is an attempt to assign an order of issue from the earliest to the latest states. It seems to me important in a study of minutiae that the objects examined be close at hand for the length of time that the study is in progress, as re-examination, due partly to the acquisition of other specimens, often brings about reorganization. In my case, it was a slow process and the sequence that was originally established not infrequently became altered. The poor planchet quality as well contributes to the problem of sequencing, as does the grime accumulation that gathers on old coppers, even those in a high state of preservation; the examination of unequal specimens from a wear perspective is also problematic. I soon realized that a greater number of specimens should be gathered in order to come to any final conclusion about sequence of issue, and mine is therefore a preliminary study as it is based on an insufficient number of specimens. The arrangement of these pieces has been a complicated exercise, but a challenge that I was reluctant to abandon. Hopefully, others who have gathered specimens of the Brokes in fine enough condition will examine their pieces in order that new examples can be added to this listing and an improved version of a supposed sequence of issue may be achieved. This type of work frequently provides interesting results due to the discovery of characteristics not otherwise noticed by previous numismatists. Examining pieces in at least VF condition is necessary, as on too many occasions poorer specimens, or those that have suffered from the elements, create in our imagination new types, but are in reality nothing more than evidence of distortion.

The fact that four obverse dies were created depicting profile portraits of Broke, combined with three reverse dies, suggests that these coins were produced over a lengthy period of time. The virtual proof of this is that though the reverse dies held up well, those of the obverse

¹ A reverse similar to that appearing on C. 327 is represented on a Wellington halfpenny, dated 1815 (Eimer 1994; Withers 1999: 249). It seems to me likely that the Brokes were British products.

deteriorated in the case of each variety, with the probable exception of Courteau 329, which likely had a short period of circulation, as attested by its rarity.

One of the Broke varieties (C. 327) shows in this sampling of specimens numerous states of the obverse die, though its reverse remains reasonably constant. The weights of C. 326-328 in this group range between 6.64 and 7.27 grams. The weight of C. 329 is unknown. C. 325 is another matter, as it was evidently not produced by the same manufacturer. The weights of six specimens examined of that variety are of coins struck on heavier flans, varying between 7.53 and 8.19 grams. Two worn specimens in F-VF, and G-VG, are not included with the six coins catalogued; the second of the two lost weight due to being very worn, weighing only 6.62 grams. The variety that showed the most extended period of circulation is C. 327, and numbers 9-18 in the listing below represent that variety, being 40% of the examples examined in this collection. C. 326 is uncommon, and a fourth, C. 328, is scarce. In the case of C. 326 the differences from one state to the next are simply a matter of die break extensions. The first state of C. 328 shows an added fourth button, but the other two specimens described here are similar to the Courteau description of that number and lack that fourth button, possibly due to the striking pressure. McLachlan has noted, in connection with the entire series, that the relief is typically low and the edge milling poorly accomplished. This is certainly the case, with the exception of C. 325, which is the work of another maker.

Only two specimens were known of the rare C. 329 in the 1920s; the Langstroth piece sold in 1976 may be a third, but it could represent either Lees' or Courteau's specimen, perhaps obtained by purchase or exchange. It is not present in the collection but has been included in the listing. I have owned only one specimen, purchased at the McKay-Clements sale in 1976 (ex-Langstroth Coll.), but this has long since been sold. I once thought that it closely resembled C. 327, but even an examination of the plate in Courteau shows a younger man, with differing hairstyle, and small buttons to the coat, as well as smaller letters in the legend.

It appears to me that the order of issue is as follows: C. 326 is listed here as the first of the Broke coppers; C. 328 is the second, and is followed by 327, the commonest variety; C. 329 is the fourth; and C. 325 has been arbitrarily designated last, mainly due to the fact that it is not die related to the others. It could easily have been placed first, however, as Courteau has done, but is treated separately. D.T. Batty has noted an important element relating to C. 325 which was never referred to by any other of the published writers on the subject of the Brokes, although Courteau had noticed the ribbon on the Captain's coat. Batty's *Province of Canada*, no. 849, describes this variety, commenting that "Mr. McLachlan, p. 77, does not mention the Decoration on Breast; it is only discernible on a very fine impression" (Batty 1898: 1231, no. 849).² On his return to England in December, 1813, Broke was awarded the small Naval gold medal, which had been abolished in 1815. On January 3, 1815, he received the KCB, therefore, if the 1814 date of the coin is to be believed, the decoration on Broke's breast must be the Naval gold medal. The fact that this variety is the only one to show the medal might persuade some to believe that it should be ranked as the first issue. Although the one engraver depicted Broke with his medal, this does not constitute proof that this variety preceded the others, only that he was more discerning in his depiction of the hero.

The portraits of Broke depicted on the coppers are, in my opinion, dissimilar to the few engravings seen of the Captain from the same period. However, the coppers show him in profile, while in the engravings he is facing. The characteristic that is common to both is the Captain's curly hair. The lack of similarity is not surprising as the aim was not the production of an elegant portraiture, but rather the speedy drive to the marketplace of popular mementos of the hero. Broke's portrait on C. 326, as well as that portrayed on C. 325, represents a young man; C. 329

²Batty's nos. 849-861 reference pieces with flaws, casts, and on thinner and smaller flans.

represents a man of middle age; C. 327 and 328 depict a much older man, a misrepresentation, as Broke was only 38 at the date indicated on the coin.

The coin has been catalogued by a number of numismatic writers and I thought it would be interesting to record chronologically the works wherein the varieties have been considered. Commercial references only considered it necessary to describe it in a generic fashion. Two varieties were identified by 1872, and fourteen years later a third was added, while a fourth was catalogued in 1903, and the last, the rare C. 329 was noted in 1908, two years before Courteau's publication. General works which include the Brokes but do not reference varieties are not included in this list, such as R.W. McLachlan's "Annals of the Nova Scotian Currency" (1892). It is surprising that the little volume for "The young collector," *Coins and Tokens of the English Colonies*, published by Daniel Howorth in 1890 had not noted the Brokes.

1862. Christmas, Rev. Henry. *Copper Coinage of the British Colonies in America* (London: The Numismatic Society of London). His number 7 describes a single variety.
1869. Sandham, Alfred. *Coins, Tokens and Medals of the Dominion of Canada* (Montreal: Daniel Rose). Number 8 in the Nova Scotia section describes one variety, which he has illustrated, but that image is dissimilar to all of the varieties.
1872. Sandham, Alfred. In his *Supplement to Coins, Tokens, and Medals of the Dominion of Canada* (Montreal: Daniel Rose), under number 8, he has added another variety based on a reverse variant. In this case he appears to identify C. 325, of which the left point of the trident passes beyond and touches the letter I in BRITANNIA.
1886. McLachlan, R.W. *Canadian Numismatics* (Montreal: Privately printed). Three varieties are described for the first time. The obverses have been compared only by the mention of buttons on the coat. The first variety listed (CCCVII) represents C. 325. The following number clearly represents C. 328, a scarce variety. The last described is the common C. 327. It is curious that C. 326 had not come to his attention as it is more common than C. 328 and very distinctive. Leroux in 1888 and 1890, Scott (1890) and Breton (1894) have all noted three varieties, but without description.
1889. Atkins, James. *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire* (London: Bernard Quaritch). Surprisingly, the author only notes two varieties, differing in the position of the trident.
1895. Batty, D.T. *Appendix to Batty's Descriptive Catalogue of the Copper Coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, British Isles, and Colonies*. Vol. IV (London: Bernard Quaritch). He appears to note the same varieties that McLachlan described.
1903. Gibbs, Jeremiah. "The Broke Half-Pennies," *The Numismatist*, 16, 2 (February): 44-46. Gibbs is the first numismatist to give a history of the battle, and is the first to record the mule, C. 328. He refers to the sprig as an olive branch.
1908. B. Max Mehl's *Numismatic Monthly* for February 1908 featured an article entitled "Battle Flag for Sale." The flag for sale was that of the *S.S. Chesapeake*, and it was being offered in London with other relics relating to historic events. What is of note regarding the

Broke tokens is the mention that five die varieties were in existence, perhaps the first printed record of that fact.

1910. Courteau, Eugene. *The Coins and Tokens of Nova Scotia* (St. Jacques, Que.: Privately printed).
1937. Raymond, Wayte. *The Coins and Tokens of Canada* (New York: Wayte Raymond, Inc.). A solitary variety is noted and illustrated. His second edition and the Charlton catalogues from 1952-1959 followed the same format by including different cuts of the piece in which the image of Broke is altogether different and not representative of any of the varieties. The recording of a single variety is not due to ignorance of the existence of several varieties, but rather the choice of a generic image as die variety collecting was more of a specialization. In 1960 three varieties are referred to, and this persisted throughout the annual catalogues until at least 1977. In 1988, the Charlton catalogue, *Canadian Colonial Tokens* (Toronto: The Charlton Press), published by Bill Cross, catalogued all five varieties.
1958. Willey, R.C. "Coins and Tokens of Canada Before Confederation," *The CN Journal*, 3, 8 (August): 207, refers to the five varieties, with the differences being "in the number of buttons on Broke's coat, the alignment of *Scotia*, and the height of the two ships' mainmasts."
1958. Gould, Maurice M. "Varieties of Canadian Tokens," *The CN Journal*, 3, 9 (September): 273. Gould describes four varieties, based on head size, including his variety 3, "button on shoulder strap." However, three of the varieties have buttons fastening the shoulder strap.
1960. Willey, R.C. *The Coins of Canada*. *The CN Journal*, 5, 10 (October): 450. He conforms to Courteau, but states that the only difference between the C. 329 and 326, 327 obverses is the fourth button, which is an inaccuracy.
1971. Haxby, J.A. & Willey, R.C. *Coins of Canada* (Toronto: The Unitrade Press), through to the 16th edition of 1998, noted only a single variety, again only because of simplifying the series since variety collecting was the exception with collectors rather than the rule.
2012. Haxby, James A. *A Guide Book of Canadian Coins and Tokens* (Atlanta, GA: Whitman Publishing). Two "basic varieties" are described. They are the two commonest and most distinctive types, C. 325 and 327.

Catalogue

[1] C. 326, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.08 grams. Young bust variety. Obverse: Three buttons on coat, and one fastening the shoulder strap to the collar. This example shows a very early state of the break through OTI of SCOTIA. The epaulet is well defined on this variety. Reverse: The upper and middle tines are barbed to the right only. There are nine leaves to the laurel sprig held by Britannia in her right hand, assembled in groups of three. Same reverse as C. 328, but an earlier die state. Coin examined is AU.

[2] C. 326, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 6.94 grams. This piece is from a later state than that described by Courteau. It shows a heavy break through OTI of SCOTIA. HALIFAX is noticeably weaker than in the preceding. The bottom button is very weakly struck up. Same reverse state as preceding but not quite so well defined. Coin examined is almost EF.

[3] C. 326, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.04 grams. The break clearly overruns the T, continuing to bottom of A, and there is a "spoke" from top of O. Coin examined is worn, about fine. I have broken my grading rule on this one.

[4] C. 326. Chris Faulkner's specimen, which is an even later obverse die state, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 6.49 grams. The break almost fills the body of the O in SCOTIA, and progresses above the same letter. The S and C of SCOTIA in particular, but indeed the entire lettering of SCOTIA have become almost obscured. This piece has a reasonably strong fourth button, but the second one is weak, more so than on my weakest specimen, no. 3. Faulkner's coin is a full EF (no illustration).

[5] C. 328, old bust variety, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.39 grams. This specimen is a very early strike, clearly showing a fourth button on collar, not fitting the Courteau description. The coin is in almost uncirculated condition. Faulkner Coll. (no illustration).

