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Officers of the C.N.R.S.

President.....Darryl Atchison
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Secretary-treasurer.....R. A. Greene



Officers of the C.A.T.C.

President.....Harry N. James
Box 22022, Elmwood Square P.O., 204 First Ave.,
St. Thomas, Ontario Canada N5R 6A1
harryjames6@gmail.com



Vice-president.....Scott E. Douglas
273 Mill St. E., Acton, Ontario Canada L7J 1J7
scott.douglas@sympatico.ca

Secretary-treasurer.....Scott E. Douglas
273 Mill St. E., Acton, Ontario Canada L7J1J7
scott.douglas@sympatico.ca

Editor of *Numismatica Canada*.....Harry N. James
Box 22022, Elmwood Square P.O., 204 First Ave., St. Thomas, Ontario Canada
N5R 6A1 harryjames6@gmail.com

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From the editor:

Happy summer everyone. We have here a lot of good reading. As promised last issue we have a good piece from Dr. Haxby on the die varieties of the decimal coins of Queen Victoria. This in depth paper represents a tremendous effort by Dr. Haxby and we are lucky to have it to enjoy in these pages.

I have written up a bit of a description of an important previously unknown muling of a Breton 713 with a Breton 714. This should be of interest to bank token collectors and of course to any who collect bouquet sous.

Dr. Chris Faulkner submitted a piece reprinted from *Canada Coin News* from November of 1965 concerning the finding of a horde of B. H. Turner tokens from Gore Bay in Manitoulin Island.

Angus Sutherland continues with his series on Communion tokens covering those used in Toronto.

Captain W.D. Andrews, Canada's earliest life saving hero is the subject of an article from Captain Jack Boddington.

Eric Jensen has given us a supplemental listing of the pennies of the Royal Black Knights of Ireland in Saskatchewan. In the September pages he will also have a listing of the Mark Pennies of the Royal Arch Masons of Saskatchewan.

Both Len Buth and Ron Greene have supplied two articles, Len's concerning a prominent London, Ontario man's Fenian Raid medal and he has also supplied us with a history of a newly discovered token issuer. Ron continues with British Columbia tokens discussing the business and token of an Eburne, BC baker and a hotel token from Nelson, BC.

I might have caused some confusion in the last issue. I stated that the C.A.T.C. would be holding a meeting in conjunction with the upcoming C.N.A. show in Calgary in July. We are going to have the meeting but the show will be in Edmonton, not Calgary and in August, not July. I hope this clears up any confusion.

Have a great summer everyone. Hopefully the good weather allows everybody to get out to a coin show or two.

Die Varieties of the Canadian Decimal Coinage of Queen Victoria

VII. The Dominion of Canada 5 to 50-Cent Reverses

By

Dr. James A. Haxby, F.C.N.R.S.

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Introduction

This is the seventh paper in the series, "Die Varieties of the Canadian Decimal Coinage of Queen Victoria".¹ In the fifth paper our coverage of the Dominion of Canada device varieties turned to the reverses and began with the bronze large cent.^{2 3}

The present paper covers the silver reverses: the 5 to 50-cent varieties, most of which were discovered by the writer in work done between 1968 and 1985. Some were introduced in the first edition of *Coins of Canada* in 1971, but not fully described in our catalog work at that time.⁴ To suit the purposes of the catalog certain "varieties" were deliberately grouped together. In this venue they will be expanded into the separate varieties. For example, the 25c "variety" we termed *short bough ends* in the catalogs becomes five varieties and the *long bough ends* "variety" becomes three varieties here.

In this paper our concern is actually twofold. Our first aim is to describe and illustrate the device varieties seen on the coins. The second, and rather more challenging aim, is to delineate how and at what step(s) in the die-making process these varieties actually arose. Secondly we will describe the use of each of the working punches and the hand work necessary to complete the date on each die.⁵

To aid in the understanding of the relationships of the various varieties we will present theoretical flow charts showing the steps from the master tools to the dies. A few of the matrices and punches still survive in the Royal Mint museum in England and they have been most helpful in working out the charts.⁶ We gratefully acknowledge Graham Dyer, now retired from the Royal Mint, and Dr. Peter Gaspar, our longtime colleague in America, for aiding us in gaining access to these important tools.⁷ In the flow charts to follow a surviving matrix or punch is placed in a box.

General Considerations

Leaf Numbering and Leaf Anatomy

For each of the Canadian Victorian silver denominations the device consists of two crossed boughs of Sweet Maple (*Acer saccharum*) tied at the bottom with a ribbon and surmounted by the Royal crown. A detailed discussion of the reverses necessitates frequent reference to specific leaves in the boughs. Obviously, this task is facilitated by use of a numbering system for the leaves. For the large cent we employed a system proposed in *The Numismatist* in 1956 in which the leaves in the circular serpentine wreath were numbered in a clockwise fashion.⁸ The leaf at the top received the highest number, 16, and the next leaf to the right began the count with number 1, just as would a clock

with 16 instead of 12 numbers.⁹

The silver is different in that the leaves are arranged into two crossed boughs. The crossed boughs on the 5 and 10-cent pieces initially have a total of 21 leaves (with a 22nd leaf sometimes present later). The 25 and 50-cent pieces have 23 leaves in their boughs throughout the entire period. One leaf, number 12, is part of a four-leaf complex and has only a small portion showing.

Our leaf numbering schemes are shown in Figure 1.¹⁰ The 22nd leaf in the 5 and 10-cent scheme appears out of order because it was incorporated some years after the initial reverse was introduced.

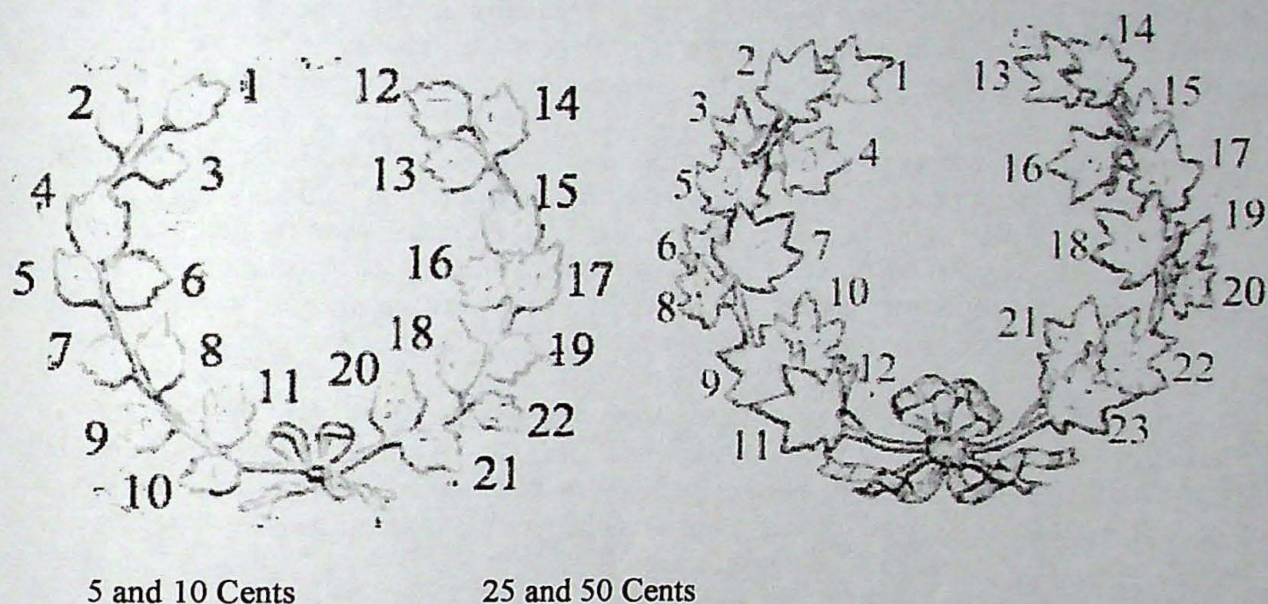


Figure 1. Leaf Numbering Patterns for
Dominion of Canada Victorian Silver Coins

For the 25 and 50c reverses, particularly the former, we will sometimes find it necessary to refer to parts of leaves. Each of the maple leaves that is fully visible on these denominations is divided into five lobes: a center lobe (CL), an upper left lobe (ULL), an upper right lobe (URL), a lower left lobe (LLL) and a lower right lobe (LRL). In real life each lobe would have a mid-vein with smaller collateral veins branching off each. The mid-veins would radiate out in a fan-like (palmate) fashion from a point near where the stem (petiole) joins the base of the leaf. The collaterals intermittently arise along the entire length of the mid-vein in a feather-like fashion. Such an idealized arrangement is sometimes, though not always, achieved on the engravings.

Stepwise Evolution of Some Device Varieties and the Use of Flow Charts

The results of our efforts in deducing variety origins are summarized in the various flow charts presented below. In these charts the convention is adopted that a solid horizontal or diagonal arrow implies the production of one intermediate from the next in a die-sinking press, e.g., raising a punch from a matrix. A dashed vertical arrow denotes modification of the same tool, e.g., the removal of a digit from the date of a reverse punch.

latter case a punch raised from that matrix and a die sunk from that punch, if left unaltered, would bear device details identical to the matrix. However, the process wasn't always that simple. In the 10 cents, for example, Reverse A in its final form did not exist in the original matrix made in 1858. It was only on a punch raised from that matrix that the finishing touches were added to create the Reverse A seen on the coins themselves. Hence, we can term the dies and the punch that sank them Rev. A, but the matrix cannot strictly be given that designation. We prefer to use the term *Pre-Rev. A* for the state of the matrix, recognizing that its design was not fully A, but that its *first use* would be in a process that would *lead to* Reverse A.

We must also consider that the designation of a new matrix or punch could change between when it was first made and after it was worked on by engraver prior to hardening for use. Again, let's look at the original 10-cent Reverse A punch. When this punch was first raised from the Pre-Rev. A matrix, it was a mirror image of its source and so at that point was a Pre-Rev. A *punch*. However, this punch was transformed into a Rev. A punch by the changes the engraver then made in the device.

In the process of engraving new device varieties for both the obverses and reverses it is most common to see the engraving process moving in a forward direction. That is, detail was added to each successive punch or matrix. In our 10-cent Rev. A example a matrix was created, then more detail was added to a punch raised from it. There is another stepwise process, however, where one or more steps backward are temporarily taken: significant detail is *destroyed* in order to facilitate the addition of new detail in a later step. This can be termed the prep (for preparing) punch process.

We find a nice example of a prep punch in the conversion of 5-cent Rev. A to Rev. B (see Fig. 5). The process began with raising a punch from the original (Pre-Rev. A) matrix. The rim (denticles and flat) were removed from the soft punch, then the punch was hardened and used to sink a matrix into which new denticles and flat were added and numerous changes made in the device. The punch lacking the rim detail, then, can be called a prep punch.

The Dating of Reverse Dies & Repair of Dies Sunk from Deteriorated Reverse Punches

Many of the principles established for the obverses in our previous papers also apply to the reverses. However, for the Canadian series the reverses present the additional complication of the date (and, for Heaton's issues, the mint mark). Most often, the date on the reverse working punches (those that sank the dies) was left incomplete and the final digit or two (and the H mint mark if needed) was punched into each die.

Up to 1879 it was common for the Royal Mint to sink dies for the dated side of a coin from working punches that contained only the first 2-3 date digits. And, as discussed previously, it was also usual to continue to use full-side punches on which letters or digits had broken and to repair the defective characters thus transferred to the dies by repunching them with individual hand punches.¹¹
¹² Even damaged devices on working punches were sometimes tolerated and were repaired on the dies with a graver.¹³ This hand work was performed by the Resident Engraver, who during the 1870s was T.J. Minton. Both practices came to an abrupt end for Imperial coinage after Minton's death in 1879.

Beginning in 1880 a fully-dated matrix and punch was made for each Imperial denomination/date

and defective punches were to be retired. Hand punch and graver work on Imperial dies was thereby greatly reduced. This policy shift seems to have come about more because of a public relations problem than the Resident Engraver's demise. In 1878 Minton blundered in the repair of a British sixpence obverse die, causing BRITANNIAR to appear to read DRITANNIAR on all coins emanating from that die. One of the coins was discovered in circulation and publicized after Minton's death, creating something of a furor.¹⁴ The Deputy Master, Charles W. Fremantle, was quick to react to the sensitive error. His official statement in the Royal Mint Report For 1879 reads:¹⁵

"The system of perfecting dies after they had been sunk has always been attended with a certain amount of risk of error in "lettering" and I recommended that all matrices and punches should themselves be perfected in order that a working die sunk by means of a punch should be as perfect as the original matrix from which the punch was in the first instance derived. This suggestion was adopted, and has since been carried out. The office of Resident Engraver, being thus rendered unnecessary, has been abolished, and a skilled Artificer has been appointed to the Die Department to prepare the additional number of punches required under the new arrangement."¹⁶

Like the rigid dating policy for Imperial coinages discussed in Victorian Varieties VI, the use of perfect, fully-dated reverse punches was not rigorously extended to colonial coinages for some time.¹⁷¹⁸ The old system, with certain exceptions, continued for Canada until near the end of Victoria's reign. The exceptions were mostly in association with coinages struck by Heaton's Mint in Birmingham.¹⁹ Until 1880 the Heaton's dies were almost always sunk from the same punches used for Royal Mint dies with the H mint mark and missing portion of the date added to each die.²⁰ From 1880 onward, the Mint usually made a matrix and corresponding punch with the full date and mint mark for each year a Heaton's coinage was ordered.²¹ This allowed Heaton's to avoid the hand work of adding the H and completing the date.

The Engravers of the Silver Reverses

While the production of working punches for use in die sinking was sometimes left to trained workmen in the Die Department (see above), all engraving work on *master tools* was reserved for engravers. During the time of the Dominion silver coinage, they included Leonard C. Wyon (1826-91), the Mint Engraver and Modeler, his successor, George W. de Saulles (1862-1903)²², and Thomas J. Minton, the Mint's last Resident Engraver.²³

Because of Wyon's special association with the Mint, we have a partial accounting trail that is helpful in deducing which Canadian tools he engraved during the period 1876-86.²⁴ Wyon mostly worked outside the Mint, being paid an annual retainer by the Mint to guarantee prior claim to his services. He then submitted bills for each task he performed for the Mint.²⁵ Where applicable these charges were passed on to the Dominion government for payment. For Royal Mint coinages the Mint charged the Dominion government a fixed percentage of the face value of the coin and the engraving charges were not always passed along. T.J. Minton and G.W. de Saulles sometimes received special payment for their colonial engraving work as well.

A summary of the Dominion silver reverse punches for which the Royal Mint billed the Dominion government appears below in Table 1.²⁶

Table 1.

Dominion of Canada 5-50c Reverse Punches

For Which the Royal Mint Invoiced the Canadian Government

<u>Date</u>	<u>Item(s)</u>	<u>Engraver</u>
1870	5c, 25c, 50c	Wyon
1880 ²⁷	5c & 10c	Wyon
1881 ²⁸	5c, 25c, 50c	Wyon
1882 ²⁹	5c, 10c, 25c	Wyon
1883 ³⁰	5c, 10c, 25c	Wyon
1884 ³¹	5c & 10c	Wyon
1886 ³²	25c	Wyon
1900 ³³	5c & 10c	de Saulles

Variety Scope and Nomenclature

In the reverses for the silver denominations successive device varieties (after the first) can always be traced back to a previously-existing matrix or punch. With the portrait varieties the alteration site was typically a matrix (or more rarely a punch), with no changes originating at the die stage.³⁴ But the reverses are different. There one sees changes at all three stages: matrix, punch and die.

This brings us to a fundamental dilemma with regard to cataloging the silver device varieties: How wide should one cast the net? Should one include all device changes, regardless of whether they were made on master tools (matrices/punches) or dies? Indeed, some of the die-borne changes are more extensive than those on the master tools! But to place die changes on the same footing as master tool modifications takes one down a very slippery slope. In the silver reverses there are perhaps 20 or so die device changes, which is bad enough. But, there are even more on the Dominion large cents, specifically Rev. C (the small leaves reverse of 1891-1901). And, as already noted, the Province of Canada cents are literally awash with such device changes.³⁵

The most reasonable approach it seems to us is to carefully separate the varieties that arose on the master tools from those that arose on the dies. Hence, we reserve separate letter and number designations only for changes that took place on matrices or punches. Die-borne device changes will be noted, but will not be given a separate letter or number.

Because of the number of varieties involved, the use of descriptive names to designate individual varieties must give way to a different nomenclature system. In the new system the obverses are coded by numbers (sometimes followed by lower case letters) and the reverses by capital letters

(sometimes followed by subscript numbers).³⁶ This approach for the reverses was begun in the paper on the Dominion large cent reverses where the series was divided into Reverses A, B and C, with Reverse A being further sub-divided into reverses A₁, A₂ and A₃. The latter three were derivatives of Rev. A (the Province of Canada variety) and bore close resemblance to it.³⁷ At that time it was also noted that Reverse C had device sub-varieties, but they were not delineated due to their complexity.