[6] C. 328, old bust variety, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 6.64 grams. Obverse: This variety is easily distinguishable due to the closeness of SC in SCOTIA. Three buttons on coat, none on the collar as the strap ends at bottom of the collar. The three buttons on coat are well struck up; the epaulet is well defined. Spike at right downstroke of second A in Halifax, virtually a continuation of top of centre-stroke, a feature occurring on all specimens of both C. 327 and 328. A of NOVA much higher than other letters in all cases of this variety. Reverse: Same as nos. [1] and [2], Courteau 326, with same characteristics in the case of the tines, and the shield is well struck up. Some of the letters on reverse appear decorated at bottom, i.e., split in centre of base, e.g., B R I T N N I. The phenomenon is probably due to striking pressure. Coin examined is EF

[7] C. 328, old bust variety, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.27 grams. Reverse as above, but does not show signs of splitting, suggesting to me that the force of the strike may have produced the result on the preceding specimen. The letters in HALIFAX have not deteriorated, as have those in the following number, C. 327, which quickly confirms that C. 328 is the first issue of this obverse. Coin examined is AU.

This group (C. 326 to 328) is particularly problematic due to the poor planchet quality, the accumulation of normal dirt, distortion, damage or imperfections, and striking quality. Pieces in very fine or extremely fine may appear very different when compared with others of a similar grade.

In trying to assign a sequence of issue to C. 327 I have followed the rust. Die breaks are not an issue with C. 327. Nevertheless, contradictions occur in trying to establish sequence of issue. I have therefore revised the several attempts made in assigning die states, as other collectors will no doubt locate new states not present in this collection.

[8] C. 327, old bust variety as C. 328, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 6.65 grams. The die has started to wear, notably in the case of the epaulet, which is less distinct, and most importantly at the lapel, which has entirely lost its border; the outline of the collar is only partly visible to right,

and the buttons are weaker impressions than on the mother die (C. 328). The coin examined is almost the equal in condition to both preceding examples, nos. 6 and 7. Minimal rust on obverse, which in all following examples is particularly evident in HALIFAX. The V in NOVA is joined at top, which is not the case with C. 328. The K in BROKE is open at top and bottom. The middle button on coat is double cut to left on all examples seen of the variety. The bottom button shows signs of this to left lapel as well, the only instance in which I have noted that feature with this variety, but this is perhaps due to the button being somewhat more distinct as a result of being an earlier state. The laurel sprig on reverse held by Britannia in her right hand has eight leaves, five to its right side, and three to its left. This gives an unbalanced appearance. Each specimen examined of this variety shows a peculiarity in the area close to the I, between the I and T, in the form of a dot at bottom and towards the top. This probably represents the remnants of an earlier placement of the letter I which had not been entirely removed. Later states become filled in and form what appears to be a thin version of the letter. Coin examined is EF.

[9] C. 327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 6.93 grams. The X in HALIFAX is joined at bottom and almost at the top by rust. This specimen is a splendid example of the possibility which arises of assigning a later state in the sequence of issue, an error I had previously made. This is because of the poor quality of the planchet, which shows cracking in the area between the top button, collar, and lapel, and the angle at which the collar and lapel join, seen in the next few specimens. Coin examined is VF-EF.

[10] C. 327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.07 grams. This specimen is close to the preceding in state and grade, but the planchet has not suffered as has the previous specimen. The X has closed at top and a slight cavity in the jacket appears, occurring below the collar next the shoulder to left of the lapel, perhaps having commenced in the last example described. This defect continues to advance until the eventual recutting of the collar and outline of the lapel. Coin examined is EF.

[11] C. 327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.11 grams. Same as the above. Because I overlooked the difference in condition I was at first convinced that this specimen was later than several of the subsequent listings, as wear on the left side of the epaulet had given the impression of an extension of the cavity. The right top of S (a salient feature in later states) appears joined to its body, but it is merely the result of damage, rather than being a more advanced state. This is a good example of how one can be led astray in the case of C. 327 due to poor planchet quality occasionally creating the illusion of die deterioration. Coin examined is VF.

Left Side of Collar Lacking

[12] C.327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.03 grams. The singular appearance of this piece appears to contradict a sequential entry of die states, at first giving the impression of being much later. The cavity effaces half the collar at left, curving downward to bottom of jacket at the shoulder, and from collar area upward curves through the cheek and head between eye and hair; the middle and top button have been affected, and are weak, yet still easily visible. The lower button has disappeared, not a result of the cavity. The cavity has a distinct bow-like appearance. The mid-stroke of F is joined to top-stroke. The second A in HALIFAX is almost closed in the middle, but planchet damage from border to left centre, and to right bottom between A and X, are distracting. The K is joined at top and bottom. Another unusual feature is a neatly incised line

through the bottom of jacket, which actually finishes it rather pleasantly. The coin itself shows the bow-like cavity plainly, but it is not as apparent on the illustration. Coin examined is VF-EF.

Collar Complete, but no Top Button

[13] C. 327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.21 grams. The mid-stroke of the F is almost joined to top-stroke and may be joined to foot. S almost closed to centre from top and bottom strokes. The K is almost joined at top and bottom. An almost triangular cavity occurs from right of second button on coat, effacing part of the left side of epaulet to right of shoulder, ending at collar causing the loss of the top button. The collar is fully visible, a seeming contradiction based on the previous specimen which had wiped out half of the collar. I have followed the die rust in assigning this piece as later than No. 12. Coin examined is EF.

Number 12 exhibits two features considered later than number 13, *viz.*, the case of the F and the K. However, the distinction with the open S in the first number has prompted me, perhaps incorrectly, to maintain the present order.

Top Button Present

[14] C. 327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.18 grams. The finishing strokes of S at top and bottom are joined to centre stroke. The K joined at top and bottom. Coin examined is VF-EF.

[15] C. 327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.11 grams. The bottom button barely shows. Other than the top part, the epaulet is weak. The letters in HALIFAX and NOVA all show rust; S joined; K clearly joined at top and bottom. Coin examined is VF-EF.

Outline to Lapel Reappears

[16] C. 327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.05 grams. The outline to lapel reappears, as in the earliest state of C. 328, which is another anomaly. The hair has even more detail than the earliest state, although the grade of this piece is inferior to that of the first obverse die state. This suggests a reworking of the die, although it seems illogical to take the trouble to rework one that has already deteriorated so badly. HALIFAX and NOVA show much heavier rust than the preceding. Coin examined is VF-EF.

[17] C. 327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 6.96 grams. The obverse die has rusted throughout the entire field, and HALIFAX has rusted throughout. The three buttons on the coat show distinctly. The reverse die has held up well. This specimen and the following one are in the highest state of preservation of the entire group of Brokes, being virtually as struck.

[18] C. 327, ae, milled edge, dies upright. 7.27 grams. HALIFAX has the appearance of being weakly struck, but that is due to the heavy rust that has advanced so far as to create a haziness to the city's name. NOVA has also become badly rusted. The bottom button on coat has become virtually unidentifiable, and on a lesser specimen it would be considered entirely absent. The reverse has still held up nicely. Coin examined is virtually as struck.

Numbers 15-18 are truly darker copper, as appears in the illustrations.

[19] C. 329, not examined, but commented on simply based on the Courteau plate coin. Though I do not own a specimen, it bears the same reverse as C. 327 so it likely succeeded the last variety. The SC in SCOTIA is properly placed and the design is somewhat more refined. The beaded border is smaller and better defined than on any of the other varieties. Broke appears as a middle-aged man in this profile (no illustration).

[20] C. 325, ae, finely milled edge, dies upset. 7.64 grams. A tall, young bust which depicts, in my opinion, a younger man than is portrayed on other varieties. There are traces of a die flaw between HALIFAX and NOVA, and another, slightly more pronounced, between NOVA and SCOTIA. In later issues this takes on the appearance of a hyphen. A small rust spot occurs just below bust above the N and there are two small rust spots between VA. The reverse portrays a rather large version of Britannia. There are eight leaves to the laurel sprig held by Britannia in her right hand, four to each side. Coin examined is VF.

The shield on the reverse of C. 325 is more weakly struck up than on the other varieties.

[21] C. 325, ae, as previous. 7.96 grams. VF.

[22] C. 325, ae, finely milled edge, dies upset. 7.53 grams. As above, but the rust between VA is more advanced. Coin examined is VF.

[23] C. 325, ae, finely milled edge, dies upset. 8.19 grams. The flaw between NOVA and SCOTIA is pronounced and almost appears as a hyphen. Two other small rust spots under point of bust above right top of X. Coin examined is about VF.

[24] C. 325, ae, more lightly milled than previous pieces, dies upset. 7.81 grams. An additional rust spot below point of bust, above top right of X; rust has accumulated between VA. The decoration on the breast is clearly seen. Coin examined is VF-EF.

[25] C. 325, ae, edge appears plain, but traces of milling in one area, dies upset. 7.58 grams. Late die state, as preceding. The decoration on the breast is more clearly visible on this and the preceding, mostly due to the superior condition of both coins, and the small size of the medal relative to the ribbon suggests that it may well be the small gold naval medal. The beads in border appear only to the right, and are fused together, while the rest have flattened out, the border having closed to leave little trace of the beading. This effect started to occur with the previous specimen with lighter milling. The reverse is similar, but traces of beading are evident from just beneath the right exergual line running counter clockwise to above the first I, and then fading until they disappear at the left waterline. Coin examined is VF-EF.

All five examples of C. 325 are on dark copper.

Conclusion

In October, 1985 (Catalogue No. 33), I wrote a short article on a Broke copper from a cancelled die, and at the same time organized what I perceived to be the sequence of issue of each variety, which I am relieved to say tallies with what I have presently determined. I am also satisfied that the illustration in that article of C. 327, no longer in my possession, shows a die state which is similar to the very latest of the pieces in the group described here.

The above descriptions represent a preliminary listing of the die states of the Brokes, based on only twenty-five pieces. Of these, twenty-two are from my collection, two belong to Chris Faulkner, and another (C. 329) is recorded, although it has not been examined. It is surprising, in a sense, that of the twenty-five pieces twenty appear to represent states of the dies from very early to what appear to be the latest states. I am tentative on this, as coins even in a fine state of preservation cannot be absolutely designated as to a specific die state until many more examples have been examined. The differences are at times minor. My concern, therefore, is that those differences may occasionally be problematic, the result of porosity, planchet imperfections, verdigris or corrosion, not always evident as such, but that they can be the cause of a misdiagnosis. It will be an ongoing task to further record other specimens that come to hand and I am hopeful that others may want to tackle the task, adding to and correcting errors that are likely to have occurred in this small sampling of Broke coppers. In the case of the study of Wood 23 prepared by Ernie Everingham and myself, I had 169 specimens of that variety on a large drafting table in my office. It was an intimidating task, and most days I chose to take the easy way out by ignoring it. But, it eventually got done.