The 5-Cent Reverses



Figure 2. 5c Reverse A

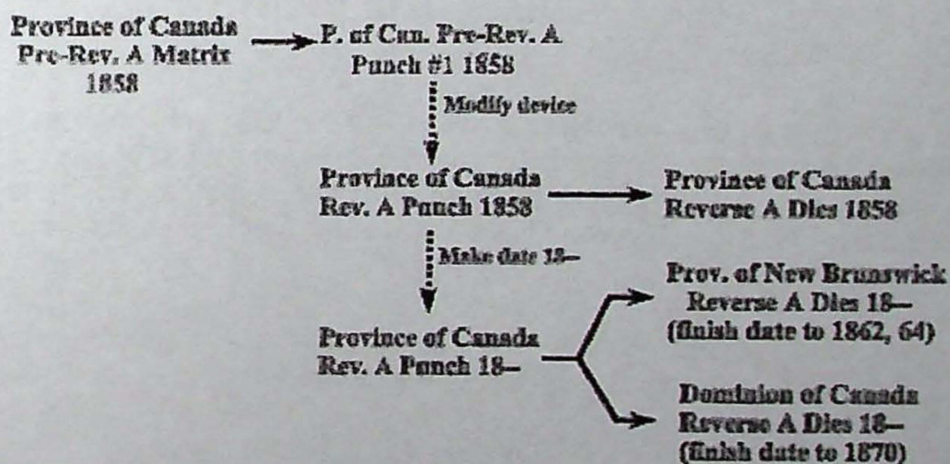


Figure 3. Derivation 5c Reverse A Dies 1858-70

Reverse A (1870)

As depicted schematically in Fig. 3, the initial reverse for the Dominion 5 cents resulted from the

continued deployment of the reverse punch that had been prepared in 1858 and used for the Province of Canada and Province of New Brunswick coins of this denomination. Royal Mint die records for 1858 tell us that the 5c dies for that year were sunk from a single reverse punch, derived from a single matrix.^{38 39} Photographic overlaying⁴⁰ and electronic overlaying⁴¹ studies reveal that the working punch from the matrix also carried the full date during its use for sinking Province of Canada dies. For later use (1862 to 1870), the 58 had to be ground off the Rev. A punch.

Three pieces of evidence show us that the New Brunswick 5c reverse dies were sunk from the already-existing Province of Canada punch. First, the device and rim details of the two match. Second, the die records for New Brunswick fail to show the production of a new reverse matrix or punch for the 5-cent piece, whereas they do for the ½ cent, cent and 20 cents.⁴² And, finally, the only New Brunswick master tools missing from a detailed account of the Royal Mint Die Department taken on Jan. 1, 1863 are the 5 & 10c reverse matrices and punches.⁴³

Reverse A has several prominent features that are unique to it and make it readily recognizable. The first is its very wide rim. The denticles are disproportionately long and the flat is a bit wide for the size of the coin. Second is the internal detail of the leaves. Some vein detail, such as the mid-veins, is provided by raised lines, but a series of incuse cuts (Fig. 2, right-hand panel, arrows with short dashes) is used to suggest other veins and to add surface texture to the leaves. Leaves 19 and 21 each have a particularly bold long groove. Undoubtedly, the original matrix (Pre-Rev. A) lacked the incuse cuts and they were added to the first punch raised from it. And, third, the blades on the upper cross on the crown are weakly marked, particularly that at the left.

Some other features of Rev. A that would prove to be more durable are as follows. A somewhat crude strengthening of the upper edge of leaf 10 in the left-hand bough was made in the Pre-Rev. A matrix. Rather than gradually building up the leaf edge to match the relief of the rest of the leaf, Wyon made several short, deep cuts (which became raised lines on the coins – see solid arrows in Fig. 2, right-hand panel) to delineate the edge.

Incuse grooves have been used to accentuate detail in the ribbon and bough ends at the bottom. At the left a groove crosses the ribbon end below the bough and there is a pronounced notch in the bottom of the bough next to the left edge of the ribbon. At the right a groove crosses the bough on each side of the ribbon. The left ribbon end has a slight notch in its end, whereas the right ribbon is cut off straight.

Finally, there are three gaps in the right-hand bough: above leaf 21 and above and below leaf 18 (arrows with long dashes). They are simply part of the design style.



Figure 4. 5c Reverse B

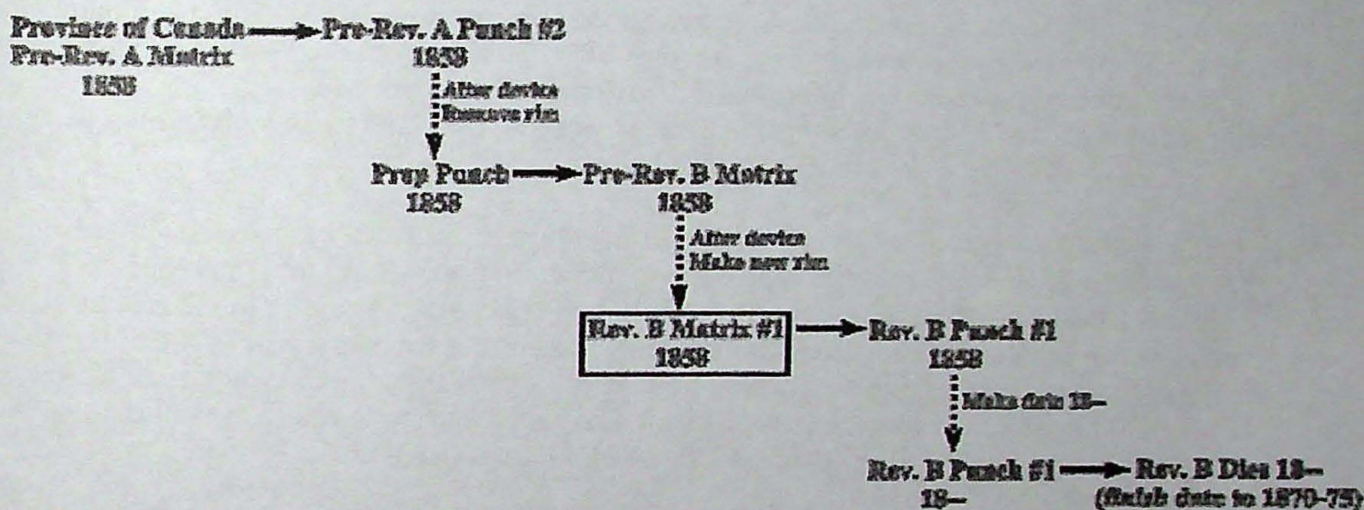


Figure 5. Derivation of 5c Reverse B Dies 1870-75

Reverse B (1870-75, 1881H, 1891-1900)

The second Dominion 5c reverse (Rev. B) was introduced before the end of the 1870 coinage and corresponded with a change in obverse as well.⁴⁴ Indeed, it could well be that the decision to replace the Provincial dies was made before the 1870 coinage began and that the Rev. A Dominion Coinage mostly or entirely used up old die stocks carried over. As of 1863 some 18 Province of Canada obverse dies remained in stock.⁴⁵ Any of these not being saved for striking specimen coins undoubtedly would have been used up in 1870.

The use of old reverse dies would have been more problematic. It is most unlikely any Province of Canada reverse dies were used because they were all dated 1858. Either overdating (70 over 58) or the use of the Provincial date would be an unacceptable stretch. The ideal candidates would be any remaining Province of New Brunswick reverses with the incomplete date 18—. One has no way of knowing how many such dies there were.

Rev. B was derived from Rev. A by a process outlined in Fig. 5. Note the carryover of the raised line repairs along the top of leaf 10 (solid arrows, Fig. 4, right-hand panel). Because of the changes made, we believe that the process involved a second punch raised from the Province of Canada Pre-Rev. A matrix.

The rim detail is completely new: shorter denticles and a narrower flat give the design a more normal look. We suspect that an important reason for the retirement of Rev. A had been its long rim denticles, which doubtless tended to facilitate cracking of the dies.

The leaves have also received extensive work. The incuse cuts of Rev. A are completely missing and in their place is an extensive series of thin raised lines representing the leaf veins.⁴⁶ The gap in the bough seen above leaf 21 in Rev. A has been closed, but not so skillfully that one can't detect that it was altered (dotted arrow). The gaps above and below leaf 18 were untouched. At the bottom the ribbon detail and bough ends remain essentially unchanged.

Finally, the upper cross on the crown has been reworked so the three blades are all strong.

Since the initial B matrix was dated 1858, it was necessary to remove the 58 from each punch raised from it. That explains why even the Rev. B dies for 1870 have both the 7 and 0 punched in by hand. The completion of the date (and addition of the H mint mark, when necessary) continued in individual dies through 1875. One assumes the same B working punch was used throughout that period.

Beginning in 1880 the B working punch assumed an additional duty. It was used to sink new matrices from which fully-dated punches (and hence fully-dated dies) would ultimately arise. In the four-year period from 1880-1883, Heaton's Mint was given the contract to strike the Canadian coinage and a new matrix and fully-dated working punch was made for every year of the Heaton's 5c. We believe that each successive matrix was sunk directly from the same B punch used to sink dies in 1870-75. In three of the four cases significant device changes occurred at the same time. Only in 1881 were no changes made to the device, so the 1881H date is listed under Rev. B.

In 1891 Rev. B was resumed, as will be discussed below.



Figure 6. 5c Reverse B₁

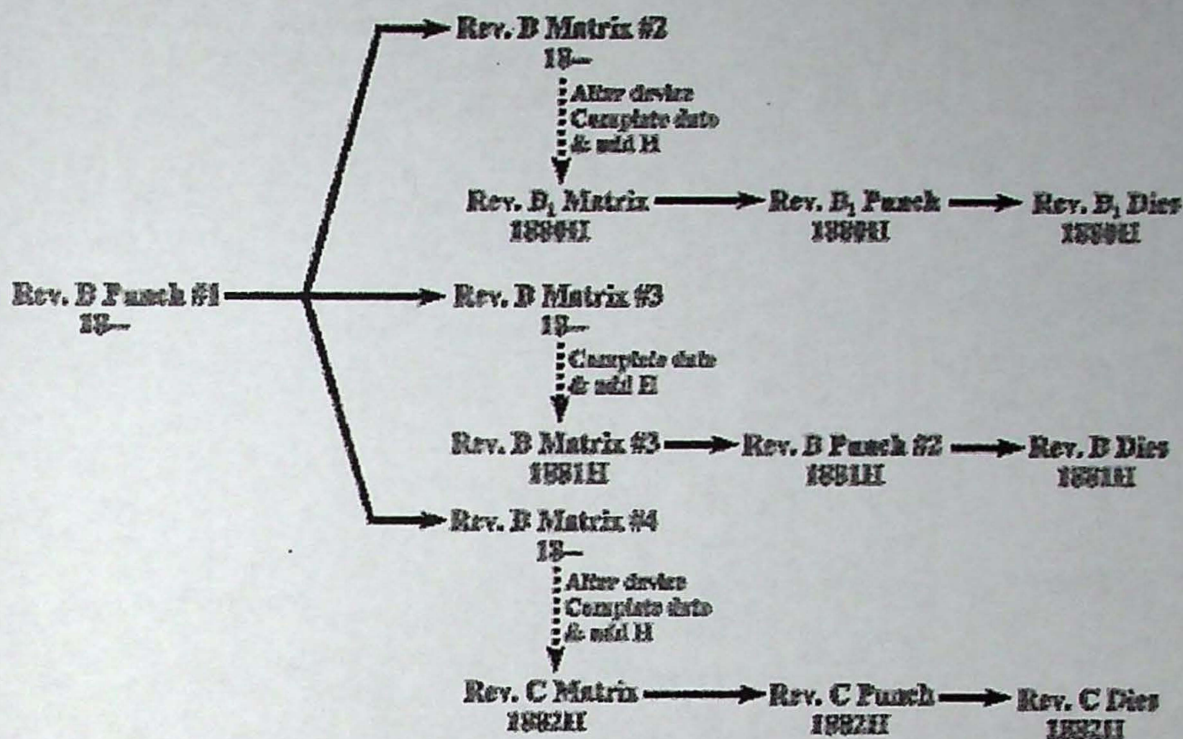


Figure 7. Derivation of 5c Dies 1880-82

Reverse B₁ (1880H)

For the 1880 Heaton's issue Wyon took advantage of the occasion of a new matrix to modify the lower part of the wreath. Three sections of bough were heavily recut: on the left between the ribbon and leaves 10/11 and between leaves 10/11 and 7/8 and on the right between the ribbon and leaves 20/21 (see arrows, Fig. 6). The ribbon and the bough ends themselves were also recut, with the ribbon ends now flaring and separated by deep notches. The whole gives the appearance of being hastily done.



Figure 8. 5c Reverse C

Reverse C (1882H)

On the matrix for the 1882 Heaton's issue Wyon made fewer overall changes than he had in 1880. Reverse C's claim to a separate letter designation comes from an additional (22nd) leaf engraved into the gap at the outside portion of the right-hand maple bough between leaves 21 and 18 (dashed arrow, Fig. 8).

Otherwise, this reverse reverts back to essentially the Rev. B characteristics. The main differences are that the groove in the left ribbon end and the notch in the bough have been removed and the bough breaks above and below leaf 18 have been closed.



Figure 9. 5c Reverse D

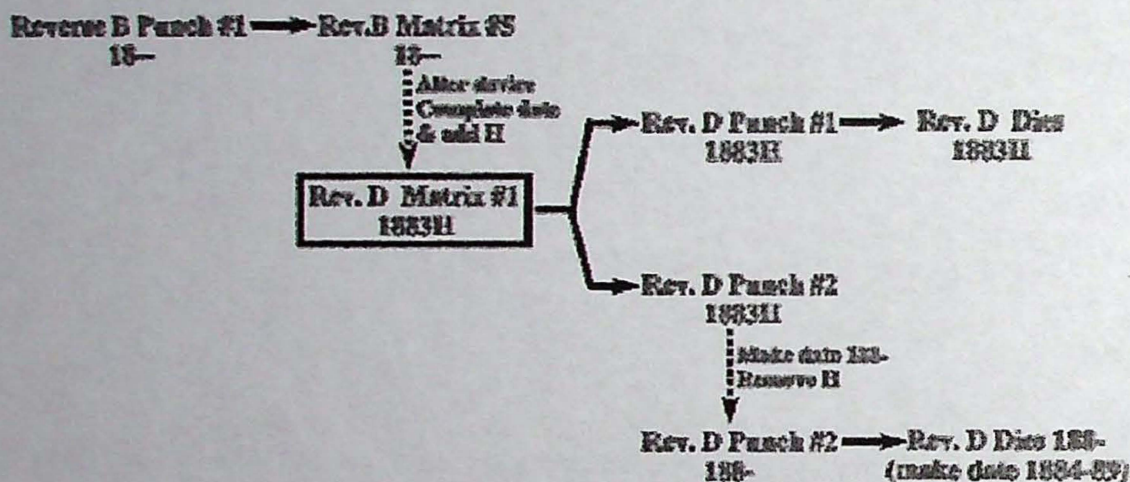


Figure 10. Derivation of 5c Reverse D Dies 1883-89

Reverse D (1883-89)

In 1883 Wyon again chose to incorporate a 22nd leaf into the design. Instead of deriving the new matrix from an 1882H punch (which already had the extra leaf), he again went back to the B punch. Thus, he had to engrave a fresh 22nd leaf, easily distinguishable from that on Rev. C (dashed arrow, Fig. 9).

Some changes to the ribbon and bough ends were also made. The groove in the left ribbon end and the notch in the bough have been removed (as they were on Rev. C) and the ribbon ends given small notches (solid arrows). The bough gaps above and below leaf 18 were left untouched, i.e., open.

After 1883, Reverse D was used for the Royal Mint issues for remainder of the 1880s, with the dies sunk from a reverse working punch dated 188-. The fact that Leonard Wyon billed the Royal Mint for a new 5c reverse punch in 1884 suggests that the source of the 188- working punch that sank the dies for the 1884-89 issues was a *second* punch raised from the 1883H matrix rather than an altered version of the punch that sank the 1883H dies.⁴⁷



Figure 11. 5c Reverse B₂

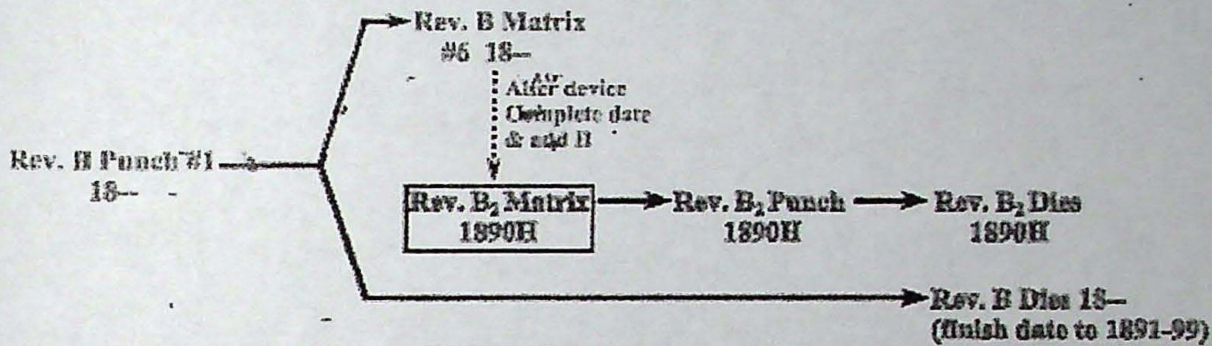


Figure 12. Derivation of 5c Reverses Dies 1890-99

Reverse B₂ (1890H)

The Heaton's issue for 1890 marks a return to the original 21-leaf format. Since it is only trivially different from its source, the Rev. B punch, this reverse is designated B₂. Only the ribbon and bough ends seem to have been altered. The most striking changes are a new left bough tip and left ribbon end, which is narrower and formed by a raised line all around its edge (see arrow, Fig. 11).

In 1891 Rev. B was resumed and continued through the first part of 1900 (large date/round Os variety only). For 1891-99 the last two date digits were added at the die stage, implying the continued use of the old B punch dated 18-- (see Fig. 12).

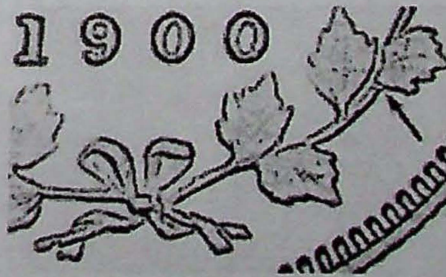


Figure 13. 5c Reverse B₃

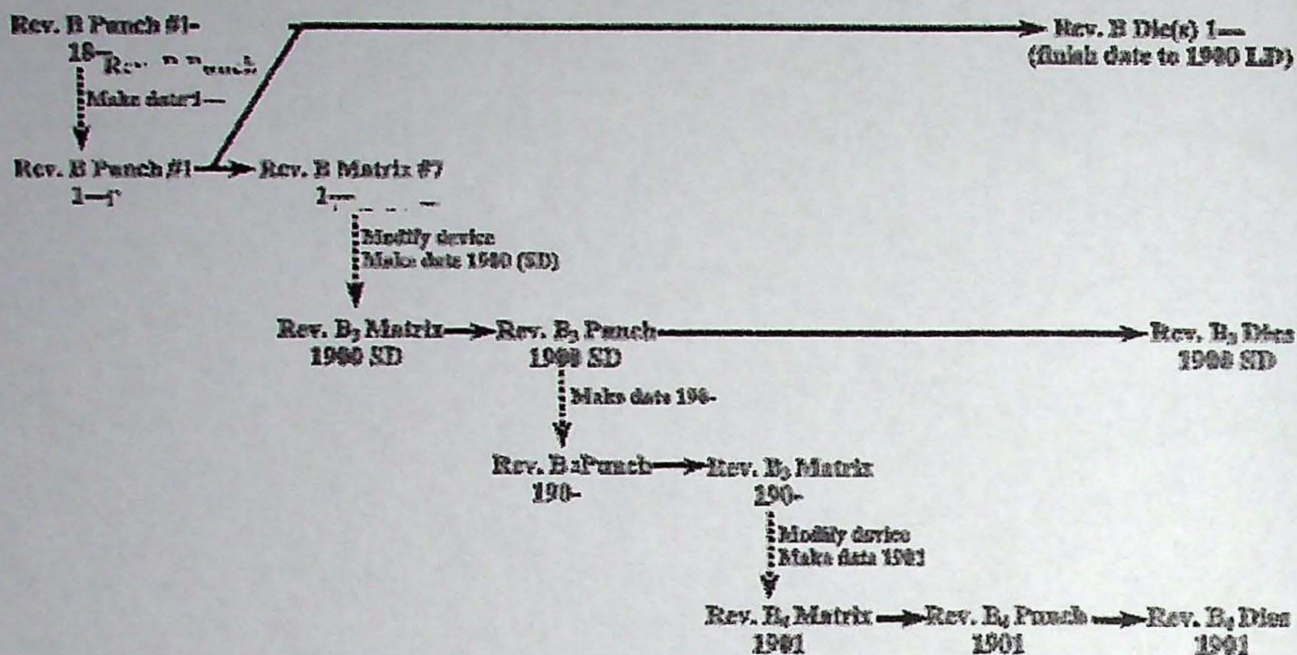


Figure 14. Derivation of 5c Dies 1900-01

Reverse B (late use-1900 LD) & Reverse B₃ (1900 SD)

In the first part of the 1900 coinage the Rev. B punch continued in use after the 8 of the date was removed (see Fig. 14). The only 1900 die(s) from this punch seem to be the large date or round Os variety. Later in the coinage a new matrix (small date or oval Os variety) was produced and this became Rev. B₃.

Reverse B₃ stems from a fully-dated matrix, presumed to be derived from the same B punch that sank the matrices for its predecessors. Aside from the complete date, Rev. B₃ has two points of modification of the device. The notch along the left edge of the right-hand ribbon end has been removed and the bough break above (but *not* below—see arrow, Fig. 13) leaf 18 has been closed.



Figure 15. 5c Reverse B₄

Reverse B₄ (1901)

Like its immediate predecessor this reverse was from a fully-dated matrix. However, electronic overlaying reveals that Reverses B₃ and B₄ share the 190- portion of the date. Also, B₄ carries forward the device changes made in B₃ and in addition has the bough break below leaf 18 closed (see arrow, Fig. 15), giving an unbroken right-hand bough for the first time in this denomination. This information suggests that the B₄ matrix was sunk from a B₃ punch as depicted in Fig. 14.

The 10-Cent Reverses ⁴⁸



Figure 16. 10c Reverse A

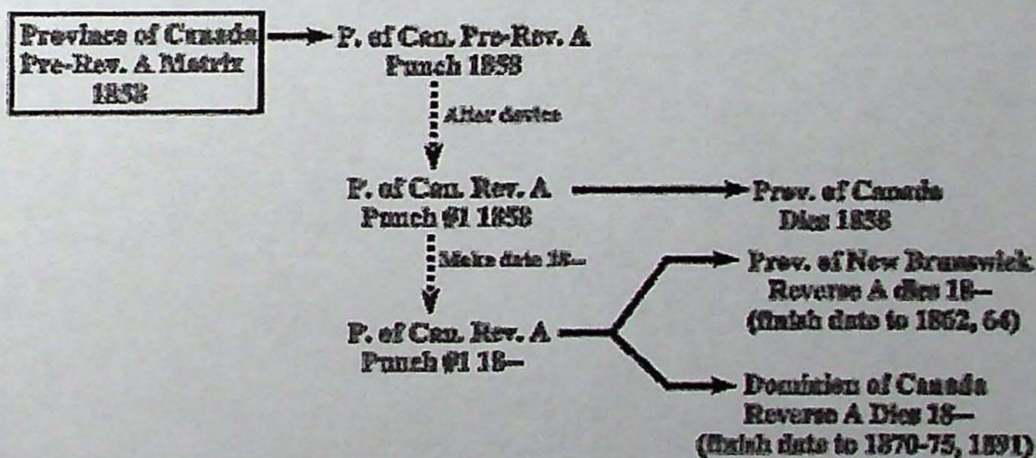


Figure 17. Derivation of 10c Reverse A Dies 1858-91

Reverse A (1870-75, 1891)

The derivation of Rev. A for the Dominion 10c reverse, depicted in Fig. 17, followed a similar

course to that for the 5c. Thus, the Rev. A punch was made in 1858 and served to sink 10c dies for the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick before being put into service for the Dominion. As we saw with the 5c, the fully-evolved 10c Rev. A did not exist until the working punch stage where incuse vein detail was added to complete the transformation (see dashed arrows in Fig. 18, right-hand panel). On the original Pre-Rev. A matrix all leaf vein detail is raised.

There are a total of 21 maple leaves in the two boughs, 11 in the left bough and 10 in the right, with a gap between leaves 18 and 21 where a 22nd leaf would later be added. Unlike the 5c, however, no deliberate breaks were incorporated into the right-hand maple bough.

The ribbon ends are without much detail. The left end has a faint notch, but the right end is squared off as it disappears into the field. Both bough tips are cut off at very slight angles, making them almost "square". As the right ribbon end crosses the bough, a groove in each side of the bough accentuates it; that on the left cuts partly through the bough, while the groove on the right goes right down to the field, completely separating the ribbon from the bough.

Reverse A, though generally more appealing than the corresponding 5c reverse, is not without its problems. Specifically, the left edges of leaves 2, 4, and 5 are quite weak and did not strike up well. With any amount of die wear, these edges become badly "smeared", giving a most disagreeable effect. The 1872H 10c in Fig. 16 shows this quite vividly.

A defect not originally present in the matrix or on the punch was in the stretch of open bough connecting leaf groups 12-13-14 and 15-16-17 on the right. During 1858, a portion of this piece of bough broke on the punch, producing an effect similar to what occurred on the maple vine on the large cent reverse.

All dies between 1870 and 1875 were sunk from the Rev. A punch. In 1891 this variety made a brief return (as the 1891 21 leaves variety listed in the catalogs). Until 1884 the Rev. A punch was the source of each new matrix produced for this denomination.



Figure 18. 10c Reverse B

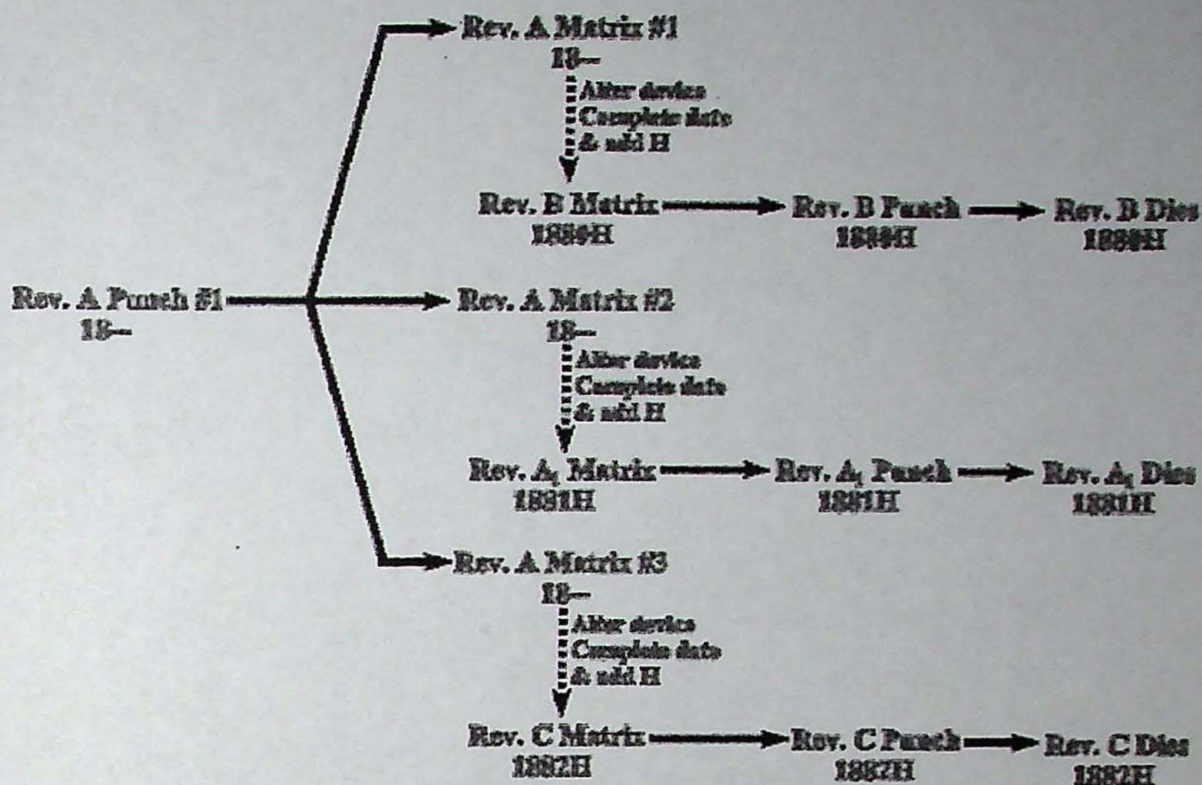


Figure 19. Derivation of 10c Dies 1880-82

Reverse B (1880H)

As we saw with the 5c, Leonard Wyon made a new, fully-dated and mint-marked reverse matrix for each year's Heaton issues for 1880-83. In the case of the 10c each matrix was derived directly from the Rev. A punch, as shown in Fig. 19.

Wyon made good use of his first opportunity to modify the 10-cent reverse with a bold reworking that corrected all the defects of Rev. A. Numerous leaves in both boughs were re-engraved, including the seriously defective leaves 2, 4 and 5. All leaves now struck up clearly. The broken piece of bough below leaves 12-13-14 was repaired as well.

The bough ends and ribbon ends reworked, though this was more of an artistic than repair nature. Both bough ends are lengthened and made to appear to be cut off at a sharp angle (see solid arrows, Fig. 18, right-hand panel). The right-hand ribbon end is enlarged and ends in a large notch. The grooves on each side of this ribbon end have been eliminated.

Reverse B became the best reverse Leonard Wyon was to produce for this denomination. It is indeed perplexing that Rev. B was used for only the one year and would not be the source of any later reverses – a tragic loss of a good piece of work.

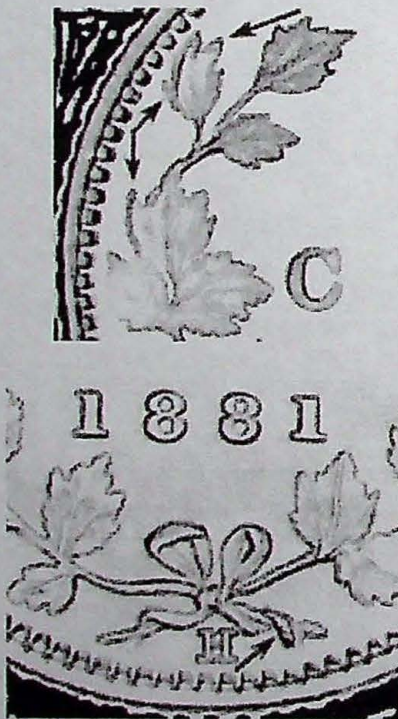


Figure 20. 10c Reverse A₁, Original and Repaired

Reverse A₁ (1881H)

For the 1881H 10c issue the superior Rev. B of the previous year was abandoned and the Rev. A punch was used as the working intermediate to sink the new matrix. The amount of touchup work on the new matrix was minimal, which created some problems. It is unclear whether or not Leonard

Wyon made this matrix, as a bill for it was not passed along to the Dominion government, though all the other denominations were billed for that year.

The upper two panels in Fig. 20 show the 1881H reverse, Rev. A₁, more or less in its original state. The center and upper right lobes of leaf 2 have been crudely remodeled (see arrows, Fig. 20 upper left panel). The ribbon and cut stalk area (upper right panel) was as Rev. A.

On several occasions the weak areas of leaves 2 and 4 were repaired in the dies. The coin illustrated in the lower panels is from a die in which leaves 2 and 4 were reinforced by heavy outlines along their left sides (arrows, lower left panel). Even the right-hand ribbon tip didn't escape a heavy graver gouge (arrow, lower right panel).

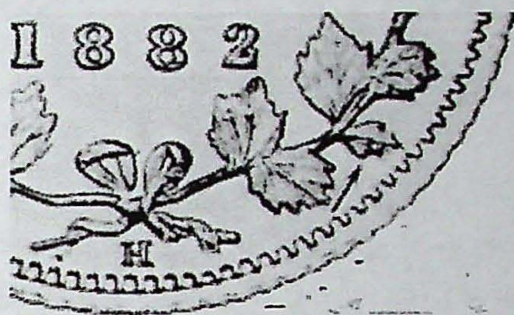


Figure 21. 10c Reverse C

Reverse C (1882H)

This reverse, again made as a new complete matrix and punch, is essentially an unmodified Rev. A with the addition of a 22nd leaf in the blank spot in the wreath between leaves 18 and 21. This addition makes Rev. C correspond to the 5c issue for 1882.

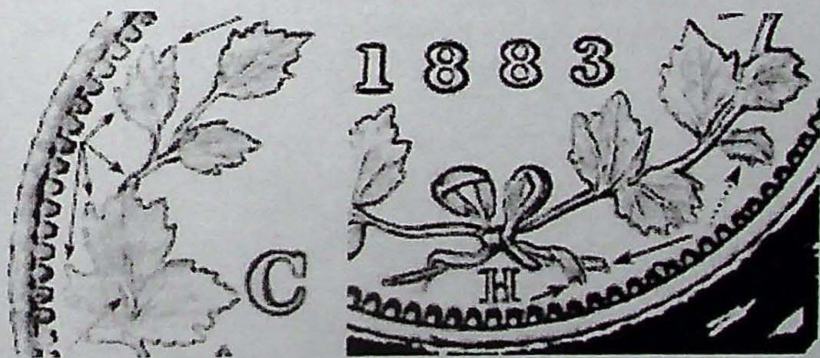


Figure 22. 10c Reverse D

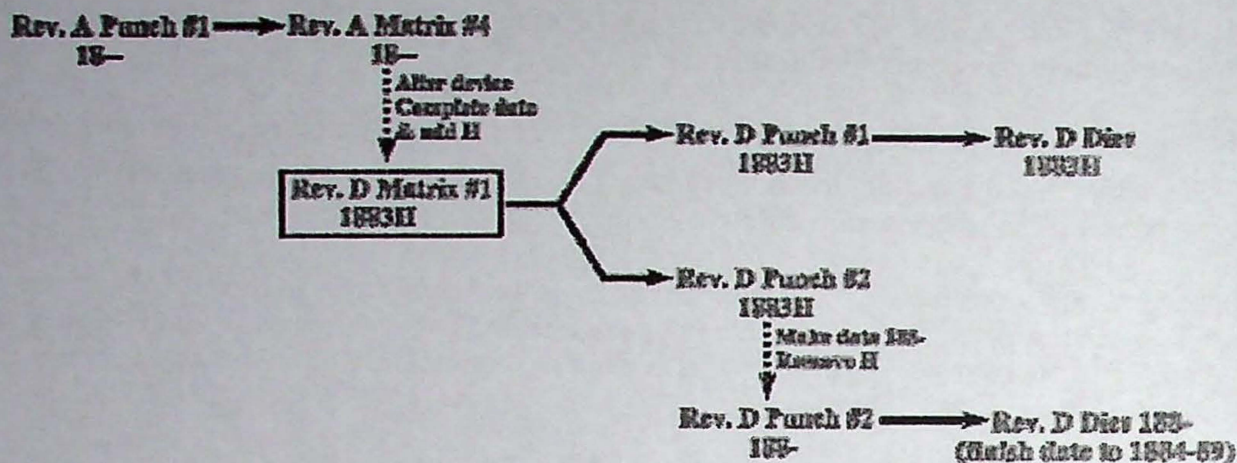


Figure 23. Derivation Early 10c Rev. D Dies 1883-89

Reverse D (early use: 1883-89)

Like the previous variety, this reverse bears a new 22nd leaf. As usual, the new complete matrix (for the Heaton's issue of 1883) was derived from the Rev. A punch. This meant that the 22nd leaf and the wreath repairs had to be done anew, just as on the 5c.