Bibliography

- Baker, Warren. [1985], "Two Canadian Pieces Struck From Cancelled Dies," *Numismatics* (Catalogue No. 33). Montreal: Privately printed: 16.
- Breton, P.-N. 1894. *Histoire Illustrée des Monnaies et Jetons du Canada / Illustrated History of Coins and Tokens of Canada*. Montreal: Privately published.
- Everingham, Ernie, and Warren Baker. 1989. "Wood 23: Issues and Die States," *Jeffrey Hoare Auctions* (Catalogue No. 13), October 26-28: 142-144.
- Batty, D. T. 1895. *Appendix to Batty's Descriptive Catalogue of the Copper Coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, British Isles, and Colonies*. Vol. IV. London: Bernard Quaritch
- Courteau, Eugene. 1910. *The Coins and Tokens of Nova Scotia*. St. Jacques, Que.: Privately printed.
- Eimer, Christopher. 1994. *Medallic Portraits of the Duke of Wellington*. London: Spink.
- Grawley, Tim. 2006. "The Shannon and the Chesapeake," *The CN Journal*, 51, 10 (December): 490-492.
- Howorth, Daniel. 1890. *Coins and Tokens of the English Colonies*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
- Leroux, Jos. 1888, 1892. *Le Médailleur du Canada / The Canadian Coin Cabinet*. Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin et Fils.
- McLachlan, R.W. 1892. "Annals of the Nova Scotian Currency," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (Section II): 33-68.
- Padfield, Peter. 1968. *Broke and the Shannon*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Pullen, H. F. 1970. *The Shannon and the Chesapeake*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Pullen, H.F. 1988. "Broke, Sir Philip Bowes Vere," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol. VII. University of Toronto Press and Laval University: 106-107.

Standard Coin Catalogue: Copper. 1890. New York: Scott Stamp & Coin Co., Ltd.

Snyder, C. H. J. 1923. *The Glorious "Shannon's" Old Blue Duster*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Withers, Paul and Bente. 1999. *British Copper Tokens 1811-1820*. Llanfyllin, Powys: Galata Print Ltd.

Die States of Varieties of Breton 879



C. 326
[1]



C. 326
[2]



C. 326
[3]



C. 328
[6]



C. 328
[7]



C. 327
[8]



C. 327
[9]



C. 327
[10]



C. 327
[11]



C. 327
[12]



C. 327
[13]



C. 327
[14]



C. 327
[15]



C. 327
[16]



C. 327
[17]



C. 327
[18]



C. 325
[20]



C. 325
[21]



C. 325
[22]



C. 325
[23]



C. 325
[24]



C. 325
[25]



C. 326
[1]



C. 327
[13]



C. 325
[25]

**Iliffe or Iliff, Which Witch is Which:
Thomas Iliffe, His Family, Their Bakery, and Bread Tokens 1849-1907**
by
Paul S. Berry, FCNRS

Thomas Iliffe's bread tokens are among Ottawa's oldest merchant tokens. Robert McLachlan, Canada's premier numismatist of the 19th century, drew these pieces to the attention of the numismatic community in 1885.¹ The tokens subsequently were listed in Leroux (1888) Breton (1890; 1894) and Paquet (1893). Yet, despite this attention during Canada's golden years of token collecting, these pieces are not well understood today.

The Man and His Store

Thomas Iliffe was born in Bolton, England, in 1818. He came to New York in 1840 and four years later immigrated to Canada.² He opened a store in Ottawa in 1849; by the mid 1860s he operated the City Bakery in Lowertown on St. Patrick between Dalhousie and Sussex Streets. In 1866 the business moved to the west side of Dalhousie (no. 212) between Church and St. Andrew. Sometime between 1875 and 1878 the business moved for the last time to 170 Rideau on the south side of the street between Waller and Nicholas. About this time the business was renamed the Dominion Bakery. Thomas's son Samuel became the proprietor (about 1881). By 1888, Samuel's brother Arthur W. had taken charge of the firm. It was renamed A.W. Iliff, then in 1891 A.W. and W. J. Iliff when William J. joined his brother, and finally Iliff Bros. from 1898 until the business closed in the middle of the first decade of the 20th century.

The use of two spellings for the family name, Iliffe or Iliff, is rather bizarre and has led to some confusion regarding the tokens. It has been said that the family name was misspelled.³ This, however, is incorrect. Period directories and paid advertisements demonstrate what surely must have been an intentional shift in the spelling of the family name. Thomas used the longer version of the family name. The shorter version first appeared in the Ottawa City Directory for 1882 and continued largely unchanged until the closure of the business. Its debut roughly coincides with Samuel taking over the business. Why he and his brothers would want to change their names in this fashion is unknown.⁴

¹ Robert McLachlan, "New Canadian Coins" *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, XII, 1, (January 1885).

² www.mundia.com/ca/Person/30011649/12596750809 (June, 2013).

³ See Stack's Coin Galleries auction, April 28, 2010, lot 3171.

⁴ The use of Iliffe before 1882 and Iliff thereafter is not absolute (for instance see the Dominion Bakery ad below), but there is a definite pattern of use on either side of this date.



Fig. 1. Detail of a Fire Insurance Map of Ottawa showing the arrangement of buildings that formed Thomas Iliffe's City Bakery at 170 Rideau in June 1878.

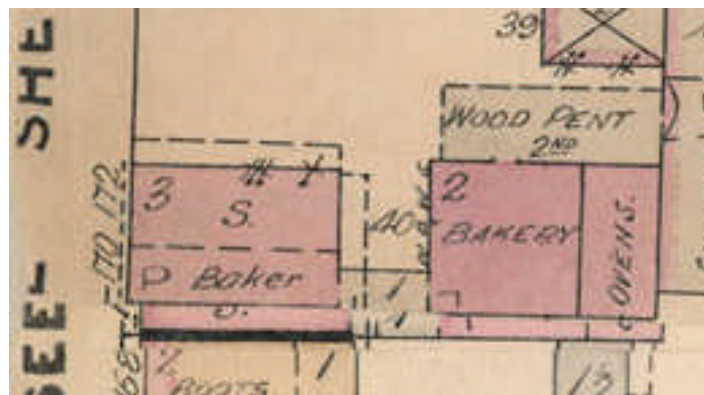


Fig. 2. Detail of a Fire Insurance Map of Ottawa showing the arrangement of buildings that formed Iliff Bros. Bakery at 170 Rideau in January 1901.⁵ The area appears to have experienced little change since 1878 other than a subdivision of the main building and the addition of some awnings.

Thomas, the dean of the Iliffe family, witnessed all of these changes to the bakery he founded. It is unclear if he had any real authority after the mid 1880s, but he certainly was enough of a fixture in Ottawa to be called one of the city's well known merchants in an article that appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen* in 1933. Like many other British expats he was civic minded, serving as the Ottawa Public School Board's member for Ottawa Ward in the early 1870s.⁶ In 1893, the *Ottawa Citizen* called him an ardent Britisher for his rather excessive reaction to another, presumably American, merchant who dared fly the Stars and Stripes in a nearby shop on July 4th.⁷

⁵ Charles E. Goad, *Insurance Plan of the City of Ottawa Canada and Adjoining Suburbs and Lumber Districts*. Montreal and London, January 1888. (Revised January 1901.)

⁶ He was defeated in the election of 1876. *The Ottawa Times*, January 1876.

⁷ *The Ottawa Citizen*, March 17, 1933.

He also was a longstanding member of the St. George's Society.⁸ This, however, did not keep him from running afoul of his fellow Brits. In 1874 he became embroiled in a war of words with fellow Ottawa baker Samuel B. Slinn over the quality of his product. Thomas was a man who did not shirk from taking action and speaking his mind when he felt his interests were being abused. This straightforward approach is especially obvious in the text of an ad he placed in the April 26th, 1866 edition of the *Ottawa Times*. It read simply "Wanted.—Two Practical Bakers, at the City Bakery, corner of Church and Dalhousie Streets. None but sober men need apply." Thomas died at Ottawa early in March 1907 as a result of an injury sustained in an accident on Sparks Street. He was buried in Beechwood Cemetery.⁹

Thomas' bakery, like many businesses during this period, was a family affair. Period directories show that Thomas was the proprietor or master baker until 1882, at which point Samuel, who had been a baker in the business at least since the 1860s, took on this role. Samuel's brother, William J., then became the foreman baker through the early 1880s while another brother, Arthur W., assumed roles variously described as a bread driver, clerk, or salesman. The firm supplemented these positions by hiring help as needed. Often, this took the form of journeymen bakers who lived either on premises or nearby to be handy for the 5:00 a.m. start that was usual for the profession. Directories also show that the Iliffes hired female help as clerks in the shop. Few of the hired help remained beyond two years.

Year	Name	Profession
1888-89	George Harber, John McGuire	Baker
1889-90	Charles Dietz, P. Michael Dunn, Charles Rosebury	Baker
1890-94	No record of additional staff	
1895-96	William H. Shorter	Baker
1896-97	William H. Shorter, Bernard Seers	Baker
	David Charbonneau	Foreman
1897-98	David Charbonneau	Baker
1898-99	Henri Labreche, J.R. Louis Lalonde, John Edwards	Baker

Fig. 3. *Journeymen bakers who worked for Iliff over the 10 years 1888-1898.*

By 1887, Arthur W. had replaced his brother Samuel as proprietor. It is unclear what prompted Samuel's departure. He married Matilda Johnson of Rockland in October 1883 and there is evidence that he moved for a time to Montreal. By 1890, however, he had returned to Ottawa but worked on his own and for another concern. In 1895, he resumed work at his brother's bakery and remained there for at least the next five years. Thereafter, he and his family moved to Toronto, where he died in 1912. William J. joined his brother Arthur as co-proprietor of the business in 1891 and the two brothers continued in that role until October 1902 when William died. He was unmarried. Arthur continued the business at least until 1905 after which it

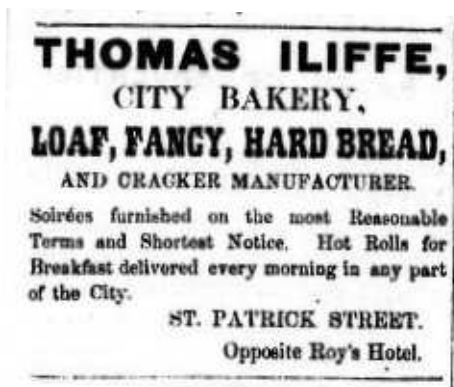
⁸ His affiliation with this group is mentioned in his obituary and his name appears on the 1874 register of members printed in *The Act of Incorporation and Bylaws of the St. George's Society of Ottawa* (Ottawa: Citizen Printing and Publishing Company, 1874): 16.

⁹ *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 15, 1907, reported that Thomas Iliffe's estate was probated at \$6,200.

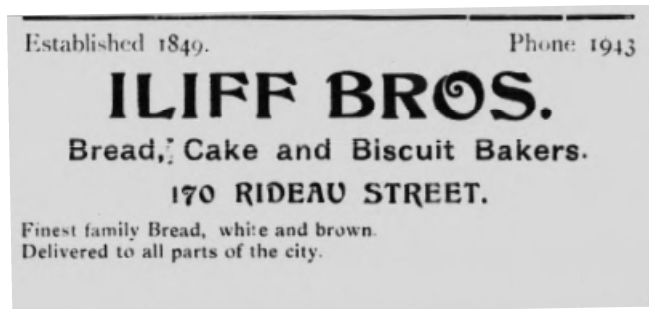
closed. The property was sold or leased to another baker; one Walter H. Millar operated a bakery at 170 Rideau at the end of decade.¹⁰

Thomas and his sons advertised a wide variety of product, including white and brown loaves of bread, fancy loaves, breakfast rolls, biscuits, and crackers. They advertised delivery across Ottawa and apparently also sent their delivery carts and sleighs into Hull. As it happens, the expansion of the Iliffe business across the Ottawa River was not without risk. The minutes of the Corporation of the City of Hull for February 15, 1881, record that the city council authorized legal proceedings against Thomas Iliffe for damages incurred when one of Iliffe's carts ran into a street light. The author has not discovered the outcome of this action.