In his work on Rev. D Wyon made up for his lapse the previous two years and strengthened some of the leaves in the left-hand bough once again. He did this in a rather minimalist fashion, using raised lines to delineate a few spots on leaf edges and tips (Fig. 23, left panel, solid arrows). The right-hand edge of leaf 5 retained its serpentine shape (left panel, dashed arrow). As on Reverses A for 1881 and Rev. C, the break in the bough below leaves 12-13-14 was not repaired in the new matrix.

The right-hand ribbon end and bough end were also slightly modified, with a small notch added to the ribbon end and a tiny downward-pointing tip (presumably to simulate a small piece of bark hanging down) added to the cut end of the bough (solid arrows).

After 1883, a Rev. D punch took over the position of the master from which the later reverses were derived (see Fig. 23). Since the 1883 version of Rev. D had the complete date and mint mark, the continuation of that design involved the removal of the 3 and H from a punch. The question arises whether the modification was made on the same punch that had sunk the 1883H dies or whether a *second* punch raised from the 1883H matrix was used. The fact that Wyon charged the Mint for a new 10c reverse punch in 1884 suggests that the working punch used for 1884 onward was indeed a second punch, just as on the 5c. So, for the remainder of the 1880s the 10-cent reverse dies were sunk from a 188- Rev. D punch and the final digit was added to each die.

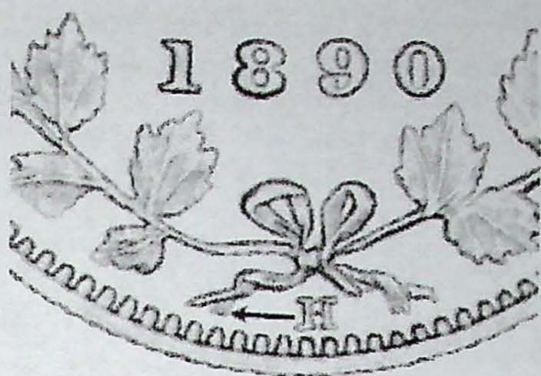


Figure 24. 10c Reverse D₁

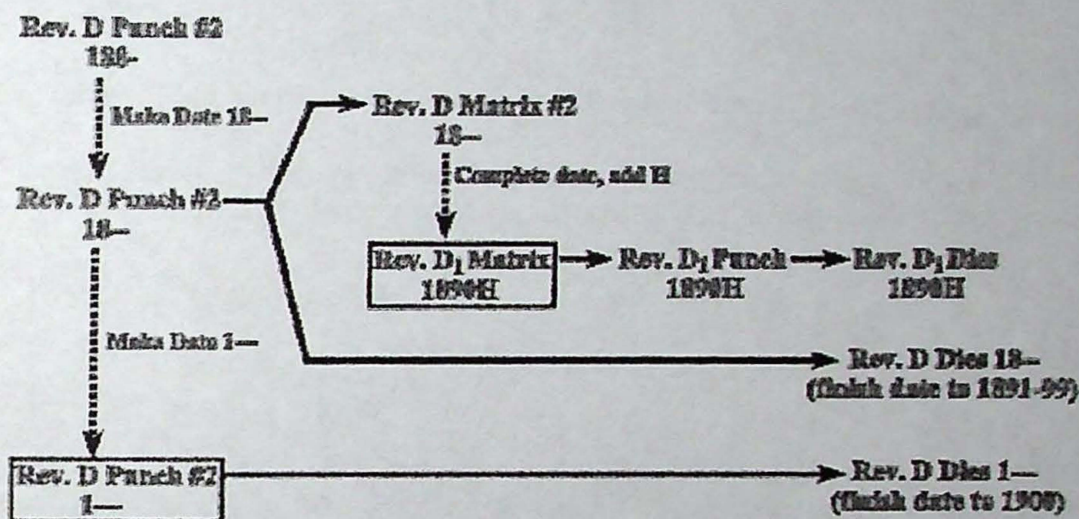


Figure 25. Derivation of 10c Rev. D₁ and Late Rev. D Dies 1890-1900

Rev. D₁ (1890H), Rev. A (late use: 1891) and Rev. D (late use: 1891-1900)

The next occasion on which a fully-dated matrix was prepared was for the 1890 Heaton's coinage, the last such issue for this denomination. With the change in decade that matrix was sunk from the Rev. D punch #2 after the removal of the second 8 in the date, as depicted in Fig. 25. The only work on the device seems to be outlining of the left-hand ribbon end (see arrow, Fig. 24), similar to what was done on the corresponding 5c.

The year 1891 saw a return to the 21-leaf format (as Rev. A), just as occurred with the 5c. However, for the 10 cents, the return would be brief. Whether the dies were freshly sunk from the Rev. A punch or were simply old unfinished die stock left over from the 1870s is not clear.

The later 1891 dies were again sunk from the 22-leaf Rev. D punch (still dated 18--). Rev. D was then employed exclusively up to the first part of 1900.

Some of the dies sunk from the Rev. D punch after 1884 had some minor device repairs made,

usually restricted to closing the old bough break below leaves 12/13/14 and lengthening the abruptly-terminated bough piece/stem supporting leaf 1. As we noted in the introduction, such changes are not given a separate designation because they originated in dies. So far, we have seen these features repaired on coins dated 1885, 1892/1, 1893 RT3, 1894, 1898, 1899 Sm. 9s, and 1899 Lg. 9s.

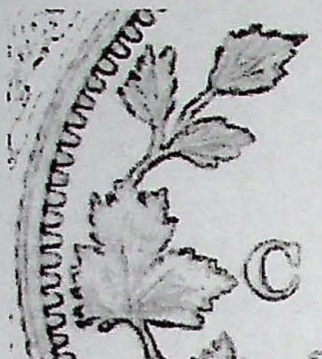


Figure 26. Stopgap Device Repairs on an 1899 Large Date 10c Die

On one 1899 Lg 9s die, however, more spectacular device changes were made (see Fig. 26). They were apparently made to salvage a poorly-sunk die by hastily repairing a number of the leaves with heavy outlining.

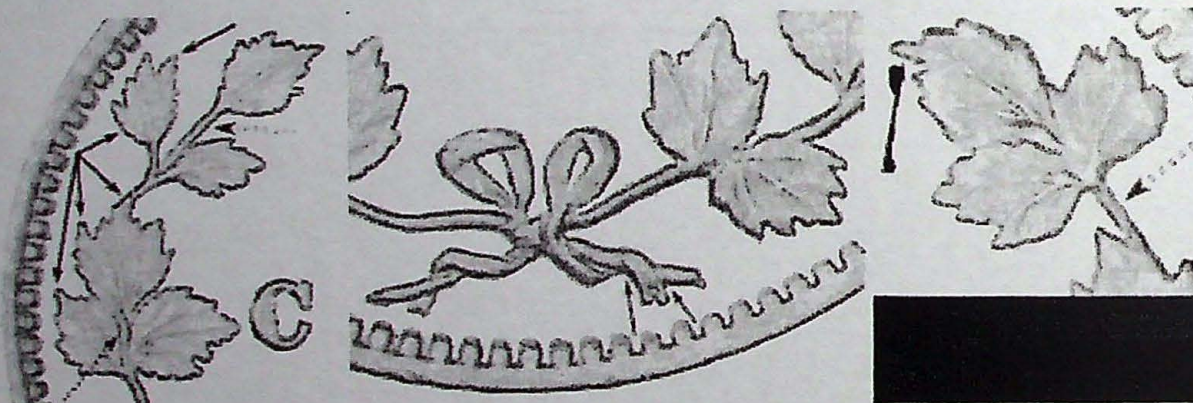


Figure 27. 10c Reverse E

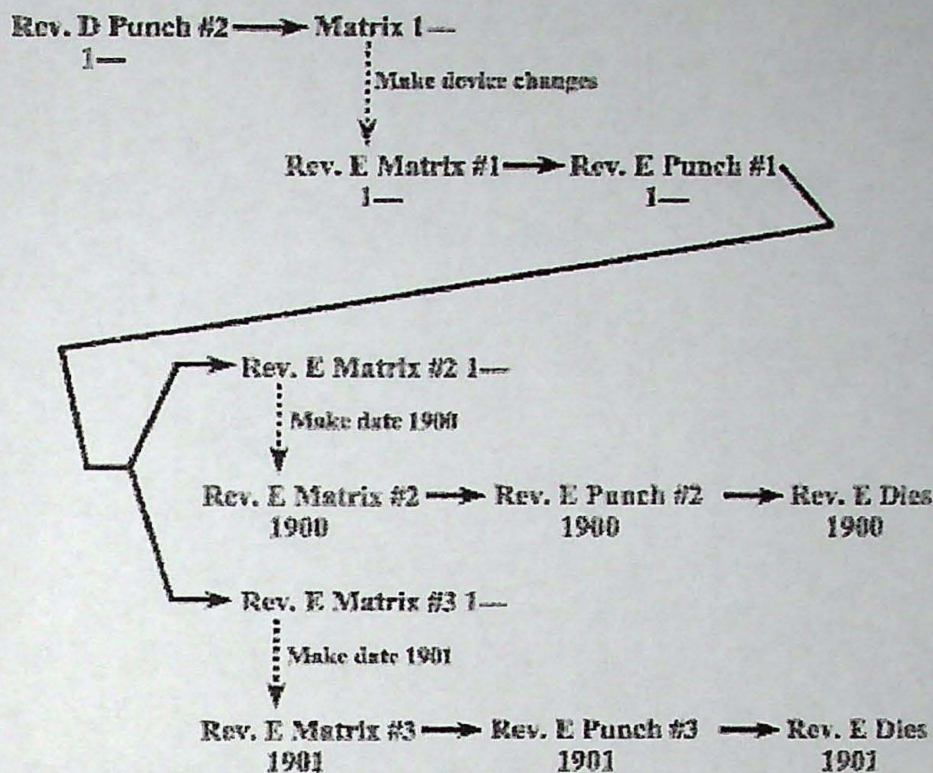


Figure 28. Derivation of 10c Rev. E Dies 1900-01

Reverse E (1900-01)

Just as we saw with the 5c, a new matrix was engraved for the 10c sometime after die production began for 1900. The occasion represented a major rework for this denomination in which the device defects were corrected in a thorough and skillful manner. On the sides of leaves 2, 4 and 5 the entire surface of the leaf edges is evenly raised, not just by outlining with a few deep graver cuts in the matrix (solid arrows, Fig. 27) and the right-hand edge of leaf 5 now has a long curved (instead of serpentine) shape (single dashed arrow). The breaks in the bough below leaves 1 and 12-13-14, so often left untouched in previous matrices, have been repaired (double line dashed arrows in left and right-hand panels).

Another area of attention was the right-hand ribbon end. The former grooves in the bough beside the ribbon have been completely eliminated (arrows, center panel). The latter is a quick identification point for this reverse.

The original matrix for Rev. E must have been sunk from Wyon's Rev. D punch #2 (now with date 1--). It appears that both the 1900 and 1901 versions of this reverse were from fully-dated matrices. Interestingly, the coins share only the 1-- and not the 19- or 190- portion of the date. This draws us to the conclusion that the date in the original Rev. E matrix was left 1-- and that a punch from this matrix in turn sank each of the matrices for 1900 and 1901, in which the date was completed (see Fig. 28). We believe that this departure from the method employed for the 5c was predicated on a desire to create a new matrix and punch on which the device was brought up to a permanently better standard and assure that these tools were preserved for use as masters for future reverses.

Correspondence specifically names G.W. de Saulles as the engraver of the new [Rev. E] matrix

made in 1900 (see Table 1). De Saulles' substantial skills as a designer, modeler and engraver would become even clearer in the last few years that remained for him.

The 25-Cent Reverses ⁴⁹



Figure 29. 25c Reverse A

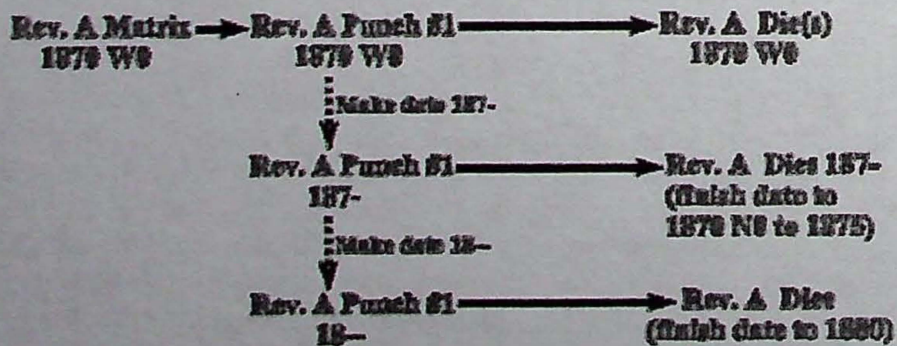


Figure 30. Derivation of 25c Reverse A Dies 1870-80

Reverse A (1870-80)

For the new Dominion 25c and 50c Leonard Wyon had to engrave the reverses from scratch, as these denominations had not been ordered by any of the provincial governments. Wyon used a different model (with 23 maple leaves) than he had for the 5 & 10c. On the initial 25c reverse the leaves are relatively flat and display considerable vein detail. Note particularly leaf 11, which nearly touches the left-hand ribbon end (Fig. 29, arrow in lower right panel).

The orb on top of the crown is plain with no internal detail. The blades on the cross above are almost flat and separated by wide gaps. Inside the crown the ribbed cloth shows clearly and rises to or above the tops of the fleur-de-lis. At the bottom the cut bough ends have short extensions, representing residual pieces of bark.

It is also important to note two areas of wreath detail that will become important in the discussion of later reverses. The first is where the lower left lobe should be on leaf 1. Instead of a clear lobe is an oval void with what looks like a twig along its top edge (arrow in lower left panel). The second is just below leaf 14 (solid arrow, upper right panel). The stem to leaf 14 goes straight down and disappears into the field before reaching leaf 15. Running between the main bough and the stem is an irregular angular raised mass intended to represent the upper left lobe of leaf 15 (dashed arrow).

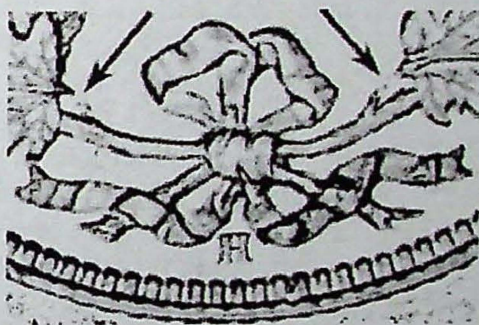


Figure 31. Broken Stems to Leaves 11 & 23 on 25c Reverse A

Reverse A was the only variety used from 1870 through the end of the 1880 Heaton coinage. As depicted in Fig. 30, only a single Rev. A working punch seems to have seen service.

During the 1872H coinage, the stems for leaves 11 and 23, rising above the boughs on each side of the bow (arrows, Fig. 31), broke on the punch. These defects were not repaired in the dies, so from that point on all dies sunk from the punch showed this characteristic flaw. Most of the coins for 1874H and all seen for the 1875H and 1880H issues have the deteriorated stems. Interestingly, at least one die for the 1874H coinage had the original, unbroken stems. Under the circumstances one is drawn to the conclusion that one or more *partially-dated* dies sunk *before* the stems broke on the punch were carried over from 1872 and were dated and used in 1874. The carry-over of partially-dated die stocks has been suggested before.⁵⁰

The dating on the dies for the 1870 issue is somewhat novel, as we show in the scheme in Fig. 30. Two 0 varieties are known for 1870, the wide 0 and narrow 0, the former being much scarcer. All wide 0 coins seen by us (Fig. 30, full rev.) have the 0 with a distinct tilt to the upper left. From evidence presented below, we believe the original Rev. A matrix was fully-dated, with a wide 0 in the

same position as seen on the coins of this variety. The problem was, though, that the 0 was rather sloppily double-punched in the matrix. Apparently the 0 was removed from the reverse punch after very few dies were sunk. From then on the final digit had to be punched into each die and the remainder of the 1870 dies were completed with a narrower 0 (Fig. 30, lower right).