Advertisements



The Ottawa Citizen Almanac (1864): 45. Guide to the City of Ottawa and Dominion Exhibition (1879): 39.



University of Ottawa Review (1903): 44. Souvenir of Ottawa Fire Department (1905): 96.

¹⁰ Genealogical information from <http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~maryc/iliff.htm> (July 28, 2013).

The Tokens

McLachlan (1885) reported that Thomas Iliffe had arranged with Mingard, an Ottawa die sinker and partner in the token manufacturer Pritchard and Mingard, precursor to Pritchard and Andrews, to manufacture bread tickets in values of ½ and 1 loaf.¹¹ All of the pieces McLachlan described were in relief, uniface, and struck in brass with a simple obverse design consisting of a crown in the centre, the denomination above, and the family name ILIFFE below.

In fact, Thomas Iliffe and his son(s) issued two distinct groups of tokens, which are distinguishable from one another by their design and the spelling of the Iliffe family name. The first group, noted by McLachlan, was struck in relief and bears the family name spelled as ILIFFE (Figure 4). The second group, issued later, has incuse designs and the family name rendered as ILIFF (Figure 5). Both groups include tokens of ½ and 1 loaf values struck in brass. There are also lead and copper examples of the first group and copper-nickel examples of the second.



Fig. 4. Group 1 ILIFFE and relief design.



Fig. 5. Group 2 ILIFF and incuse design.

Popular 19th century catalogues did not do a good job listing these two groups.¹² Their information focused on the early Iliffe issue as described by McLachlan. This has led to confusion among collectors as to what exactly exists. In drawing upon McLachlan's report of 1885, Leroux (1888) listed a brass ½ and 1 loaf token (nos. 1030, 1029) and mentioned that there were two varieties of the 1 loaf token and a third 1 loaf in lead. He was the first to illustrate the pieces. Leroux's illustrations understandably are of the ILIFFE group. Breton (1890) numbered the ½ and 1 loaf tokens as 224 and 223 respectively. Breton (1894) assigned the pieces numbers 736 and 735. Breton used images similar to those of Leroux and in so doing perpetuated a narrow view of what actually existed. As Breton became the standard by which pre- and post-

¹¹ Iliffe probably approached Pritchard and Mingard because in the late 1870s the firm was located a few doors down the street from Iliffe at 190 Rideau.

¹² The same could be said for 20th century catalogues. See below: Appendix C - Concordance of References.

Confederation tokens were listed in Canada, this situation led to modifications of the Breton numbering scheme as cataloguers and auctioneers attempted to make the varieties “fit” into the limited range of numbers that Breton had provided for these tokens.¹³

Ironically, the two groups of tokens were correctly listed and illustrated in the 19th century. The Ottawa numismatist F.X. Paquet included these pieces in his 1893 study of the tokens and checks of the Ottawa region. He assigned no. 54 and no. 55 to the 1 and ½ loaf tokens as described by McLachlan, and no. 89 and no. 90 to the incuse varieties. He also correctly noted all known metals in which the tokens were struck. Breton and Leroux certainly would have been aware of this listing. Both cataloguers corresponded with Paquet, but why they chose not to include the updates in subsequent supplements to their catalogues is a mystery. Or is it?

By the early 1890s Ottawa was implicated in the production of tokens specifically for sale to collectors. In a letter to Paquet dated July 9, 1892, A.J. Boucher, a Montreal resident, avid token collector, and long standing member of the Montreal Antiquarian and Numismatic Society, complained of the damage false merchant tokens were having on the hobby. He also said that both cataloguers refused to list any pieces of this ilk in future works:

LeRoux et Breton déclinent, à ce qu’ils disent, d’en illustrer davantage, dans leurs catalogues futurs – et je suis persuadé que nombre de collectionneurs des Etats-Unis qui commençaient à affectionner la série Canadienne – s’en détourneront maintenant avec effroi.¹⁴

Perhaps these cataloguers were unwilling to chance the incuse Iliffs even though there is no evidence that they were anything but legitimate issues.¹⁵

Group 1 - Iliffe in Relief				
P.54a	1 loaf	lead	24.6 mm	4.3 g
P.54b	1 loaf	brass	23.8 -24.0 mm	4.3-4.8g
P.54c	1 loaf	brass	23.7 mm	4.5 g
P.54d	1 loaf	brass	23.7 mm	4.6 g
P.54e	1 loaf	brass	23.7 mm	4.5 g
P.54f	1 loaf	copper	23.7 mm	4.5 g
P.55a	½ loaf	lead	20.4 mm	3.1 g
P.55b	½ loaf	brass	20.2 mm	3.4 g
Group 2 - Iliff Incuse				
P.89a	1 loaf	brass	22.8 mm	4.40 g
P.89b	1 loaf	copper-nickel	22.7 mm	4.99 g
P.89c	1 loaf	copper-nickel	22.8 mm	4.93 g
P.90a	½ loaf	brass	19.7 mm	3.2 g
P.90b	½ loaf	copper-nickel	19.5 mm	3.7 g

Fig. 6. *Principal varieties of the Iliffe / Iliff tokens.*

¹³ Charlton was the first modern cataloguer to differentiate between the two groups. In his enlarged and revised catalogue of 1971, he expanded the list from the traditional two pieces to include the group 2 issue and he numbered these by adding a suffix “a” to the Breton (1894) numbers.

¹⁴ “LeRoux and Breton refuse as they say to illustrate any of these pieces in their future catalogues – and I am persuaded that a number of collectors in the United States, who were beginning to take a liking to the Canadian series, will now turn away from it in disgust.” Author’s translation.

¹⁵ Although often found in good condition, some incuse pieces do show wear indicative of use in the trade.

Group 1 – The ILIFFE Tokens in Relief

Although unknown to the numismatic community before 1885, tokens may have been issued by Thomas Iliffe as early as 1880, if not before.¹⁶ In fact, the use of the crown as a central motif in the token's design may suggest that their issue was tied to the renaming of the firm in the late 1870s as the Dominion Bakery. Assuming the Iliffe family only ever issued the two groups of tokens discussed thus far, then the tokens in relief as described by McLachlan must be the oldest Iliffe issue as they bear the earlier, long version of the family name, in use until about 1882.

As noted above, the first group consists of 1 and ½ loaf uniface tokens. The 1 loaf was struck in lead, brass, and copper; the ½ loaf in lead and brass. Thanks to Thomas's unusual habit of stamping numbers on the reverse of some pieces, we can arrange these metals and their varieties in their probable sequence of production (Figure 7).¹⁷

Paquet No. ¹⁸	Metal	Description	No. Range ¹⁹
P.54a	Lead	Ob. Wide crown, right leaning O; Rv. Thin numbers.	70 – 547
P.54b	Brass / Dark Brass	Ob. Wide crown, right leaning O, die cracks over O of LOAF and from L of LOAF though I of ILIFFE; Rv. Thin numbers; centre dimple.	1116 – 1182
P.54c	Brass	Ob. Tall narrow crown, beads overlap left arm, die crack from L to crown. Soft flat strike, solid border, Rv. Large numbers, flat flan with circular machine marks.	1244 – 1828
P.54d	Brass	Ob. Tall narrow crown, prominent left lean to O; die crack from L and A of LOAF to E of ILIFFE; heavy strike, thin border; Rv. Large numbers.	1872 – 2082

¹⁶ In 1881, the Ottawa Firemen's Benevolent Association published a report on the proceeds of its picnic held in August 1880. It mentions that Iliffe donated a prize of 12 bread tickets worth \$1.50. See *To the Subscribers in Aid of the Ottawa Benevolent Firemen's Association* (Ottawa, C.W. Mitchell, 1881): 7.

¹⁷ Among the brass varieties (P.55 b, c, d, e) there are a few instances where pieces bear numbers that fall within the range of the other brass varieties. This may be an example of renumbering older pieces, or placing old numbers on new flans to replace lost pieces.

¹⁸ I have added letter suffixes to Paquet's original numbers to distinguish token varieties.

¹⁹ The boundaries are based upon known examples. See Appendix A for a complete listing of known numbers.

P.54e	Brass/Dark Brass	Ob. Tall narrow crown, prominent left lean to O; die crack from L and A of LOAF to E of ILIFFE; cud over A. Rv. Large numbers; brushed reverse.	2136
P.54f	Copper	Ob. Tall narrow crown, prominent left lean to O; die crack from L and A of LOAF to E of ILIFFE; cud over A; Rv. Large numbers; brushed back.	2175 – 2210

Fig. 7. *Sequence of issue of 1 loaf Iliffe tokens as suggested by numbers on the reverse.*

Oddly, McLachlan does not mention that the tokens were numbered. It is not known why Iliffe numbered his tokens. Compared with other bakers in Ottawa and elsewhere in Ontario, or even across Canada, this was an unusual practice.²⁰ Perhaps it was a measure to track the number of pieces issued; a security feature to foil employee theft; or, even more likely, a means of numbering accounts or identifying customers, rather like the first charge coins issued in the early 20th century. Large department stores in that era issued metal checks or tokens bearing simple designs consisting of the store name, emblem, and a customer number.²¹

Numbering is almost exclusively confined to 1 loaf tokens of the ILIFFE type. Only one example of a numbered ½ loaf token from Group 1 is known to the author. Two different styles of numbers were used; the first is simple and confined to lead and early brass issues (P.54a, b); the second style is larger, more ornate and was used on the remaining brass and copper issues (P.54 c, d, e, f) (Figure 8). The numbers appear to have been applied by hand. At first, spacing is inconsistent and the numbers are not in line. Later counterstamps show more care, but on occasion they lack consistency as demonstrated by the odd upside down 1. Some tokens even show evidence of having been restamped with new numbers (Figure 9). Perhaps a case of a former customer's token being reused for a new client?

²⁰ Contemporaries who might have been in a position to know why cannot offer any direction. Ottawa coin dealer Emily D. Gibson, in her 1907 catalogue, described the number as a date, which it clearly is not given the broad range of extant numbers.

²¹ See Brian Cohen, "Paypal Anonymity Play" at <https://letstalkbitcoin.com/316/> (May 21, 2015) for several references from 1901 to the use of charge coins in Philadelphia department stores.



Fig. 8. *Different numbering styles: early at left, later to right.*



Fig. 9. *A renumbered token. The number 1277 is barely visible at right angles to 1934.*

Group 1 - Lead Issue (P.54a P.55a)

To judge from numbered examples, the 1 and ½ loaf pieces in lead (P.54a, P.55a) would appear to be the oldest Iliffe tokens and perhaps those pieces mentioned in the Ottawa Firemen's publication of 1881. However, when McLachlan visited Ottawa, sometime before 1885, only the brass varieties seem to have been available as he mentions no lead examples. Numbered and unnumbered examples of both denominations exist. Numbers are of the slender and simple design. Four lead tokens were submitted to XRF analysis. Three pieces are about half lead and half tin in composition, the fourth piece was almost pure lead.

Lead ½ Loaf (P.55a)

The ½ loaf token is the rarer of the two values struck in lead. The only numbered piece recorded to date was in the Wickham collection (see Appendix A).



Fig. 10. P.55a obverse.



Fig. 11. P.55a reverse.

Lead 1 Loaf (P.54a)

It would appear that the die for this token was created using the same punches as those used to construct the design of the previous token. As nearly as can be determined given the condition of extant pieces, the crown, lettering, and numbers appear to be the same. It is unclear how the token was made, but there appears a raised dot of metal on the reverse (see enlargement below, but more easily discernible on the brass pieces) which would appear to be connected with the production process. The author has observed tokens numbered between 70 and 547. It is unclear where the numbering stops, as the next highest number, 1116, is one of the first brass issues. To judge, then, from the range of known numbers, between 600 and 1,000 lead tokens could have been numbered. One example was numbered on the obverse rather than the reverse.



Fig. 12. *P.54a obverse.*



Fig. 13. *P.54a reverse.*



Fig. 14. *Compare to first brass issue.*



Fig. 15. *Raised dot of metal visible at top of 1.*

Group 1 – Brass Issue (P.54 b, c, d, e; P.55 b)

The brass issue consists of both $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 loaf tokens. On the strength of McLachlan's observation, they must have circulated in the early to mid 1880s. The 1 loaf exists in larger numbers than its lesser value companion, which suggests that the $\frac{1}{2}$ loaf of bread was not as popular a product among the baker's clients. This situation is mirrored in the number of extant die varieties: there are four varieties of the brass 1 loaf token, and only a single variety of the $\frac{1}{2}$ loaf. On the basis of these varieties, and differences in composition and form, one might surmise that Iliffe placed possibly as many as five different orders for 1 loaf tokens in brass. Most 1 loaf tokens exhibit die cracks. McLachlan commented on this, calling his varieties corresponding to P.54 c, d "inferior in workmanship."

Brass $\frac{1}{2}$ Loaf (P.55b)

The brass $\frac{1}{2}$ loaf resembles the earlier version in lead and was likely struck using the same die. What is important to note here is the complete absence of any examples counterstruck with a number. Perhaps this is an accident of preservation, or simply an indication that Iliffe had no need to number these pieces.



Fig. 16. P.55b obverse.



Fig. 17. P.55b reverse.

Brass 1 Loaf, Type 1 (P.54b)

The first variety of the 1 loaf brass token (P.54b) appears on two different flans: one a so called dark brass approaching a bronze colour, and the other regular yellow brass. XRF analysis indicates that the dark brass pieces have 5% more copper and about 6% less zinc than the yellow brass examples. All of these tokens appear to have been prepared using the same obverse die as that used for the 1 loaf version in lead. Both varieties (P.55a and b) have the same wide crown and the O in LOAF leans noticeably to the right. On the reverse, pieces are noticeably convex and in the centre there is a small raised dot of metal, probably a result of the production process. Some brass examples

(Figure 22) exhibit die cracks over the O of LOAF, and cracks extend from the L of LOAF through the first I of ILIFFE. It would be tempting to propose that the die was cracked from its use in striking these tokens in brass, a much harder metal than lead, but this cannot be proven. Pieces exist both with and without counterstamped numbers. Numbers are of simple design like those used for the lead varieties.



Fig. 18. *P.54b obverse, early example.*



Fig. 19. *P. 54b reverse.*



Fig. 20. *Raised dot, O leans to right.*



Fig. 21. *Raised dot of metal on reverse.*

There is no doubt that the numbered issues with die cracks were struck using the same die as those without numbers. Both varieties exhibit a small raised dot of metal in the obverse field just below the L and O of LOAF. Also, there is a noticeable separation between the stem and the foot of the letter E at the end of ILIFFE.



Fig. 22. *P.54b obverse; later example with die cracks.*



Fig. 23. *P.54b reverse.*



Fig. 24. *Dot of metal and die cracks.*



Fig. 25. *Raised dot of metal on reverse.*



Fig. 26. *Separation of foot from stem of E.*

Brass 1 Loaf, Type 2 (P.54c)

The second variety of brass token is from an entirely different die from P.54b. The crown is considerably more attenuated than its predecessor and the O of LOAF noticeably leans to the left. All known examples of this piece exhibit die cracks from the L and A of LOAF through the crown to the E of ILIFFE. The overall strike is shallow and the border is wide and flat. The flan similarly is flat and typically exhibits on the reverse a series of circles radiating out from the centre of the flan to a point about halfway to the edge of the token. The range of numbers appearing on pieces is greater than those used for the first brass variety and the style is completely different; the numbers are larger and more ornate. This would appear to be the most common type of Iliffe token in relief.



Fig. 27. P.54c obverse.



Fig. 28. P.54c reverse.



Fig. 29. Die cracks and left leaning O.



Fig. 30. Concentric circles on reverse.

Brass 1 Loaf, Type 3 (P.54d)

The third variety in brass appears to be a re-cut version of the previous die, but in a more advanced state of deterioration. The same die crack runs from the L of LOAF downward at a diagonal through the crown to the E of ILIFFE. The crack in front of the L has now expanded to where at times there is a large blob of metal. An additional crack extends from the upper edge of the token through the A of LOAF to the top of the crown. Differences in the design that may be attributed to re-engraving include the removal of the extended cross at the lower left side of the crown and the smoothing of the left side of the crown so as to remove the jewel that overlapped that side in the previous variety. The O of LOAF leans even more abruptly to the left than previously. The overall strike is much deeper than before, thus giving the entire design greater relief. The border is thin and the centre of the reverse is convex, suggesting that the manufacturing process had changed yet again.



Fig. 31 P. 54d obverse.



Fig. 32. P.54d reverse.



Fig. 33. Die cracks; extreme slant to O; smooth left edge of crown.

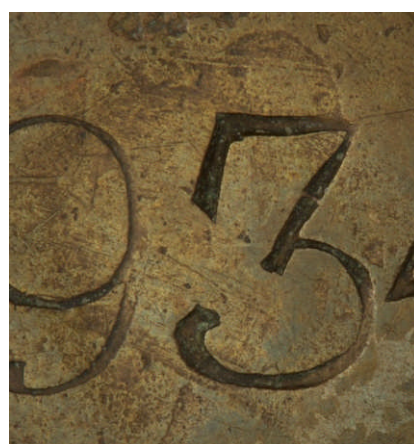


Fig. 34. Depressed centre of reverse.

Brass 1 Loaf, Type 4 (P.54e)

This piece was struck using the same die as that used for P.54d. It exists in both brass and dark brass and exhibits further deterioration of design, especially in the crown, which now appears heavily worn and almost devoid of detail. The most prominent feature of this type is the large cud above the A of LOAF caused when a piece of the cracked die fell out. Again, the strike is heavy and the border thin. It would appear that the method of preparing the flans changed yet again in this group. Whereas the previous variety of 1 loaf tokens with attenuated crown exhibited a depression in the centre of the reverse, this variety shows heavy brush marks on a very slightly convex surface devoid of any trace of the recess. There also is a slightly raised, broken, semicircular line on the reverse running parallel to and about 2 mm inside the border opposite ILIFFE on the obverse. The same punches were used as before to counterstamp numbers.



Fig. 35. *P.54e obverse.*



Fig. 36. *P.54e reverse.*



Fig. 37. *Die cracks and extreme slant to O.* Fig. 38. *Brush marks on reverse.*

Group 1 - Copper Issue (P.54f)

The last variety of Iliffe token in relief was struck in almost pure copper.²² No ½ loaf example in this metal is known. On the basis of known examples, there are fewer 1 loaf examples in copper than in either brass or lead.

Copper 1 Loaf (P.54f)

This piece is identical to P.54e in all features but for the metal in which it is struck. It exhibits the same advanced deterioration of detail in the crown; the strike is heavy and the border thin. The reverse consists of the same heavy brush marks on a very slightly convex surface devoid of any trace of recess. The same punches were used to counterstamp numbers.



Fig. 39. *P. 54e obverse.*



Fig. 40. *P. 54e reverse.*



Fig. 41. *Die cracks and extreme slant to O.*



Fig. 42. *Brush marks on reverse.*

²² See Appendix B for the XRF analysis of known examples.

Group 2 – The Incuse ILIFF Tokens

Uniface and made of brass and a copper-nickel alloy that cataloguers have called nickel, German silver or even white metal, these tokens were issued sometime after those described by McLachlan. The earliest contemporary reference appears in the sale of the Gerald Hart collection in 1889. It lists a piece in German silver, which would suggest it was an incuse piece. Since McLachlan did not mention these tokens in his 1885 article and Paquet listed both denominations of this type in his 1893 catalogue, the tokens must date from the mid 1880s to the early 1890s. As these tokens are not counterstamped with numbers like those of the first group, it is not possible to establish an order of issue between the brass and copper-nickel pieces.²³

Like its predecessor, this group was issued in two denominations: a 1 and a ½ loaf token. Though similar in design, the crowns of both denominations are noticeably different; that of the 1 loaf is more ornate and bears two fleurs-de-lis, one on each side of the centre bar of the crown (Figure 44). Heavy brush marks on the reverse, as introduced on the last varieties of P.54, reappear on both values of incuse pieces. On some copper-nickel tokens, reverse elements of text and design from a die clash also are visible.²⁴



Fig. 43. ½ loaf crown.



Fig. 44. 1 loaf crown.



Fig. 45. Brush marks and die clash feature.

²³ Lloyd Smith in his Mail Bid Sale No. 48 of October 1985 described lot 125 as a numbered piece, but this may have been in error.

²⁴ As this feature has not been noted on brass examples, it may suggest that the nickel pieces were issued last.

Group 2 - ½ loaf Issue (P.90 a, b)

Only a single die was used to strike the ½ loaf token regardless of the metal. A close examination of the lettering and crown confirms this. Diagnostic features include a truncated top bar on the second I in ILIFF, a long and then short serif end to the centre bar on the two F's of ILIFF and, in most instances, a broken band along the bottom of the crown. At times, the depth of impression differs from one token to another, giving pieces the appearance of having been struck using a separate die. An example of P.90b struck on both sides recently surfaced.²⁵ However, this is inconsistent with all other Group 2 tokens and would appear to be an aberration.



Fig. 46. P.90 a ½ loaf brass token.



Fig. 47. P.90 b ½ loaf copper-nickel token.



Fig. 48. Diagnostic Features: truncated I; broken band; long and short serifs; irregular shaped cross.

²⁵ G. Bell Auctions, May 2013, lot 1113.

Group 2 - 1 loaf Issue (P.89 a, b, c)

In contrast, two different dies were used to strike the 1 loaf tokens. One was used for both metals and the other appears to have been restricted to the copper-nickel pieces. There are a number of differences between the two dies but the easiest way to differentiate one from the other is to look at the fleur-de-lis in the crown and the cluster of jewels to the left of centre in the crown's band and those which make up the arches. In one instance (Type 1), the feet of the right hand fleur-de-lis are indistinct and the jewels small; elsewhere (Type 2), the feet are well defined and the jewels large. Type 1, with the indistinct feet and small jewels, is found on both brass and copper-nickel pieces. Type 2 with the distinct feet has to date only been observed on copper-nickel pieces. Another notable feature of the Type 2 token is the strengthening of the ILI of ILIFF (Figure 53).



Fig. 49. Type 1 brass and copper-nickel 1 loaf (P.89 a, b).



Fig. 50. Type 2 copper-nickel 1 loaf (P.89 c).



Fig. 51. *Type 1, feet of fleur-de-lis indistinct.* Fig. 52. *Type 2, feet of fleur-de-lis distinct.*



Fig. 53. *Type 1 Lettering top, type 2 bottom.*

Acknowledgments

The author deeply appreciates those institutions and individuals who supported the preparation of this paper by providing access to their collections or other helpful advice and assistance. As usual, this study would not have been possible in its present form without access to the Bank of Canada Museum, National Currency Collection (NCC), and its library. Thanks are due to Gord Carter and Glyn Davies of the NCC who are excellent photographers with a particular adeptness at manipulating images for publication, and to Chris Faulkner for editing this paper, a task demanding patience and a high degree of attentiveness to detail. Finally, I especially would like to extend my appreciation to Roger Paulen of the Geological Survey of Canada for conducting an XRF analysis of the metal content of the many tokens to which I had access. Despite this assistance, errors and omissions may be present, for which as usual the author must accept full responsibility.