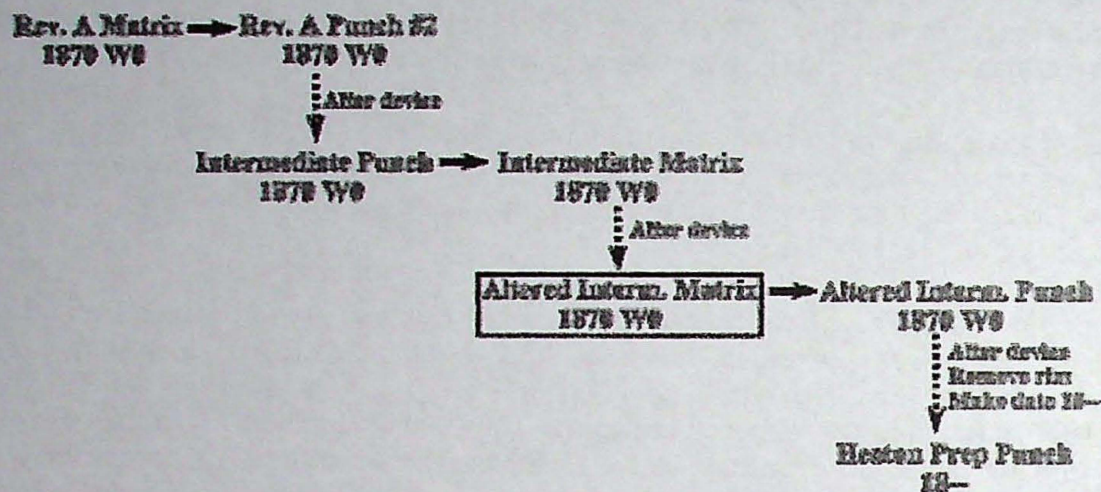


Figure 32. Derivation of the 25c Heaton Prep Punch

The 25-Cent Heaton Prep Punch

The fabrication of a new fully-dated matrix and punch for each of the Heaton's Mint 25c coinages of the 1880s did not begin until 1881, a year late for this denomination compared to the 5 & 10c. As it turns out the preparatory steps for making the matrices of 1881-83 involved considerable work, more than Wyon had to invest in any other denomination. We are given tantalizing clues to the problems Wyon was having by cryptic entries in the accounting records. In 1881 the comment was that it was necessary to "adjust the table"⁵¹ and in 1883 the invoice contained the note "design much too hollow".⁵²

Each of the matrices for 1881-83 was derived from a punch which we will call the *Heaton prep punch* (HPP). The most likely derivation pathway for the HPP is shown in Fig. 32. The pathway probably began with a second punch raised from the Rev. A matrix. By the time the Altered Intermediate Matrix stage was reached most leaves had been extensively remodeled, being rendered more undulating and less flat. The left side of leaf 11, for example, was shortened and dropped more precipitously to the field, creating a much wider gap between the leaf edge and the ribbon end below. Likewise, leaf 17 on Rev. A was nearly flat and had a raised mid-vein with numerous incuse collaterals. On the HPP the side lobes and edges of the C lobe were built up, so the C lobe mid-vein, while still raised, is in a deep trough and has no collaterals.

Since the HPP lacked rim detail, each matrix sunk from it had to be beaded, i.e., have the rim denticles punched in.

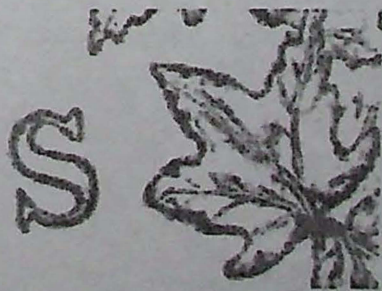
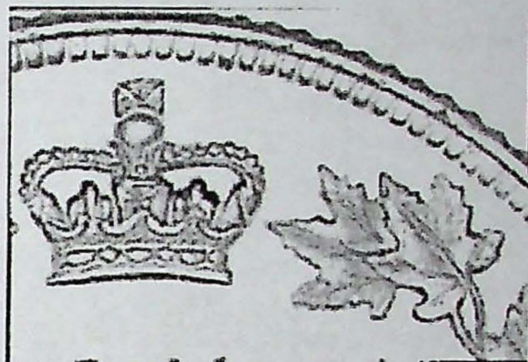


Figure 33. Reverse B

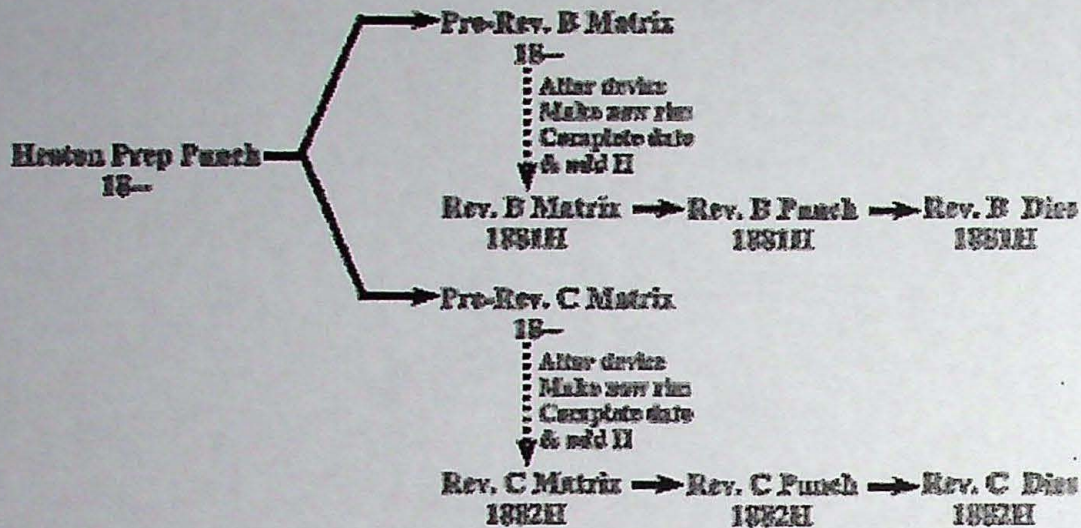


Figure 34. Derivation 25c Dies 1881-82

Reverse B (1881H)

Of the three varieties derived from the HPP, the reverse for 1881 shows the most changes. The internal detail of every leaf was altered, and the outlines were often changed as well. For example, the characteristic oval void between leaves 1 and 2 is gone, having been filled in by a new (5th) lobe (LLL) on leaf 1 (arrow, upper left panel in Fig. 33). Gone also is most of the incuse vein detail, sometimes replaced with raised veins, but usually with no veins at all. Thus, we see on leaf 1 that the mid-veins of the CL and URL are raised with no collaterals, whereas before were incuse and had numerous collaterals.

Interestingly, the stem detail below leaf 14 has been remodeled. Now the stem comes down and curves into the main bough at the left. There is no sign of the blob of metal that formerly represented the ULL of leaf 15.

The crown, too, shows distinct alterations. The cross blades above orb are closer together and are now outlined with raised lines. Inside the crown the cloth has been suppressed so the fleur-de-lis tops now rise well above it.

Similarly, the ribbon and bough ends clearly differ (lower left panel). On Rev. B the bough pieces below the ribbon are longer and the left end has a much longer piece of bark at its top. Also, the ribbon ends are farther below the leaves and their notches are deeper than on Rev. A.



Figure 35. 25c Reverse C

Reverse C (1882H)

Although Rev. C was derived from the same HPP as Rev. B, Wyon did a much better job of finishing the matrix than he had the preceding year. The leaves are more refined, with many of the larger ones showing a raised mid-vein recessed in a furrow for protection from wear.

Leaves 1, 2 and 4 are particularly useful points of differentiation. The HPP apparently had no vein detail on leaf 1, so it differs on Rev. A, B, C and D. On Rev. C there is no mid-vein in the CL, but incuse mid-veins and some collaterals in the ULL and URL. Note that the 5th lobe of Rev. B has disappeared and been replaced by the original oval of Rev. A (and the HPP). Leaf 4 has some novel vein anatomy. The mid-vein in the CL is normal, but the mid-vein for the ULL branches off, not at the leaf's base, but at a point well along (Fig. 35, left panel). This is the only reverse with such a characteristic. And on leaf 2 the LLL is short and blunt, whereas on Rev. B it was long and sharp. Like Rev. B, the stem to leaf 14 has been altered, but in an independent manner, so the fine details are not identical.

The top of the crown is noticeably reworked on Rev. C. The orb now has internal detail (which is more true to life) and the cross on top has large, thick blades (center panel) that have no outlining and hardly any space between them.

Rev. C has its own unique ribbon and bough ends. The top side of ribbon above the notch in each end points upward, especially the one at the left. The pieces of bark at the bough ends are again short,

though different in fine detail from those on Rev. A.

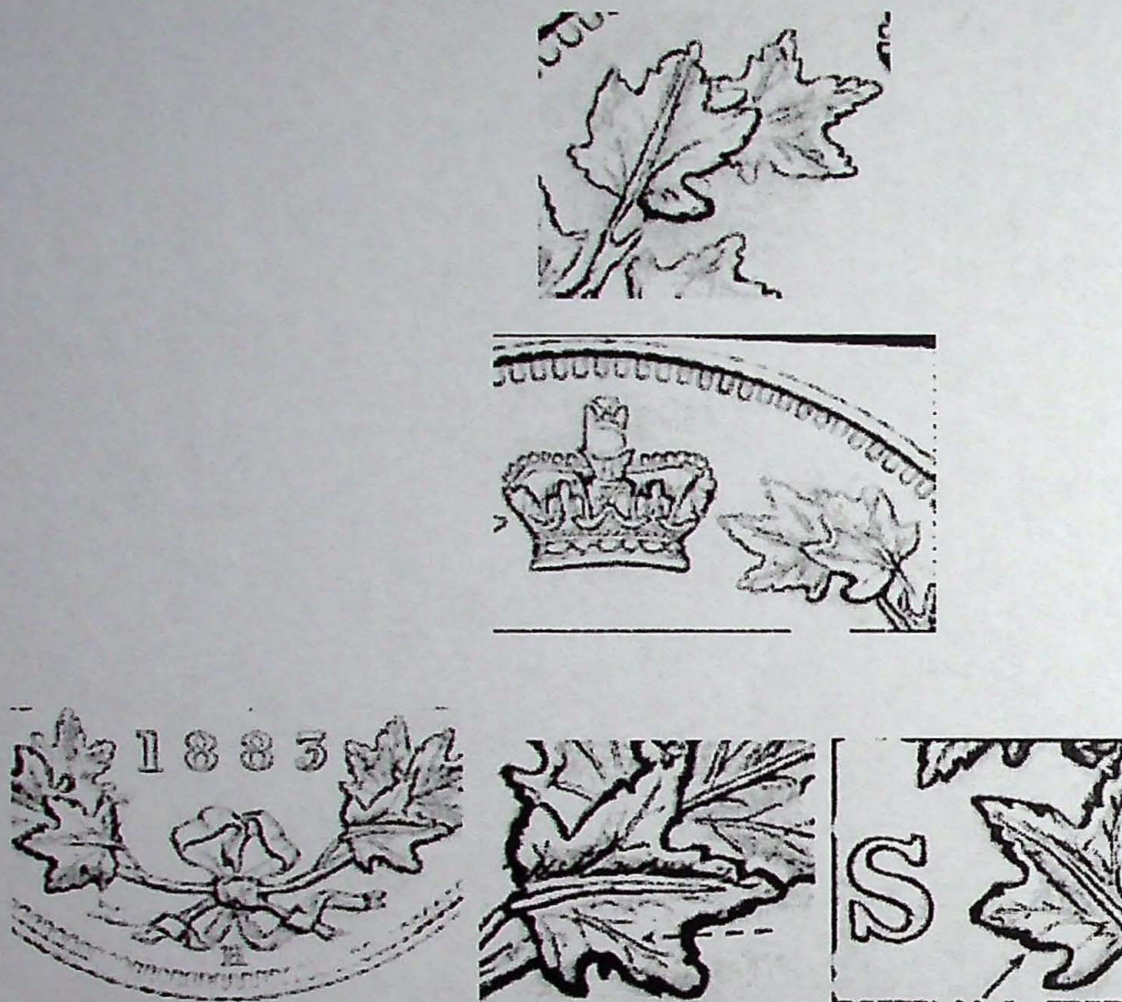


Figure 36. 25c Reverse D

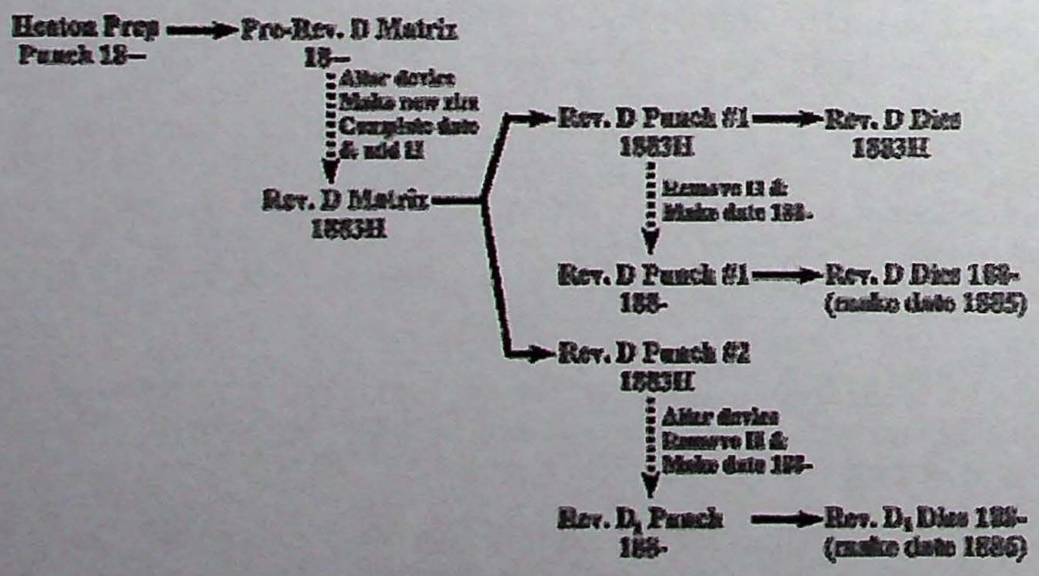


Figure 37. Derivation of 25c Reverse D and D₁ Dies 1883-86

Reverse D (1883H, 1885)

The reverse for the 1883H 25c coinage (Rev. D) follows the trend set for the 5 & 10c in that it is new compared to its predecessors. Rev. D has many of its leaves in common with Rev. C (1882H) and these reverses share identical vein patterns in no fewer than eleven leaves.⁵³

The degree of leaf identity leads one to ask whether Rev. C was the source of Rev. D. But close study shows that Rev. D was derived from the HPP, as shown in Fig. 37. This can be proved in several ways. One is by the detail of the stem to leaf 14. On Rev. D it returns to the original conformation seen on Rev. A (and on the HPP). On Rev. C that area had been reworked.

By using the less complete HPP to sink the pre-Rev. D matrix Wyon again made more work for himself, e.g., he had to bead yet another matrix. In any event Rev. D is a fine piece of work. It is interesting that of the three Heaton's reverses derived from the HPP we believe it contains the least number of changes from it.

When we examine leaf 1, we find a new set of veins as expected. The mid-vein in the CL is raised and in a slight furrow. The mid-veins and their collaterals in the ULL and URL are bolder and more centered in the lobes than they were on Rev. C. On leaf 2 the mid-vein in the CL is much stronger than before.

The blades on the cross atop the crown return to a configuration rather like that on Rev. A, as does the orb below it. The same holds for the cloth and fleur-de-lis. Finally, the bough and ribbon ends are new, but most resemble those on Rev. C.

Looking ahead to the next variety, Rev. D₁, there are two characteristics of Rev. D that need to be noted here. First, the mid-vein of the URL of leaf 23 (Fig. 36, center panel, dashed arrow) is a single incuse stroke with collaterals above and below. Second, the longest collateral off the mid-vein in the ULL of leaf 18 intersects the leaf edge at a point well below the small triangular cut in the leaf edge (right panel, solid arrow).

With the newly-renovated Mint in full operation the execution of the Canadian coinages reverted back to London in 1884. When the 25c was next coined in 1885 the Mint returned to its old policy of sinking the reverse dies from a partially-dated punch. For the 25c the punch in question appears to have been the Rev. D 1883H punch #1 (from which the 3 and H had been removed). During the 1885 coinage, this punch began to deteriorate. At least one 1885 variety shows evidence of breakage of the stems to leaves 11 and 23, similar to what occurred in 1872 on Rev. A.

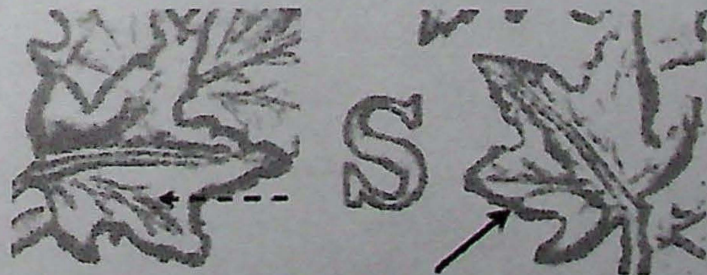


Figure 38. 25c Reverse D₁

Reverse D₁ (1886)

In the first part of 1886 a device variety differing slightly from Rev. D was introduced. The only differences occur in the incuse vein patterns on five leaves: 4, 10, 11, 18 and 23. Two examples are illustrated. First, the mid-vein of the URL of leaf 23 (Fig. 38, left panel, dashed arrow) is now a double incuse stroke (single stroke before). And, second, the longest collateral off the mid-vein in the ULL of leaf 18 intersects the leaf edge at the point of deepest penetration of the small triangular cut in the leaf edge (right panel, solid arrow), whereas before the vein pointed well to the left of the triangular cut.

There are three pieces of evidence that suggest that Rev. D₁ arose from a *second* punch from the 1883H matrix, as shown in Fig. 37. First, comparison of the vein detail in the 1883H matrix and on the coins reveals it to be the same. So, in this case no further device work was done on the punch (Rev. D Punch #1) that sank the dies for the 1883H issue. Second, before the end of the 1885 coinage the stems to leaves 11 and 23 had broken on this punch, yet they appear original and unrepaired on Rev. D₁. And, finally, the new incuse vein details on Rev. D₁ seem to be in slightly roughened areas. Hence, it is our belief that the deterioration of the stems to leaves 11 and 23 on the Rev. D punch #1 led to a decision to raise a second working punch from the 1883H (Rev. D) matrix. Some of the incuse vein detail did not come up as well as before, prompting the recutting of the veins on five leaves.