Appendix A – Known Examples of Pieces Counterstamped with Numbers

No.	Type	Description	Number	Provenance
	P.54a	Lead, 1 loaf	70	W. Baker list No. 12 Oct. 1969 lot 242
			73	F. Frizzell (TCE Aug 2013)
			82	Palmer, H. James (2006: 329)
			415	Wickham - Temple - Bell Auctions May 2013, lot 1106
			514	Iron City Coins list No.15 (Jack & Ameta Stephens) Aug. 25, 1973
			518	Lorrain – NCC
			547	Temple - Bell Auctions, May 2013, lot 1105
	P.54b	Brass, 1 loaf, Type 1	1116	Ferguson – NCC
			1132	Koper list No. 42, 1946
			1137	Temple – Frizzell stock
			1164	W. Baker list No. 21 Mar. 1973, lot 183
			1178	Frizzell stock
			1182	Bangs/Low, Feb 1885, lot 884b
	P.54c	Brass, 1 loaf, Type 2	1244	J. Hoare, Feb. 1998, lot 921
			1262	Palmer, H. James (2006: 329)
			1268	Bell Auctions, June 2012, lot 736
			1283	Bangs/Low, Feb. 1885, lot 884a
			1346	F. Frizzell (TCE Aug. 2013)
			1349	F. Frizzell (TCE Aug. 2013)
			1373	Bateman - Baker - Rose – Private
			1380	Barton – Frizzell stock (Token Type P.54d)
			1449	Private Coll.

			1530	F. Rose, Aug. 1974, lot 104
			1535	Landon – Legacy Sale II, Feb. 2015, lot No.148 (Token Type P.54e)
			1544	F. Frizzell (TCE Aug. 2013)
			1558	J. Lepczyk, Nov. 1981, lot 185
			1591	F. Frizzell (TCE Aug 2013)
			1610	F. Rose Torex, Mar. 1973, lot153
			1635	Koper list No. 42, 1946
			1707	F. Frizzell (TCE Aug. 2013)
			1785	Wickham
			1824	Hughes - J. Hoare, Feb. 1995, lot 1635
			1826	Wickham - F. Frizzell (TCE Aug. 2013) (Token Type P.54d)
			1828	McKay- Clements Sale, lot 312
	P.54d	Brass, 1 loaf, Type 3	1852	Bell Auctions, July 2009, lot No. 1045 (Token Type P.54e)
			1853	Private Coll. (May 2015) (Token Type P.54c)
			1868	Ottawa Stamp Shop, Dec. 15, 1954, lot No. 66
			1872	M. Findlay (TCE May 2013)
			1875	Art Graham- Carroll- Archives
			1887	E.D. Gibson – Baker
			1934	Ferguson – NCC
			1962	Koper List No. 42, 1946
			2050	Landon – Legacy Sale II, Feb. 2015, lot No. 149 (Token Type P.54c)
			2061	Charlton, CNA Auction 1967, lot No. 36
			2076	Astwood
			2082	Frizzell stock
			2111	Frizzell stock (Token Type P.54c)
	P.54e	Brass, 1 Loaf, Type 4	2136	National Archives – NCC
	P.54f	Copper, 1 Loaf	2175	Private Coll.
			2182	Wickham
			2210	Ferguson – NCC
	P.55a	Lead, ½ loaf	165	Wickham
	P.55b	Brass, ½ loaf		No counterstamped examples known

Edward Barton, R.M. Bateman, and Patrick Wickham were prominent Canadian collectors who were active at the turn of the 20th century. Their biographies appear in Fred Bowman's *Collectors of Canadian Coins of the Past*.

Appendix B – XRF analysis of Groups 1 and 2²⁶

Type	Description	No.	Pb	Cu	Sn	Zn	Ni	Ant.	Fe
	Iliffe								
54a	1 loaf, lead	415	46.63	0.45	35.94	11.72		3.57	
	1 loaf, lead (1969.81.134)	518	42.04	0.46	40.62	11.95		3.54	
54b	1 loaf, dark brass, no numbers		0.48	71.0		27.89			
	1 loaf, brass, no numbers		0.53	65.07		34.0	0.13		
	1 loaf, brass, small numbers (1968.274.96)	1116	0.78	65.7		33.05			
	1 loaf, brass, small numbers	1178	0.67	65.76		33.13			
54c	1 loaf, brass	1373	0.47	66.74		32.44			
	1 loaf, brass, large numbers	1591	0.54	66.51		32.54			
54d	1 loaf, brass, re-engraved crown	1872	0.52	64.38		34.68			
	1 loaf, brass (1965.136.5261)	1875	0.4	64.76		34.42			
	1 loaf, brass	1934	0.5	64.57		34.55	0.11		
54e	1 loaf, dark brass (1965.136.5134)	2136	1.44	69.76		27.95			
54f	1 loaf, copper	2175	0.25	98.59					
	1 loaf, copper	2182	trace	99.61					
	1 loaf, copper (1968.274.97)	2210	0.82	99.37			0.16		
55a	½ loaf, lead (1968.274.101)	none	89.76		4.24				
	½ loaf, lead	165	45.33		37.82	11.31		3.63	
55b	½ loaf, brass (1968.274.100)	none	0.74	65.8		33.1	0.11		
	Iliff								
89a	1 loaf, brass (1964.43.241)	none	0.81	65.45		33.41	0.128		
89b	1 loaf, nickel (1968.274.93)	none	0.18	65.89		16.96	16.46		0.34
89c	1 loaf, nickel (1969.23.51)	none		62.23		22.48	14.87		0.2
90a	½ loaf, brass (1969.23.53)	none	0.74	65.72		33.21	0.132		
90b	½ loaf, nickel (1965.136.5263)	none	0.23	66.34		17.47	15.56		0.32

²⁶ Pieces belonging to the National Currency Collection are identified in the description by their artifact numbers.

Appendix C – Concordance of References

Adjusted Paquet 2015	McLachlan 1885	Leroux 1888	Breton 1890 ²⁷	Breton 1894
54a			223	735
54b	2	1029	“1 other var.”	“several varieties”
54c	4	1029		
54d	3	“two varieties”		
54e				
54f				
55a			224	736
55b	1	1030		
89a				
89b				
89c				
90a				
90b				

Adjusted Paquet 2015	Charlton 1971 ²⁸	Palmer 1990 ²⁹	Astwood 2005 ³⁰	James 2006 ³¹
54a	115 (735)	1	1215g,h	1
54b	“brass, lead, nickel”	1	1215e	1
54c			1215f	
54d				
54e				
54f				
55a	115 (736)	1	1215a	1
55b		1	1215b	1
89a	115 (735a)			
89b			1215i	
89c				
90a	116 (736a)	1 “white metal”	1215c	1 “white metal”
90b		1 “white metal”	1215d	1 “white metal”

²⁷ Breton 1890 and 1894 gives no information about the metal.

²⁸ Charlton 1971 and subsequent editions misplaced the number 116 one line too low. 115 clearly was intended to identify 1 loaf pieces and 116 ½ loaf tokens. Instead, the ILIFFE ½ loaf was included with the 1 loaf pieces.

²⁹ Palmer 1990 did not number his entries, so “1” has been used to indicate items he listed. He differentiated between counterstamped and uncounterstamped versions of P.54 brass and lead pieces, but used ILIFFE in describing the incuse pieces.

³⁰ I have assigned the position in the chart based upon the metal listed by Astwood rather than on the images which appear reversed in the case of 1215a, b and 1215 c, d. Also, the second of these two groups should have been identified as ILIFF. I would suggest that 1215 g or h (the 1 loaf lead token) looks like 1215e and not f.

³¹ James’s 2006 listing is identical to Palmer’s.

Bibliography

Monographs, Periodicals, and Pamphlets

- Allen, C.W. 1882. *The Land Prospector's Manual and Field-book: for the use of immigrants and capitalists taking up lands in Manitoba and the North-West Territories of Canada*. Second Edition. Ottawa: C.W. Mitchell.
- Astwood, James W. 2005. *Illustrated Guide to Ontario Bakery Tokens*. Winnipeg: Privately published.
- Bowman, Fred. 1972. *Collectors of Canadian Coins of the Past*. Canadian Numismatic Research Society.
- Breton, P.N. 1894. *Histoire Illustrée des Monnaies et Jetons du Canada / Illustrated History of Coins and Tokens of Canada*. Montreal: Privately published.
- Breton, P.N. 1890. *Le Collectionneur Illustré des Monnaies Canadiennes / Breton's Illustrated Canadian Coin Collector*. Montreal: Privately published.
- Goad, Charles E. January 1888. *Insurance Plan of the City of Ottawa Canada and Adjoining Suburbs and Lumber Districts*. Revised January 1901. Montreal and London.
- James, Harry N. 2006. *A Guide to Ontario Tokens*. St. Thomas: Privately published.
- Leroux, Joseph. 1888. *Le Medaillier du Canada / The Canadian Coin Cabinet*. Montreal : C.O. Beauchemin et Fils.
- McLachlan, R.W. 1885. "New Canadian Coins," *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, .XII, 1, (January): 20-24.
- Palmer, K.A. 1990. *The Bakery Tokens of Ontario*. Second Edition. Canadian Association of Token Collectors.
- Paquet, F.X. 1893. *Illustrated Catalogue & Price List of Medals, Checks & Communion Tokens of Ottawa & District*. Ottawa: Privately Published.
- The Act of Incorporation and Bylaws of the St. George's Society of Ottawa*. 1874. Ottawa: Citizen Printing and Publishing Company.
- To the Subscribes in aid of the Ottawa Benevolent Firemen's Association*. 1881. Ottawa: C.W. Mitchell.

Newspapers

The Ottawa Citizen

The Ottawa Times

Websites

Cohen, Brian. "Paypal Anonymity Play" at <https://letstalkbitcoin.com/316/> (May, 2015)

<http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~maryc/iliff.htm> (July 28, 2013)

www.mundia.com/ca/Person/30011649/12596750809 (June, 2013)

**Dr. Thomas Barnardo and His
Reclaimed Children**
by
Scott E. Douglas, FCNRS



Dr. Thomas Barnardo and His Reclaimed Children



It is difficult to determine exactly when industrialization in Britain made the unskilled and poorer class of worker redundant. Historians seem to find it difficult, even with the advantage of hindsight, to agree on precisely when or what caused one of the greatest shifts in labour the world has ever known. Decades are referenced as though they were months not years.

It would seem that the first industrial revolution began in the early 1700's with the invention of the first steam engine by Thomas Newcomen in 1712. This development came about principally because of a need to pump water from mine shafts. Sixty years later James Watt improved on Newcomen's design, enabling its use in locomotives and ships (<http://inventors.about.com/library/inventors/blsteamengine.htm>). In later years a great deal of machinery would be powered by Watt's steam engine. From the mid 1700's to about 1860 numerous improvements were made on many inventions created during the first industrial revolution that would contribute greatly to the onset of the second industrial revolution. Chiefly because of these advancements a large quantity of factory goods could now be produced quickly. Many middle and upper class citizens would become wealthy. The poorer class were not so fortunate. Working conditions in the factories were, in many cases, unhealthy and quite dangerous (<http://www.history.com/topics/industrial-revolution>). These jobs were predominantly held by unskilled workers and with a large pool of applicants to draw from there was no such thing as job security. The huge migration of workers from the countryside that came into the cities for factory jobs resulted in massive overcrowding and less than sanitary living conditions. By 1865, one in five of these unskilled factory workers was children under the age of 15. All of the most hazardous jobs were given to these little folk as they could climb about and easily clean the machinery. This resulted in many injuries and deaths (<http://www.history.com/topics/industrial-revolution>).