The Rev. D₁ punch first appears in association with the 1886 coinage and sank all the dies until the introduction of Reverse E late that year. Rev. D₁ is the last of the varieties we lumped together as Short Bough Ends in Coins of Canada.

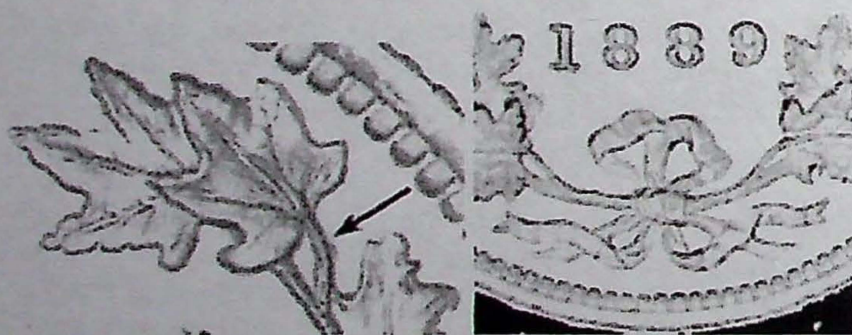


Figure 39. 25c Reverse E

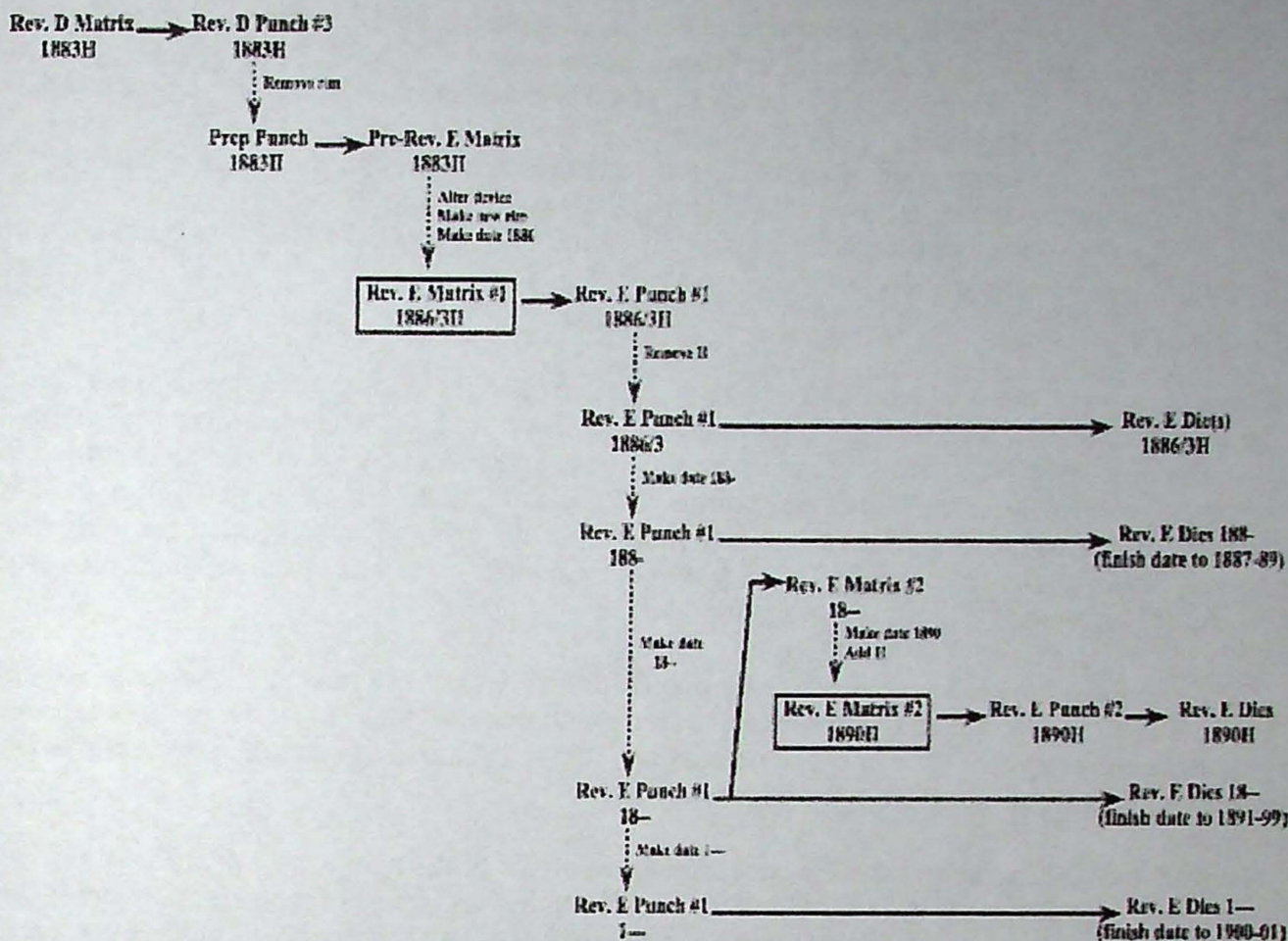


Figure 40. Derivation of 25c Reverse E Dies 1886-1901

Reverse E (1886-1901)

As noted in our overdate paper, the initial Rev. E matrix was derived from a Rev. D punch, and the transformation resulted in the first Rev. E die(s) bearing the overdate 1886/3.⁵⁴ Once created, Rev. E became the standard variety for this denomination.

We believe that the Rev. D punch that sank the matrix which was to become Rev. E was a *third* punch raised from the 1883H Rev. D matrix (see Fig. 40). This is indicated by the identity of the leaf 18 vein detail in Rev. D and E. The reader will recall that changes had been made on that leaf in creating Rev. D₁.

Before sinking the new matrix, however, the Rev. D punch #3 had its rim ground off (creating a prep punch), so that the Rev. E matrix could be re-beaded. The new beads are shorter and slightly wider than before. Very few changes were made in the wreath in the process of creating the new reverse. Reverse E differs from Rev. D in the following leaves:

- Leaf 1: the LRL has been enlarged and an altogether new LLL added, filling the oval void above it (Fig. 39, upper left panel, solid arrow).
- Leaf 6: the shape has been changed so the CL is wider, the URL is stronger and the ULL is somewhat weaker.
- Leaf 13: the left edge of the ULL, formerly delineated by three short raised lines, is now marked by a single continuous ridge.
- Leaf 15: what was formerly a small dip in the right side of the URL has been accentuated.

There are several areas of recutting of bough segments and stems in the matrix. Strengthening of bough segments occurred below leaf 2, leaves 6/7/8 and leaves 13/14, while the stems to several leaves have been recut. The most notable stem change is that to leaf 14, where the stem now curves downward to connect with the bough and crosses the ULL of leaf 15 (arrow, upper right panel) in a manner like that seen on Rev. B and C. A tiny remnant of the original straight stem for leaf 14 remains. Curiously, the stem to leaf 2, which was broken in Rev. D, was left untouched (upper left panel, dashed arrow).

The ribbon and bough ends contain three points of difference. The ribbon ends were touched, particularly at the right, where the upper fork of the notch was enlarged. The new reverse also has very long pieces of bark at the top of the bough ends. It was this latter feature that we emphasized in Coins of Canada in coining the term, *Long Bough Ends*.

As with the 10-cent reverses, there was sometimes repair of the maple wreath at the die stage, specifically the broken stem to leaf 2 (see Fig. 41, where the left panel is from a coin dated 1900 and the right panel is from one dated 1901). The most common dates for repairs are 1893, 1900 and 1901.

Bill Cross claims there are five “major” [device] varieties of the LBE (long bough ends) reverse.⁵⁵ His illustrations for these varieties are sections of the left-hand bough including leaf 2. No other descriptions of the reverses LBE-1 to 5 seem to be offered, but he appears to be referring to different repair details of stem 2, which we have concluded were *made in individual dies*. As mentioned in the Variety Scope and Nomenclature section above, we will not be assigning separate device variety designations to such changes. Therefore, we assign but a single Long Bough Ends variety, Rev. E. In fact we postulate only two matrices and two punches for the entire Rev. E coinage.





Figure 41. Typical Leaf 2 Stem Repairs on 25c Rev. E Dies

The 50-Cent Reverses



Figure 42. 50c Reverse A

Reverse A (1870)

The reverse Leonard Wyon engraved for the Dominion 50c of 1870 is in our view his finest piece of work for Canada. It is doubtless one his father would have admired. The rich vein detail often consists of a raised mid-vein in each central lobe with incuse collaterals. The other lobes either had a raised mid-vein or veins made entirely by incuse cuts on a punch.

Photographic and electronic overlaying reveals that the punch that sank the Rev. A dies (Rev. A Punch #1) bore the incomplete date 187-. Other evidence (see Rev. B below) suggests that the original matrix did not have the complete date, either. Thus, the 0 of the date had to be punched into each die. We have been unable to find any use of Rev. A beyond 1870.



Figure 43. 50c Reverse B

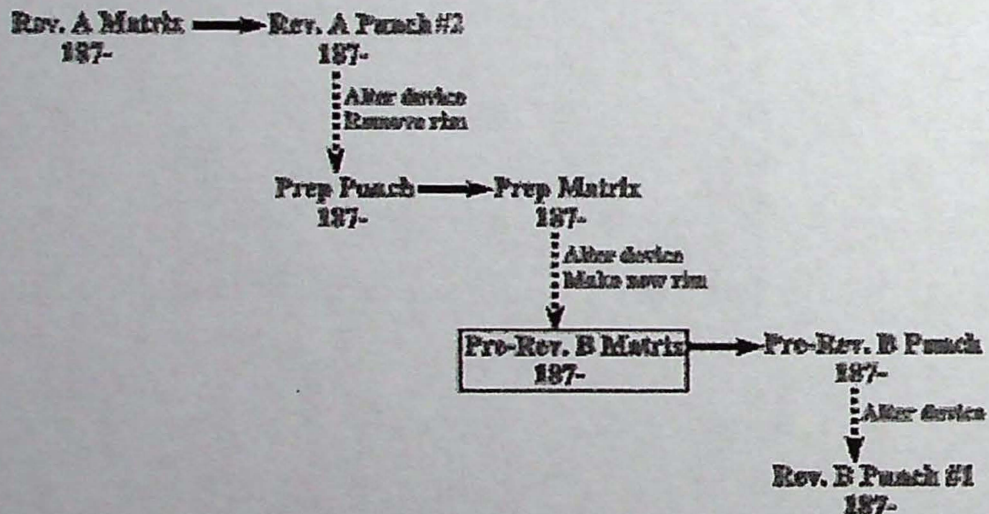


Figure 44. Derivation of 50c Reverse B Punch #1

Reverse B (1871-1901)

Reverse B is derived from and closely related to Rev. A, but it is sufficiently different to merit a separate letter. The rather convoluted path by which we believe Rev. B came into being is shown in Fig. 44. The process begins with raising a new (second) punch from the Rev. A matrix. The rim (denticles and flat) was then removed, creating a prep punch. Apparently no changes were made in the device at that point. After hardening, this punch sank a prep matrix, which became the Pre-Rev. B matrix after a new circle of rim denticles was punched in and numerous device changes were made. The device changes included cutting new, raised tip edges on a few leaf lobes (e.g. the center lobe of

leaf 22 – see arrow in Fig. 43) and deepening several leaves (2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15, 19 & 20), thereby removing most or all of the vein detail. Next, a punch was raised from the hardened Pre-Rev. B matrix. On this punch the missing vein detail was restored to the altered leaves and the punch became Rev. B punch #1. Note that, for a time at least, Rev. B existed only on a punch and the date had been left incomplete (as 187-), despite opportunities to complete it.

The Rev. B punch #1 seems to have been the direct or indirect source of all 50c dies for the remainder of the reign, as shown in Fig. 44. With the changes of decade the date was altered on the punch as appropriate. On two occasions, both for Heaton's coinages, the Rev. B punch sank matrices in which the H mint mark was added and date completed. In neither case was the device touched.

As we saw on the other denominations, there was sometimes strengthening of weak or deteriorated leaf stems in individual dies. The most important of these was the stem to leaf 23, just to the right of the ribbon bow. It had broken on Rev. B punch #1, just as it had on some of the 25c reverses. Curiously, this stem was not repaired in either the 1881H or 1890H matrices.

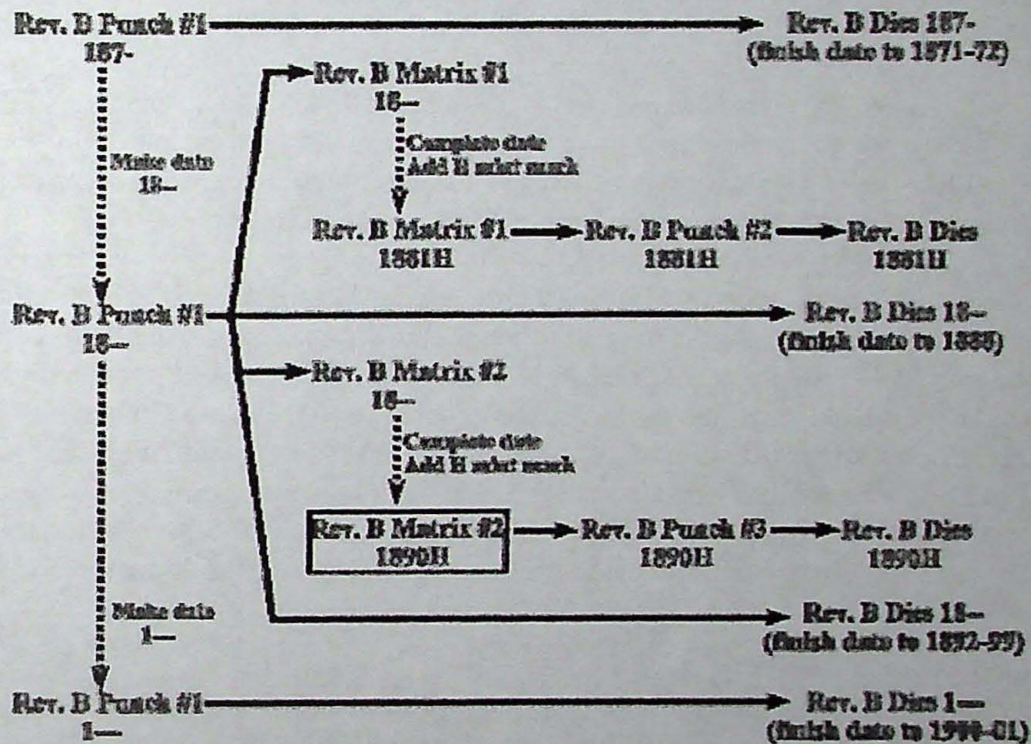


Figure 45. Derivation of 50c Reverse B Dies 1871-1901

Conclusion

Although we have a sizeable list of conclusions regarding the Dominion silver device varieties, their presentation will be deferred to a later paper in this series. Since it has been so many years since our initial treatment of the Canadian 5 to 50-cent obverses, we plan to revisit them.⁵⁶ At that time we will include obverse flow charts similar to those for the reverses and make our concluding remarks covering the device changes on both sides of the coins.

Mule of Breton 713 and Breton 714 - John Gibbs, Belleville, NJ Issue

by Harry N. James FCNRS

Collectors of the bank half penny tokens struck for the Bank of Montreal ç 1835-36 are for the most part familiar with Dr. Courteau's listing of "Bouquet Sous" of which these form a part. The bank had tokens struck depicting a bouquet on the obverse surrounded by "TRADE & AGRICULTURE" at the top and "LOWER CANADA" at the bottom. The reverse had a wreath with "UN SOUS" in two lines within the wreath and above was "BANK TOKEN". The word "MONTREAL" appears below the wreath. Breton gives this token a listing number of 713. Dr. Courteau sub-divided the listing into six varieties numbering 8 through 13.

This issue was followed by a second issue in which the bank identified themselves on the reverse. Within the wreath the mis-spelled "UN SOUS" was continued with "BANK OF MONTREAL" appearing above and the word "TOKEN" appearing below. Breton gave this issue a listing number of 714 and Courteau sub-divided these into five varieties numbering 3 through 7.

For quite some time I have had a variety of the Breton 714, "BANK OF MONTREAL" piece which didn't fit into any of the descriptions listed by Courteau. My collection of these tokens is not complete and I had never seen a sample of Breton 713-Courteau 13. Courteau mentions that this piece is characterized by a large ampersand and different style of lettering.

In the March, 2009 issue of *Numismatica Canada*, Wayne Jacobs had an interesting and informative article concerning the Currency Ordinances of John Colborne in 1839. In his article he gives a good mention of the Bouquet Sous and illustrated what he calls a "homegrown" version of these sous, a later issue he identifies by the coarse lettering used by John Gibbs in his Belleville, NJ mint toward the latter period of that mint's operation. The illustration was that of Courteau's number 13 which I had never seen. As a bonus to the fact that I can now recognize this variety, I am now able to further identify my Breton 714. The obverse is identical to that of the Breton 713, Courteau 13. The reverse I had already determined to be the same as Breton 714, Courteau 6.



This is the illustration appearing in Wayne Jacob's article appearing in the last issue of this publication. Unfortunately my piece does not scan well but its obverse is identical and is coupled with the reverse of Courteau 6.

I brought this muling of the Breton 713 and 714 to Mr. Jacob's attention. Until this time he had not heard of the piece but mentioned to me that this piece gives proof of John Gibbs counterfeiting as there was no need for the banks to order such a crude piece from Gibbs because of their recent receipt of "Habitant" tokens and "Sideview" issues.

I would appreciate anybody owning or knowing of other examples of this mule getting in touch with me through my address listed in the "NC".

Foster D. Hutchison, Store & Tokens, Staffa, Ont.

By Harry N. James FCNRS

This store was more commonly known as the Sadler store, as it was owned by four generations of the Sadler family. From at least 1896 until 1918 Foster Decoursey Hutchison was the storekeeper here, the store still being under the ownership of the Sadler family.

Irwin & Burnham's Gazetteer and Directory for the County of Perth of 1867 describe Staffa as a post village on lot 16, 9th concession in the township of Hibbert. The post office was established here in 1865 with Thomas Dun as first postmaster. Mr. Dun was the manager of a store for a Mr. Hill of Mitchell who had opened this business in Staffa as a branch of his Mitchell establishment.

The crossroads settlement was first known as Spring Hill because of a number of beautiful springs rising up in the vicinity. Because there was already a Spring Hill in existence the name had to be changed when the post office was established.

By 1902 Staffa had a hotel, two stores, a grist mill, and a saw mill. The second store which was to become the Sadler or Hutchison store was also opened in 1856. Its location is right at the intersection of Perth Road 180 and Perth Line 24 which is about 24 kilometres south-west of Mitchell. This store was being run as a harness shop by a Mr. William Abbott formerly of Mitchell. He was succeeded by Ambrose Tuffin, then an Isaac Yeo, followed by Abraham Jones who operated as a cobbler. In 1888 Samuel Chesney started a store in the premises and John Sadler succeeded him in 1890. Mr. F. D. Hutchison's years in the store coincided with the beginning of the Boer War right through until the end of the first World War.

By 1896, Foster Hutchison is listed by Dun & Co. as a general merchant in Staffa while John Saddler (sic) is listed as owner of a grist and saw mill. They are still listed as such in Dun's listing of 1908.

When Mr. Hutchison came into the store, a closing time of 10 p.m. had been established. In trying to keep with this closing hour he hung a sign reading "This store closes at 10 o'clock. Please linger longer not."

Due bill tokens were used by Mr. Hutchison at some point during this time. A round aluminum 1¢ and 25¢ token are known and are probably from a set running from 1¢ to 50¢ or a dollar. They are 18 mm and 28 mm in diameter respectively.

F. D. HUTCHISON / GENERAL / MERCHANT / STAFFA, ONT.

GOOD FOR / 1¢ / IN / MERCHANDISE

A-R-18

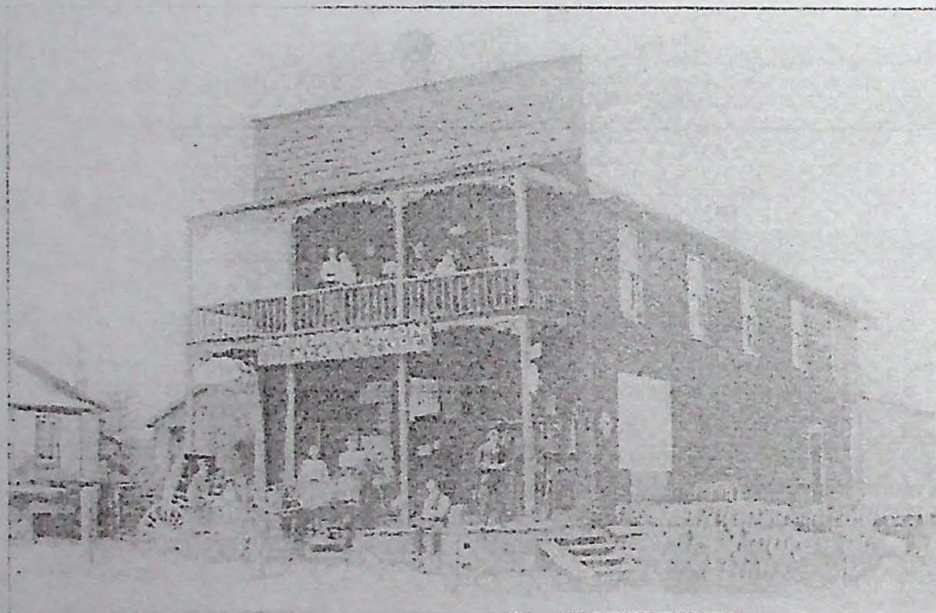
GOOD FOR / 25¢ / IN MERCHANDISE

A-R-28

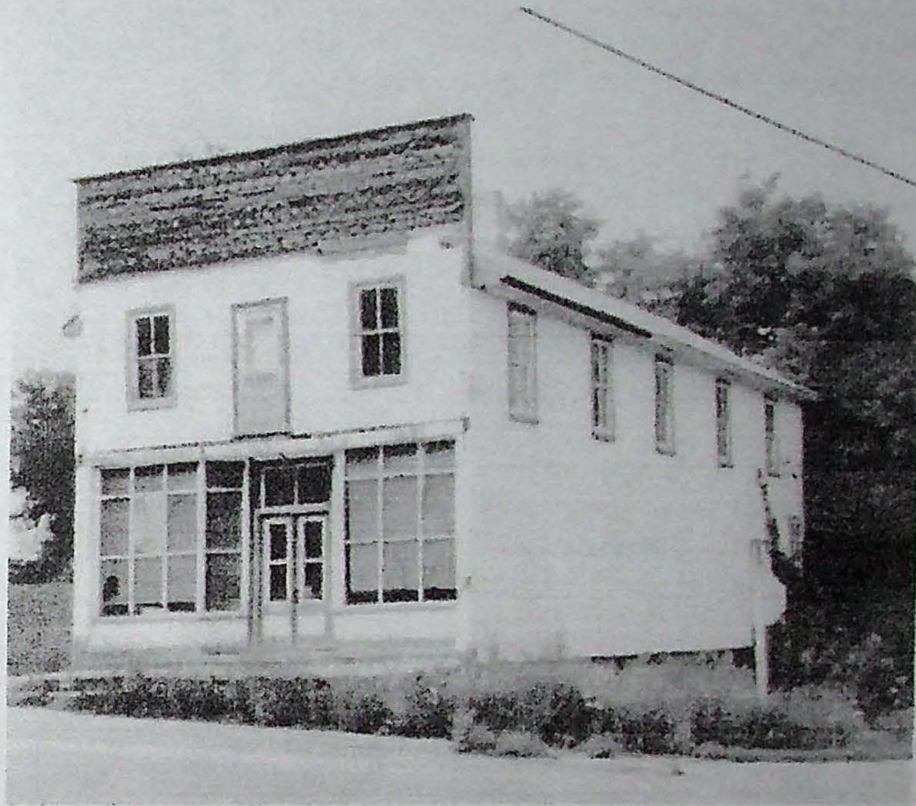
After 1918, the store was again being run by the Sadler family with Robert Sadler in 1919, followed by his son John in 1953 and his son Robert in 1982. In 1989 the store was closed when Bob Sadler retired.



One cent due bill of F. D. Hutchison



F. D. Hutchison standing on porch to right and John Sadler, owner of the building seated to his right.



Same store a century later. Basically the same but the porch is missing and not a soul is around the building. This is a good illustration of what has happened to these businesses over the years. Picture taken September 2008.

B.H. Turner Token Hoard

Collectors of post-Confederation tokens are aware that one of the most common series of due bills is those issued by B.H. Turner, a general merchant of Little Current, on Manitoulin Island, Ontario. The five, ten, twenty-five, and fifty cent denominations of the aluminum Turner tokens are all readily obtainable. Why this is so is explained by the following article which appeared in *Canada Coin News*, November 27, 1965, p. 17:

The recent discovery of a hoard of B.H. Turner trade tokens in excellent condition was announced by Blair McDermid, Manitoulin Coins, Providence Bay, Ont., at the recent Torex coin show in Toronto. According to Mr. McDermid, there are four pieces to a set of tokens consisting of 50-cent, 25-cent, 10-cent and 5-cent. The Turner firm of Little Current Ltd., Little Current, Ontario, was established in 1879 on Manitoulin Island. B.H. Turner was the original owner and died in 1920. The tokens, used in trade prior to 1905, were found in the attic of the old family mansion which has housed four generations of the Turner family. The Turners who have lived in the old homestead were I. Turner, B.H. Turner, Grant Turner and presently B.H. (Barney) Turner Jr. The company specialized in merchandising woolens for sports wear to the carriage trade, and is still affiliated with the Ada McKenzie Shop on Bloor St., Toronto.

Conveniently, this news release gives us a brief history of the family business and some idea of when the tokens were used.

- Submitted by Chris Faulkner

Editor's note: On a visit to Manitoulin Island in 1985, my wife, mother and myself visited the B. H. Turner store in Gore Bay which at that time was much the same as it had been for the last century.



Communion Tokens of Toronto

Knox's Free Church

What is now the city of Toronto was first settled in 1751 and named Fort Toronto. In 1793, Sir John Simcoe rebuilt the fort and changed its name to York. The first congregation of Presbyterians in York was established by the Rev. James Harris of Belfast in 1820. A building was completed in 1822. Fourteen years into the life of the congregation, the name Toronto was returned to the city, which then ceased to be known as York.

In 1844, Mr. Harris's congregation united with eighty-three members from St. Andrew's who favoured the Free Church of Scotland briefly and became part of the Free Church. The united congregation chose the name of Knox's. In that same year, Mr. Harris left and the congregation called the Rev. Dr. Burns who remained 12 years. In 1857, the Rev. Alexander Topp was called and ministered to the congregation for the next twenty-two years. Knox's joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1875, and voted to remain Presbyterian in 1925 by a decisive vote of 788-20.

The first token, dated 1820, is believed to date from 1844, as that was the date the name Knox's was chosen. As noted above, the city's name in 1820 was York, while the tokens names Toronto. The tokens were clearly pre-dated to the founding of the congregation. The tokens of 1852 were struck to complement the issue of 1844. Two varieties of the latter are known, showing different reverse dies.

Today: Toronto, Knox, Presbyterian Church in Canada

Knox's #1

obverse: KNOX'S CHURCH, TORONTO / C.W. burning bush 1820 /
NEC TAMEN CONSUMEBATUR (on banner)

reverse: THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE/ OF ME / 1. COR. XI. 24. (I/AN)

shape: rectangular, clipped corners

composition: lead

dimensions:

horizontal: mm 27.1

vertical: mm 19.9

thickness: mm 1.7

weight: g 7.9

die axis: up/down

year of issue: 1844

minister: the Rev. Dr. Burns



Knox's #2 1852 I/AN

obverse: KNOX'S CHURCH, TORONTO / C.W. burning bush 1852 /
NEC TAMEN CONSUMEBATUR (on banner)

reverse: THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE/ OF ME / 1. COR. XI. 24. (I/AN)

shape: rectangular, clipped corners

composition: white metal

dimensions:

horizontal: mm 26.9

vertical: mm 19.3

thickness: mm 1.8

weight: g 4.7

die axis: up/down

year of issue: 1852

minister: the Rev. Dr. Burns



Toronto Knox's #3 1852 I/N

obverse: KNOX'S CHURCH, TORONTO / C.W. burning bush 1852 /
NEC TAMEN CONSUMEBATUR (on banner)

reverse: THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE/ OF ME / 1. COR. XI. 24. (I/N)

shape: rectangular, clipped corners

composition: white metal

dimensions:

horizontal: mm 26.9

vertical: mm 19.4

thickness: mm 2.0

weight: g 4.8

die axis: up/down

year of issue: 1852

minister: the Rev. Dr. Burns

St. Andrew's Church of Scotland

The second congregation of Presbyterians in York was formed from the 71st and 79th regiments of the Highland Light Infantry stationed at Fort York in 1830. The first minister was the Rev. William Rintoul, who was also chaplain at the Fort. The congregation aligned with the Church of Scotland and took the name St. Andrew's. Mr. Rintoul remained four years, then was followed by the Rev. W. T. Leach (1835-1842) and the Rev. John Barclay (1842-1870). In 1844, the congregation lost 83 members to the Free Church of Scotland. They moved to a new building in 1876, losing another part of the congregation which chose to remain in the original building and claiming the name Old St. Andrew's. The congregation of St. Andrew's chose to remain Presbyterian in 1925 by a decisive vote, 733-19.

Today: Toronto, St. Andrew's, the Presbyterian Church in Canada

St. Andrew's

obverse: IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND /
ST. ANDREW'S / CHURCH, / TORONTO. / 1830.

reverse: THIS DO / IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. / I. COR. XI. 24.

shape: RECTANGULAR, CLIPPED CORNERS

composition: white metal

dimensions:

horizontal: mm 26.7

vertical: mm 19.2

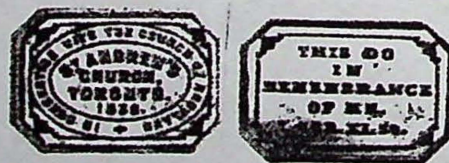
thickness: mm 2.1

weight: g 5.5

die axis: up/down

year of issue: 1830

minister: the Rev. William Rintoul



Old St. Andrew's, Presbyterian Church in Canada

When the congregation of St. Andrew's moved to a new building in 1876, a segment wished to remain in the old building, and called themselves Old St. Andrew's. After initial difficulties, they succeeded in convincing the Rev. G. M. Milligan to take up ministry among them. Under his ministry the congregation blossomed from a few to several hundred. Mr. Milligan remained for 20 years. The date 1876 is from the founding of the congregation. The lead tokens are from that date, and the white metal tokens were struck at a later unknown date to supplement the supply of tokens. The congregation chose to enter the United Church in 1925.

Today: Toronto, St. Andrew's, United Church of Canada

Old St. Andrew's #1

obverse: PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA / OLD ST. ANDREW'S /
CHURCH, / TORONTO. / 1876

reverse: THIS DO / IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. / I. COR. XI. 24.

shape: rectangular, clipped corners

composition: lead

dimensions:

horizontal: mm 28.3

vertical: mm 20.3

thickness: mm 2.0

weight: g 10.7

die axis: up/down

year of issue: 1876

minister: the Rev. G. M. Milligan

Old St. Andrew's #2

obverse: PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA / OLD ST. ANDREW'S /
CHURCH, / TORONTO. / 1876

reverse: THIS DO / IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. / I. COR. XI. 24.

shape: rectangular, clipped corners

composition: white metal

dimensions:

horizontal: mm 26.2

vertical: mm 18.6

thickness: mm 2.2

weight: g 6.0

die axis: up/down

year of issue: 1876 (?)

minister: the Rev. G. M. Milligan

Reformed Presbyterian Church

In 1881 a congregation was founded as part of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and established in Temperance Hall. A building was completed and occupied in 1882. The first full-time minister was the Rev. Mr. Wilson, who came in 1882 and ministered for two years. The Rev. Mr. Mann arrived, but only stayed eight months. In 1886, the congregation seceded from the Presbyterian Church in Canada and chose to align with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, also known as the Covenanters or Cameronians, and called the Rev. Mr. Thomas to be their minister. At this time they were known as First Reformed Presbyterian Church, Carlton Street. The Rev. Samuel Dempster came in 1897 and remained until his death in 1922.

The congregation moved in 1910 to Bloor Street and were known as the Bloor East Presbyterian Church. Some time later they relocated to become the Victoria Park Presbyterian Church. In 1960 the congregation was approached by the church in Chesley to form a Presbytery of the Presbyterian Reformed Church. This was accomplished in 1965 when both Chesley and Toronto had settled pastors, but in 1974 the Toronto congregation, once more without a minister, left that union to join with the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

In 1989 a split happened in the Free Presbyterian Church over the interpretation of liberty of conscience in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Toronto Church became part of the Associated Presbyterian Churches, a largely Scottish gathering of congregations.

Today: Victoria Park Free Presbyterian Church

Toronto RPC (1886)

obverse: R.P.C.

reverse: *blank*

shape: rectangular, clipped corners

composition: white metal

dimensions:

horizontal: mm 24.2

vertical: mm 15.9

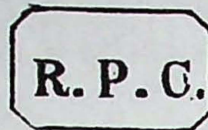
thickness: mm 0.8

weight: g 2.6

die axis: n/a

year of issue: 1886

minister: the Rev. Mr. Thomas



Vaughan township, Church of Scotland

The first Presbyterian worship in Vaughan township, today at the north edge of Toronto, took place in 1817 when the Rev. William Jenkins, a Secessionist minister, arrived from New York. However, the first congregation was not established for another ten years, and then it was with the Church of Scotland. The first resident minister was the Rev. Peter MacNaughton who served the congregation from 1833 to 1846, then returned from 1847 to 1848. The tokens marked the early years of Mr. MacNaughton's ministry. The early services were in Gaelic with English used only as a second language. The Church was in the village of Maple and was known as the Scotch Church. A second congregation, known as St. Paul's, was established in the township in 1844. The congregations were without a minister from 1848 to 1859 when the Rev. Donald Ross came. It is during the early years of his ministry that the records call the church in Maple St. Andrew's. The congregation remained with the Church of Scotland until the union of 1875, then in 1925 the congregation voted 73-6 to remain Presbyterian.

Today: Maple, St. Andrew's, Presbyterian Church in Canada

Vaughan

obverse: S.C.V. / 1835

reverse: *blank*

shape: rectangular

composition: lead

dimensions:

horizontal: mm 40.2

vertical: mm 26.1

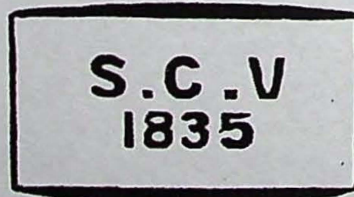
thickness: mm 2.2

weight: g 18.8

die axis: n/a

year of issue: 1835

minister: the Rev. Peter MacNaughton



**CAPTAIN W.D.ANDREWS
THE EARLIEST CANADIAN LIFE SAVING HERO**

by Captain Jack Boddington



CAPT. W. D. ANDREWS, R.M.S., G.C.V., Etc.