Canada would experience one of the worst economic depressions in its young history during the years 1873 to 1896. Initially labelled the great depression, later to be

known as the long depression, it came about partly because of the effect of a spillover from Britain having created a global industrial revolution. Even though Britain introduced legislation to prevent the exportation of their technology and skilled labour, they were unsuccessful in stemming the flow to Europe and North America.

Thomas John Barnardo was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1845. Because he was born to a strict religious home, Barnardo formed opinions of life at a very young age. When he was 16 years old he set out in the world to make a difference. Barnardo went to London, England, because he felt his calling was to become a medical doctor, but soon realized he was needed in other places and set out to become a medical missionary in China. A short time later he felt a need to return to London and arrived there in 1866. It was the conditions created by the industrial revolution in Britain that would be instrumental in the formation of Dr. Barnardo's home children program. Barnardo had indeed found the mission he had been seeking. There were already some child emigration agencies in place by 1860 which operated with the full backing of the British government. This activity was driven by the need for farm labourers in Canada. Two of the main people involved in the child emigration to Canada were Maria Rye (Niagara-on-the Lake), a feminist, and Annie MacPherson (Stratford), a Quaker. By 1880 there were several emigration agency homes operating out of Britain, such as Mr. Fegan's Homes, Middlemore Homes, and the National Children's Homes. In 1868 the first of Barnardo's children was sent to Canada through Miss Annie MacPherson. Barnardo, anxiously awaiting word on how his boys were received in Canada, got word from Annie: "You will be glad to hear that all of your boys seem to have got comfortable places. This is a very fine country with splendid openings for those who will put their hands to anything for the first six months" (Corbett 1981: 25). Canadian immigration inspector Mr. Louis Stafford was quoted as saying that: "Canada could do with a number of these lads" (Corbett 1981: 25).

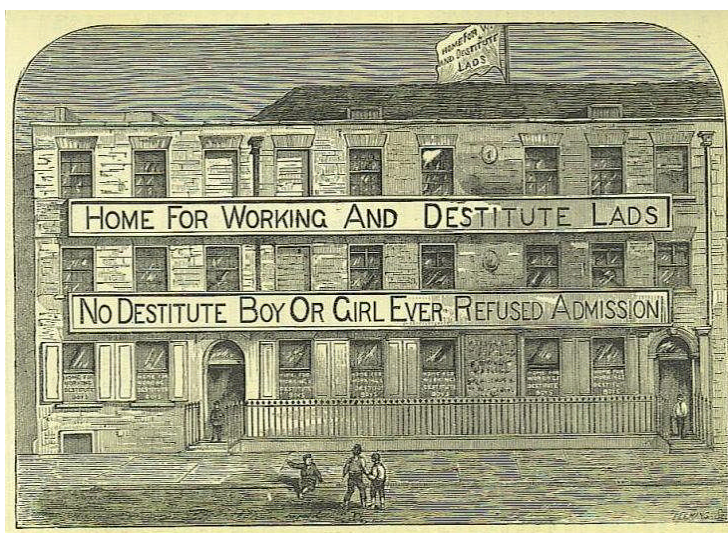


Illustration of the Barnardo Children's Home in England
<http://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com>



Boys' trunks are prepared on the day of travel April 19, 1929. After the children were on board their ship a "set sail" card would be sent to the families to let them know their children had left England for Canada.
(<http://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/>)

Between 1868 and 1912 Barnardo would send 16,913 boys and 7,128 girls for a total of 24,041 children to Canada. From 1916 to 1920 emigration ceased because of World War I. In 1926 children under the age of 14 were prohibited from emigrating. In 1939 Barnardo sent the last party to Canada, consisting of 21 boys and 7 girls. The total number of children who emigrated to Canada through Barnardo's was almost 80,000 over 71 years (Corbett 1981: 122). Extraordinary numbers like 125,000 and 200,000 children are often incorrectly cited. (Harrison 1979: 17)

The impact on Canada, particularly Ontario, from the immigration of these children is too important to ignore. With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in November of 1885 many farm families in Ontario saw their young men head to the more prosperous lands in the west, which resulted in a shortage of labour at home. In anticipation of the completion of the railway, Dr. Barnardo travelled to Winnipeg in 1884 and purchased several parcels of land near Russell, Manitoba, sight unseen, to develop his Industrial Farm. Barnardo next sought and received approval from the Barnardo Board in London to request a grant of land from the Canadian government. The Barnardo Board consisted of many influential people. Queen Victoria's son-in-law, Governor General Lorne, would become the Board President in 1889. Barnardo wrote to the Canadian High Commissioner, Charles Tupper, not only to request grants of land but "land of first rate quality and situated in the most favourable position" (Corbett 1981: 68.). Barnardo went on to say that if the Dominion Government chose not to co-operate then the Board had instructed him to go to the United States to obtain land that would best meet their requirements. For the next two years Barnardo negotiated hard for rich pasture land near Russell, Manitoba. By 1887 Barnardo's Industrial Farm had acquired a total of 8960 acres. About 5600 acres was purchased from the railway, settlers, and other

parties, but 3360 acres was granted by the Manitoba Government and the Manitoba and North-West Railway (Corbett: 68).



*A boy ploughing at Dr. Barnardo's Industrial Farm, Russell (Manitoba), 1900.
Library and Archives Canada, PA-117285.*



Children ready to set sail for Canada in 1883.



*A group of girls ready for a new life in Canada.
(<http://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com>)*



British Home Children in Canada (<http://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com>)

One of the propaganda cards issued by Barnardo's. Dr Barnardo was accused many times of posing, on the same day, the before and after photographs of saved children, a fact he was forced to admit during a hearing on child emigration.

UPS AND DOWNS

A MONTHLY JOURNAL

Published under the auspices of Dr. Barnardo's Homes.

Circulating chiefly among the many thousands of young people placed out from Dr. Barnardo's Homes with farmers and others.

VOL. I.—No. 1.

TORONTO, AUGUST 1ST, 1895.

Price, Per Year, 25c.
Single Copies, 3c.

In the summer of 1895 Barnardo's issued a magazine designed to support the group and give the children an outlet to voice opinions and keep in touch. The opening article on the front page of Vol.1, No.1, paints a picture of the "...cruel and uncharitable prejudice" that some of the children may have been subjected to:

We are a class by ourselves in this country and though it would be going altogether too far to say that everyman's hand is against us, yet there is certainly no fear of our participating in the woe that is promised to those of whom all men speak well.

Many people are prejudiced against us and many more misunderstand us, and our paper will, we hope, be our organ of defence and will promote community of thought and community of action amongst us. We look forward to it being the means of raising materially our position and prestige as a body of citizens of the Dominion, and to help to make us respected and to dispel some of the groundless and often very cruel and uncharitable prejudice that exists against us.

The journal printed stories of children soon after arrival in Canada and told stories of how well they were coping with their new life. Twice a year the journal printed the names of the children who received bronze and silver medals and often published short biographies of two or three of the recipients. The journal would serve to keep Barnardo children in touch with what may currently be happening when the children moved on in their adult life. The journal was an important lifeline. However, because of the all too often negative responses to Barnardo children, all stories and correspondence were clinically positive. All news was cheerful and optimistic and fashioned to be reassuring at all times. *Ups and Downs* was published in Canada from 1895 until 1949.

More than one hundred and forty years after the first child immigrant left England the Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, apologized for their Child Migrant Policy and any involvement in the migration of Home Children. The Australian apology was followed by the United Kingdom apology of Prime Minister Gordon Brown (*The Guardian* February 24, 2010). The Canadian Immigration Minister, Jason Kenney, when challenged to apologize, stated to the press that although Canada recognizes this sad period in history, it would not issue an official government apology, citing "...limited public interest in official government apologies for everything that's ever been unfortunate or a tragic event in our history" (Immigration Minister Jason Kenney; November 16, 2009). Whether this statement is supported by a majority of Canadians or not, the following true story may be of interest.

The Story of William Cheesman:

William was born in 1878 to a middle-class family in London. He was 11 when his father died at age 57. The family was forced to move to Notting Hill, then a crime-infested slum. His mother died the next year.

His younger siblings were placed in convents and orphanages. William, 12, was left to survive in the streets.

In 1893, he was arrested for trespassing, handed over to Dr. Barnardo's home for destitute children.

In 1894, at age 16, he boarded a ship with 542 Home Children bound for Canada. William was sent to Barnardo's Industrial Farm near Russell. It was the remote place older boys, who'd grown up on the streets of London and were "rougher" in character, were sent, said William's granddaughter, Lori Oschefski, who has researched his story.

The idea was to move them far from the lure of cities such as Toronto. In Russell, they were trained to farm so they could be hired throughout the West or homestead and become successful farmers.

Shortly after William arrived, he was placed in a work "situation" as a general farm hand for \$55 a year.

In 1896, William wrote to Barnardo's saying he was leaving. He complained about his treatment by the farmer and not getting his wages; the farmer complained about William's conduct.

William was sent to work for another farmer who wrote to Barnardo's that William "is well and is a splendid boy, a credit to the Home (Barnardo's) of which he speaks so highly."

A short time later, William took off again.

He ended up working for John P. Jones' farm in Brandon.

In 1906, he homesteaded near Saskatchewan and built a sod house for his bride, Annie, who arrived from England in 1912.

Their farm wasn't a success. By 1917, they already had two children when their twin girls were born. The farm was sold, and the Chessmans moved and become tenant farmers. Their fifth child was born.

In 1919, the family returned to England but just for a break. Four months later, William returned to Canada alone to work at the farm. In 1921, he went back to England.

In 1922, when Annie was pregnant with their sixth child, William returned to Canada to sell the family's belongings. They never heard from him again.

Annie and her six children were left destitute in England. They entered the Kingston Union Workhouse where she had to forfeit her rights to the children. She had a nervous breakdown, and the kids ended up like their dad — Home Children sent to work in Canada (*Winnipeg Free Press*, April 28, 2012).

It is very difficult to conclude what may have become of William Cheesman had he stayed in England and not emigrated with other Barnardo children. Often, the Workhouse was the last resort for families and individuals who found themselves unable to cope. Crime resulted in jail, and poverty resulted in the very overcrowded conditions of the Workhouse. Both were similar, although some said the Workhouse was worse as the people there were fed little and worked very hard. Disease was rampant. The idea was to create an intolerable situation that would make Workhouse inmates want to leave. Given the opportunity, most people chose freedom, although for some that was not an option.



One of the more famous pictures of Dr Barnardo taken at his desk in Stepney Causeway.

Dr Thomas Barnardo died September 19, 1905. At the time of his death Barnardo Homes was caring for 8500 children in 96 homes (www.barnardos.org.uk). The charity Barnardo began in 1868 still exists today and is known simply as Barnardo's.

Medals: Good Conduct and Length of Service

The awarding of medals to the Home Children in Canada would appear to have started sometime between 1888 and 1893, possibly ending sometime after the First World War. The medals were awarded for good conduct and length of service. There were strict criteria for eligibility and rarely were exceptions made. Good conduct meant a continuous and unblemished record of compatibility with the family the child was placed with for the agreed term of employment. If a child was returned to the home through no fault of that child, an exception could be made. However, if the child complained about not liking the work or could not get along with the family and requested a change, then eligibility was lost as the continuity of employment was broken. Depending on the age of the child, contracts could be from one year to five years. These contracts stated, among other things, that the child was to receive room and board, some schooling, and a wage that was paid to Barnardo's, who in turn put the money in a bank account for the child. The child would receive the money on completion of employment. When most children received their money it was usually around \$100, although some children received more.

This would mean earnings of about \$1 to \$2 per month, although it is known that wages could have been as much as \$30 to \$50 per year depending on how hard the labour. It was intended to be a stake toward a life after the farm. Many children stayed on after their term was up by making a personal arrangement with the family. Some children stayed just a few more years, but some stayed as long as 20 years. Many considered their employers family and even if they left often they were back for Christmas and kept in touch for many years (*Ups and Downs*, III, 4: 27).

Length of service toward a medal could be a two year contract for a bronze medal and three, four, or five years' service for a silver medal. Many of the boys who arrived in Canada were ten or eleven years old. These boys would have had contracts for five years, making them 16 years old at completion. Many girls arrived in Canada around nine years old and would receive training at the Barnardo Home before being placed with a family. The girls' duties were often household chores and cooking. Contracts often were for one year or two years and so most of the girls' medals I have seen are bronze. I have one silver medal awarded to a girl. If a boy was contracted for one or two years only it was usually because he was older when he arrived, often anywhere from 14 to 18 years old. However, there are instances where some children, both boys and girls, were awarded both bronze and silver medals. There is one case where an older boy was placed in Chatsworth, Ontario, for a term of one year. At the end of the first year the boy and the family agreed to a second year. After that, the two parties agreed to a term of three years. The boy received a bronze medal for the first two years and then a silver medal was awarded on completion of his third year even though the third year was indeed the first year in his three year contract. Medals were awarded on recommendation of the employer to the Barnardo representative and that representative's judgment. Often the representative sought the employer's approval to recommend an eligible candidate. The medals were considered a source of pride for the children and many would show the medal to future employers as proof of reliability (*Ups and Downs*, I, 2: 7)

Agreement made in duplicate this 1st day of May 1914
between ALFRED B. OWEN, Agent of DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES, and John
Beamish of the Township of Percy
in the County of Northumberland respecting the boy Ernest Frederick
Cotton, recently an inmate of Dr. Barnardo's Homes,
and at present under the guardianship of the Managers of the said Homes:

Witnesseth that the said John Beamish agrees to
engage the said Ernest Frederick Cotton for a period dating from
the First day of April nineteen hundred and Fourteen
ending on the First day of April nineteen hundred and Nineteen
to furnish him during that period with Board, Lodging, Washing, Clothing and Necessaries, and to pay to
the said ALFRED B. OWEN, or other authorized Agent of Dr. Barnardo's Homes, in trust for the said
Ernest Frederick Cotton and for the sole use and
benefit of the said Ernest Frederick Cotton the sum of
One Hundred and Twenty-Five dollars at the expiration of the above-
mentioned period.

It is Agreed that this engagement may be terminated by either party giving one month's notice of
the same to the other in writing, but the said ALFRED B. OWEN reserves to himself, or other authorized Agent
of Dr. Barnardo's Homes, the right to remove the said Ernest Frederick Cotton
summarily, and without notice, should such action be rendered necessary by any ill-treatment to which the
said Ernest Frederick Cotton should be subjected.

It is Agreed that should the engagement terminate prior to the expiration of the above-mentioned
period, the sum of One Hundred and Twenty-Five Dollars
shall be proportioned as follows, and paid in that proportion by the said John Beamish, viz,
at the rate of \$25.00; \$40.00; and \$60.00 per annum respectively
for the 3 years dating from 1st April 1916, and ending 1st April
1919.

The said John Beamish agrees to send the said Ernest Frederick Cotton
to school, in accordance with the provisions of the existing School Act, to promote the attendance of the
said Ernest Frederick Cotton at Church and Sunday School, to communicate
occasionally, personally or by letter, with the Agents of Dr. Barnardo's Homes, as to the progress and
welfare of the said Ernest Frederick Cotton and to co-operate generally with the
Agents of the Homes in exercising judicious supervision over him, and in promoting his interests and
well-being.

Witness our hands:
W. J. Donaldson
Alfred B. Owen

<http://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/indenture-contracts>

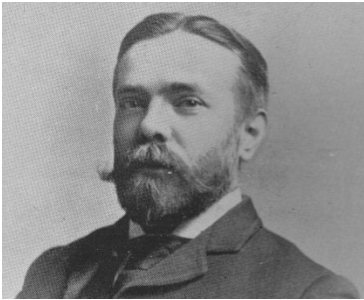
A Barnardo agreement for Ernest Fredrick Cotton 1914.

The original design of the medal is credited to James Andrews Restall of Birmingham, England. Restall, born in 1859 in Birmingham, was the son of William Restall, a successful timber merchant. Although he started a career relatively late in life, into his twenties, he soon became known as a master silversmith, jeweller, and medallist. Restall ran his own business from about 1891 until the early 1930's when he listed his occupation as manufacturing jeweller with the firm Haseler & Restall. He was most active from 1887 to 1906. Restall died in Pershore (about 40 miles south of Birmingham) in 1938 (<http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk>: Daphne Bantoft nee Restall) The obverse of the medals has the name J A Restall at the bottom edge of the ground above the dot at 6

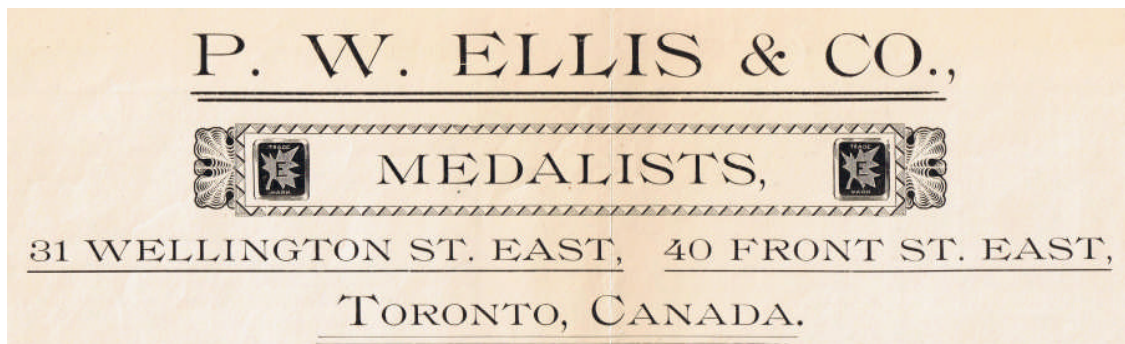
o'clock. The phrasing around the outside is from the Bible, Matthew 18:5: "Whoso Shall Receive One Such Little Child In My Name Receiveth Me". The reverse states: Dr. Barnardo's Homes / Presented To / For / Good Conduct / And / Length Of Service. Located at 6 o'clock are the initials J A R. Restall's name and initials are the key to distinguishing a Canadian medal struck by P. W. Ellis & Co. of Toronto, Ontario, from a UK medal. The Canadian medals incorporate Restall's design in every way but have no telltale maker's mark.



British Home Children in Canada. <http://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/good-conduct-medals.html>



Philip William Ellis was born in Toronto on September 11, 1856. Philip was educated at the Toronto Model School and Collegiate Institutes. At the age of sixteen Philip apprenticed with W.C. Morrison, a Toronto manufacturing jeweller. This apprenticeship lasted for five years and when completed in October 1877 Philip formed P.W. Ellis & Co. with his twin brother Matthew C. Ellis (Cochran 1891: 148).



Medal Information

Bronze: 51.8 mm diameter x 5 mm thick

Silver: 51.4 mm diameter x 3 to 4 mm thick



*This unawarded medal was struck by P. W. Ellis and Co. of Toronto, Ontario.
The medal is made of aluminum and is likely a trial strike.*



The bronze medal was given out to children who were indentured for a period of two years. This could be a combination of two successive one year contracts (*Ups and Downs*, III, 4: 27). Although there are exceptions, the bronze awards seem to have been made predominantly to girls. On rare occasions both a bronze medal and a silver medal were awarded to the same individual. There are instances of this occurring for both boys and girls (*Ups and Downs*, III, 4: 27; II, 6: 4).



George Walter Jenden sailed from Liverpool, England, on the SS Dominion in 1902 arriving in Portland, Maine. He was then transported to Ontario. George was 11 years old when he arrived (Library and Archives Canada RG 76, Vol. 51, File 2209). This silver medal was likely awarded to George some time in 1907 after an indentured term of 5 years.



This silver medal was awarded to R(ober) G(eorge) Russell. The obverse exhibits a small die crack through the C in the word CHILD at 1 o'clock. The wording on the reverse, "Dr. Barnardo's Homes", has been scratched off and BOLTON crudely scratched in at the top. The reverse of the medal was heavily polished at some time. Russell arrived in Montreal, Quebec, from Liverpool, England, in 1903 at the age of 15. He went to work for John Mitchell in Bolton, Ontario (Library and Archives Canada RG 76 C1a).

Bibliography

- Bagnell, Kenneth. 1980. *The Little Immigrants*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.
- Barnardo, Syrie Louise Elmsie. 1907. *Memoirs of the late Dr. Barnardo*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Batt, Rev. John Herridge. 1904. *Dr. Barnardo*. London: S.W. Partridge & Co.
- Cochran, William. 1891. *Men Of Canada*. Brantford: Bradley, Garretson & Co.
- Corbett, Gail. 1981. *Barnardo Children in Canada*. Peterborough, Ontario: Woodland Publishing.
- Harrison, Phyllis. 1979. *The Home Children*. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Limited.

Neuman, A. R. 1914. *Dr Barnardo as I Knew Him*. London: Constable and Co. Ltd.

Ups and Downs. 1895-1905. Published under the auspices of Dr Barnardo's Homes.

Wagner, Gillian. 1979. *Barnardo*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.



Credit: (canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com)

Afterword

The Canadian Numismatic Research Society is once again delighted to be able to bring you this offering of original, never before published, research by active Fellows of the CNRS. Our goal is to try to cover the various aspects of numismatics and this year's offering has proven to be suitably diverse.

Each year I donate a copy of the *Transactions* to various institutions such as the Royal Canadian Numismatic Association, the Ontario Numismatic Association, the Bank of Canada and some of the museums and archives that I personally frequent. Last year Chris Faulkner was in England and on a visit to the British Museum took a copy of Volume One and Volume Two of the New Series *Transactions* to donate to the Museum library. About an hour later the librarian came back to Chris and asked if the Museum could purchase future editions of the *Transactions* from us. Chris informed the librarian that we couldn't sell them futures copies but that we would be more than happy to donate a copy to them each year. The librarian was thrilled about this and I have to say that so were we!

Authors of future articles for the *Transactions* would do well to please take note of A Guide for Contributors on page 5. The job of proof reading and editing articles for the journal can be very time consuming. However, if everyone can use the same font size and type along with a few other minor considerations these jobs become much less tedious. Anyone needing further explanation or help with their submissions please do not hesitate to contact me.

I would like to thank all of this year's contributing authors for their hard work and dedication to our mutual obsession. It is a wonderful feeling to be able to share this knowledge with the numismatic world. I would like to thank Chris Faulkner for all the time and effort he puts in to making sure we get it right. Chris selflessly dedicates hours of his time to the *Transactions*. Simply put, I could not do it without him.

On behalf of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society it is my hope that you get a lot of reading pleasure from this year's *Transactions*. As always, if you have any thoughts, opinions, or comments you wish to share about our journal please feel free to contact me at sdouglas333@gmail.com at any time. Enjoy!

Sincerely
Scott E. Douglas