GOLD LIFE-SAVING MEDALLIST OF THE FIRST CLASS.

(From a photograph by S. J. Dizon, Toronto).

Today Canada is amply supplied with governmental agencies which reward acts of life saving with various medals, medallions, plaques, etc.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, such awards were not readily available - even the Royal Canadian Humane Association, one of the first Canadian societies to recognize life saving efforts by the award of medals, would not be established until 1894. The Royal Humane Society of England assumed such responsibility until that time (and continued to have jurisdiction for many years later in Newfoundland), but in view of the distance involved such recognition required a lengthy and cumbersome administrative process.

The award of the "private" medal, by individuals, organisations and municipalities was in vogue. These medals were often not struck specifically for the awarding body, but rather took the form of ornate "stock" medals, sometimes in precious metal, which would be engraved appropriately.

It is during this era that Captain W.D. Andrews established what must be the most amazing life saving career of a Canadian-born person - and amassed a series of awards probably never since equalled. W.D. Andrews was born in Kingston, Ontario on May 19, 1853, being awarded his first life saving medal a scant sixteen years later. He moved to Toronto in 1874 as an officer on the Royal Mail Steamer *Waubuno*, on which he served until his later years when he became blind.

He had not been in Toronto long when, in addition to organising the Dolphin Swimming Club of Toronto, he established the first Toronto Harbour Life Saving Crew, to man a lifeboat transferred from the Harbour Trust to the Dominion Government, under the control of the Ministry of Marine, and also worked towards the establishment of the "Dominion of Canada Life Saving Service" an organisation that never became recognized on the scale envisioned by Captain Andrews; rather its operations were confined to the City of Toronto and its environs.

His awesome record of medallic awards and life saving achievements is chronologically appended, until his death in the late 1890's.

On July 23, 1890

At the age of sixteen years, in his native city of Kingston, he entered the water fully clothed in rescue of an eleven year old boy who, whilst playing on a raft opposite the Commercial wharf, at the foot of Princess Street, fell into the bay.

For this rescue he was awarded a gold life saving medal by the City of Kingston. (see note 1)

On April 22, 1873

Captain Andrews was on board the Royal Mail Steamer *Waubuno* which was lying at her moorings on the west side of Sydenham River, opposite the City of Owen Sound, when an old man attempted to cross the river on some floating timbers (the swing bridge being under repair at the time). At about mid-stream the man fell into the water. Captain Andrews in full uniform, dived into the river, contacting the man and swimming with him to the Owen Sound side of the river, where he landed him safely. Andrews re-entered the icy river and swam back to his ship.

For this rescue he was awarded a gold life saving medal by the City of Owen Sound. (see note 1)

On July 10, 1878

An Englishman, William Waghorne, got into difficulty whilst bathing, with friends, in the River Don, Toronto. His friend were unable to help him, but Captain Andrews, hearing their cries for help, ran to the spot, plunged in and rescued the man.

For this rescue he was awarded a gold medal by the City of Toronto. (see note 1)

July 29, 1881

Captain Andrews was practicing at Hanlan's Point when he saw
young men in difficulty about five hundred yards out. He
ram out to the bathers and brought them both back to shore.

This rescue was recognised by the Royal Humane Society who
awarded Andrews their Bronze Medal which was presented by
Mayor McMurrich in Toronto City Hall on November 4, 1881.
Andrews was subsequently to receive two clasps to his Royal
Humane Society Bronze Medal - details follow.)

September 5, 1881

The Dolphin Swimming Club awarded their highest award - the
Gold Cross of Valour - to Captain Andrews "In recognition of his
many daring acts of bravery in saving life from drowning", which
was presented in the City Hall, Toronto by Alderman Boswell, on
November, 1881. The accompanying letter to Andrews reads as
follows:

"To Captain W.D.Andrews, R.H.S.
President.

Dear Sir - We, the undersigned officers and members of
the Dolphin Swimming Club, have much pleasure in
presenting you with the accompanying gold medal in
recognition of your many daring acts of bravery in
saving life from drowning. To your courage and
humanity many of our citizens are indebted for the
preservation of their lives. We deem it our duty,
therefore, to publicly acknowledge your many acts of
heroism which has called forth the admiration of every
citizen of Toronto, and justly entitles you to the highest
honours this Club can confer. Through your
indefatigable exertions, and impartial administration of
its affairs, this Club has risen from comparative
obscurity to its present prominent position. We hope,
therefore, you will accept this token of our esteem with
our best regards. Wishing you long life and continued
prosperity.

We are yours respectfully,
The Dolphins

Signed on behalf of the Club,
G.L.Plumb, 1st Vice-President
Alfred Potter, 2nd Vice-President
J.L.Rawbone, Managing Director
Chas. Platts, Treasurer
G.F.Webber, Secretary
Ed Lawson, Jr.)
Arthur Price) Committee on Management
F.Price)
G.Goldstone)

Toronto, November 4th, 1881. (see note 2)

Effective July 22, 1882, Captain Andrews was appointed
"Swimming Master" at the Wiman Island Baths, which position he
filled for four years.

HONOR—HEROISM—HUMANITY.



To CAPTAIN W. D. ANDREWS, R.H.S.,

On September 25, 1882

Captain Andrews plunged into Toronto Bay, and swam out to the assistance of a young man who was seized with cramps, and was in danger of drowning; he was safely brought to shore.

For this rescue Andrews received the first Bronze Clasp to his Royal Humane Society Bronze Medal, which was presented by Mayor McMurrich in Toronto City Hall on December 18, 1882.

On July 27, 1883

During a tremendous storm, exceeding in violence anything that had been seen on Toronto Bay for many years, Captain Andrews, in company with two other volunteers, accomplished another rescue. A German music teacher, Professor Schlochow, accompanied by his fiancée, Miss Laretta Mendon, were boating in the Bay when their craft was upset, drowning Miss Mendon. Professor Schlochow was clinging to his capsized boat. The rescue team attempted, on two occasions, to launch their boat before finally succeeding and reaching the capsized craft, taking off the drowning man and placing him in the bottom of their boat.

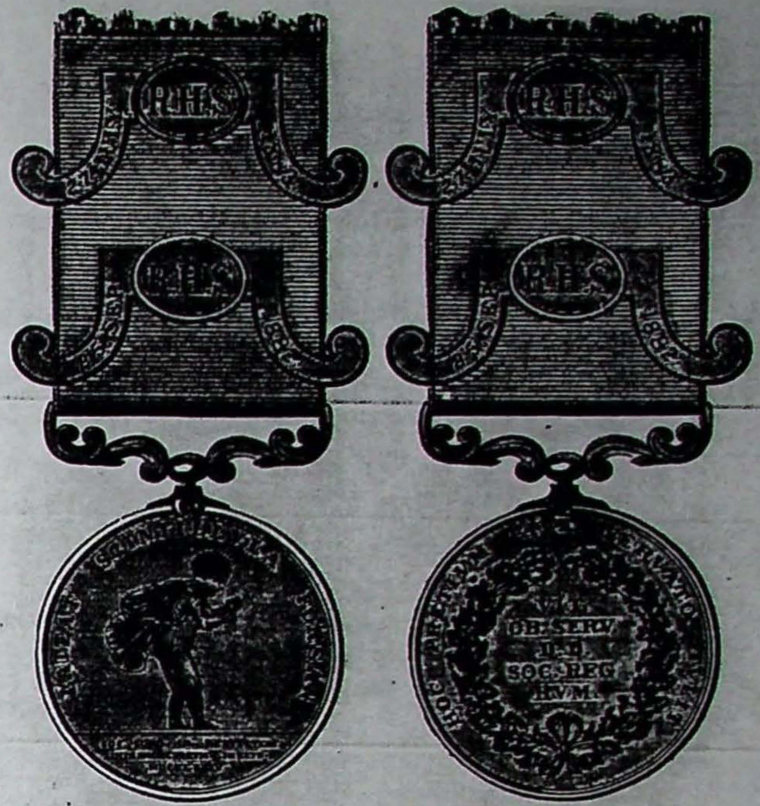
Owing to the fury of the gale, they were obliged to run before it out through the eastern gap into Lake Ontario, eventually landing on the lake shore opposite the shelter after a pull of nearly three miles. (The official report of the Meteorological Office, Toronto Observatory, places the speed of the wind at eighty miles an hour).

The Royal Humane Society awarded Captain Andrews the second Bronze Clasp to his Bronze Medal, which was presented at the Toronto City Council meeting of January 18, 1884, by Mayor A.R. Boswell, Esq., this being the fourth honour bestowed on Andrews by the Royal Humane Society (he had previously received the Testimonial Parchment of the Society). In addition to the distinction above, the Dolphin Swimming Club also presented Captain Andrew with a gold medal, the design being a life preserver with lines attached, suspended by two gold bars bearing the words "Schlochow" and "Toronto". This medal was presented by the Managing Director of the Club, Captain J.L. Rawbone, in the Club Rooms at 95 King Street East, on behalf of the general body of members. (see note 1)

The incident was reported to the Ministry of Marine, which caused the matter to be discussed in open House, where the Government voted unanimously that some form of Testimonial be presented to Captain Andrews. This award took the form of inscribed binoculars, reading as follows:

"Presented to Captain W.D. Andrews by the Government of Canada, in recognition of his humane exertions in saving life on Toronto Bay, 27th June, 1883."

This award was also presented by the Mayor in Toronto City Hall.



Medals and Clasps of the Royal Humane Society of England, 1774.
 (From a photograph).

Presented to
CAPT. W. D. ANDREWS,
 In recognition of his many daring acts of bravery in
 saving life from drowning.



BINOULAR GLASSES PRESENTED TO CAPT. W. D. ANDREWS
 BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA.

ORDER OF KAPIOLANI.

GOLD MEDAL
OF THE
ROYAL ORDER OF KAPIOLANI
OF THE
FIRST CLASS.



Kalaka'ua,
King of the Hawaiian Islands.
To All Who shall see these Presents... Greeting:
Know Ye, that
We have granted, and Permitted, and by
these presents We grant and Permit
Captain W. D. Andrews
to wear the
First Class Medal
of Our Royal Order of Kapiolani.



In Testimony whereof, we
have hereunto set Our
hand, and caused the
Seal of the Order to be
affixed, at Our Palace
of Iolani, in Honolulu,
this 26th day of June
A. D. 1890.

Kalaka'ua Rex.

By the King
The Chancellor of the Royal
Order of Kapiolani, Samuel A. King

ROYAL WARRANT.



Presented to
CAPT. W. D. ANDREWS, R.H.S., G.C.V., E
BY
HIS MAJESTY KALAKAUA I., KING OF HAWAII,
In recognition of his valuable services in the cause of h

Many other rescues were carried out by Andrews in the course of his career, being recognised by certificates, diplomas and letters of commendation.

In 1885 Andrews travelled to the United States of America to study the methods of the United States Life Saving Service, enrolling in that service as Surf-man (the lowest rank), and subsequently qualifying for a Certificate of Competency First Class from the Ninth U.S. Life-Saving District, Cleveland Station; and for a Certificate of Proficiency from the Headquarters of the Ninth U.S. Life-Saving District, Buffalo, New York.

7

In 1889 he wrote a book entitled "Swimming and Life-Saving", which was regarded as the authoritative reference of the time, receiving the acclaim of many countries for this work. The United States Life-Saving Service presented him with a gold-headed cane, amongst many other tangible forms of recognition.

His Majesty King Kalakaua I, of the Kingdom of Hawaii, conferred upon Andrews the Gold Medal of the Royal Order of Kapiolani "in recognition of his valuable services in the cause of humanity." (see note 3) When this award was presented, at the regular meeting of Toronto City Council on June 9, 1890, Captain Andrews had already lost his sight. A full account of the presentation was carried in the Toronto Daily Globe of June 10, 1890, in the somewhat colourful prose of the day, as follows:

"An interval from business was . . . called for by the chairman for the purpose of doing honour to a brave man. Amid loud applause Mr. J. Enoch Thompson, Consul for the Kingdom of Hawaii, approached the Mayor's chair, accompanying Captain Andrews, the now blind life-saving tar, whose fame has spread to all lands. In a few words, Mr. Thompson stated what pleasure it gave him, as representative of Hawaii, to present to Captain Andrews the medal of the Order of Kapiolani. "The decoration of this Order" said he, "are conferred on those of either sex who have distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity." In his reply the captain said, "I am grateful to the King for his kindness he has shown. It was not solicited. I hope, however, that it is deserved." He was not accustomed to speech-making, he continued, but recited instead the poem, "Show Your Ensign", one of his own poems. Before he presented the medal, Chairman Boustead said he was always proud to stand beside a brave man, and then told the story of one of the life-saving exploits of the blind hero of which he himself was an eye-witness. It was an impressive thing as the Captain, taking the medal from the Chairman's hand, was led away. A century ago - only that, and no more - the ancestors of the kingly donor were cannibals of the lowest order, and now he presents to one of the western voyagers, whose fathers brought civilization, a life-saving medal. Surely the world never saw aught like it in earlier ages."

Captain Andrews wrote one more book before his death - "The Lifeboat and Other Poems", the poetry being developed while he was blind and transcribed by a friend.

So lived - and died - a Canadian hero.

Footnotes:

- 1 The gold Medals of the municipalities of Kingston, Owen Sound and Toronto, and the Dolphin Swimming Club's "Schlochow Medal" would appear not to be specifically designed medals of those communities and the club. A photograph of Captain Andrews wearing his medals, in the files of the author, indicates that the medals are plain or "stock" medals with appropriate engraving. This would seem to be borne out by the fact that the author can find no authority for repeated issues of such medals, and so it may be assumed, until proven to the contrary, that these medals are "one of a kind."

- 2 The Toronto Dolphin Swimming Club was organised in 1881 for the purpose of extending the knowledge of swimming with the view to the greater preservation of life from drowning. The Cross of Valour was issued during the late 1880's and "is awarded only for bravery in saving life from drowning . . ."

The Cross has seven arms and is in gold. The obverse is designed as follows: within a lifebuoy is the representation of a dolphin, on the surface of an expanse of water. The lifebuoy carries the words "DOLPHIN SWIMMING CLUB TORONTO." Emanating from the lifebuoy are the limbs of a seven armed cross, each arm having a V at the extremity, and having a wreath between the arms. Above the upper arm is a toque and a scroll carrying the words, "HONOUR HEROISM HUMANITY" with a ring from which the cross is suspended. The reverse is plain and the ribbon of the suspension is believed to have been red.

- 3 The insignia of the Kingdom of Hawaii was actively issued for only a short period of time - this coupled with the number granted makes these awards amongst the rarest in the world today. The first King of Hawaii, Kamehameha I, reputed to be a giant of a man standing over seven feet tall and weighing over five hundred pounds, united the islands of Hawaii for the first time, assuming the throne in 1795, followed by a family succession until Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown in 1893, thereby ending the Hawaiian kingdom and paving the way for the annexation of the Hawaiian kingdom by the United States of America in 1898. Until the accession to the throne of King David Kalakaua in 1874, the Kingdom of Hawaii had only one order - that of the Royal Order of Kamehameha I, instituted by King Kamehameha V in 1865. When Kalakaua ruled - from 1874 to 1891 - the influence of European and Asian honour systems caused him to institute four addition orders - the Royal Order of Kalakaua I in 1875; the Royal Order of Kapiolani in 1880; the Royal Order of the Crown of Hawaii in 1882 and the Royal Order of the Star of Oceania in 1886.

The Royal Order of Kapiolani had six classes and two medal classes - these being 1st Class in Gold and 2nd Class in Silver. Awards of this order and its medals were to be awarded for "recognition of services in the cause of humanity." Captain Andrews was awarded the Medal of the First Class in Gold. The medal is in gold, oval shape with the Royal Crown of Hawaii surmounting, from which the ribbon of red and yellow was attached. The centre of the oval has the letter "K", in an ornate design placed "mirror fashion" or back to back within itself, whilst the surrounding oval carries a quarter wreath at the bottom and the words "KULIA I KANUU" (meaning "strive for the summit") at the upper half. This description differs from that in Dorling, but is taken from a drawing of the actual medal issued to Captain Andrews.

9

The citation for the award of the medal to Andrews reads as follows:

**"Kalakaua
King of the Hawaiian Islands**

To all who shall see these presents . . . Greeting.

Know ye that We have granted and Permitted, and by these presents we grant and Permit --- Captain W.D.Andrews --- to wear the First Class Medal of Our Royal Order of Kapiolani.

In testimony whereof We have hereunto set Our Hand and caused the Seal of the Order to be affixed at our Palace in Iolani, in Honolulu this 26th day of June, AD 1890.

Kalakaua Rex

**By the King
The Chancellor of the Royal Order of Kapiolani."**

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* * * * *

ROYAL BLACK KNIGHTS OF IRELAND

SASKATCHEWAN BLACK PENNIES

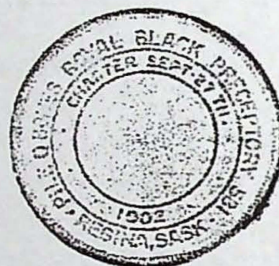
Eric Jensen

This article is intended as a Saskatchewan supplement to the "Royal Black Knights of Ireland and their pennies" published in the CNRS bulletin and the CT by Ralph R. Burry (reference CNRS: Vol. 17, no. 1, p. 17-30; Vol. 18 no. 1, p. 20-21 and CT: Vol. 10, p. 98-111; Vol. 11, no. 2, p.74-75). Ralph's articles were published in 1981 / 82. Since I have been able to obtain rubbings of some Saskatchewan Black Pennies it seemed appropriate to provide an update. As this update would not have been possible without the significant input I received from Ron Rogal, Al Munro and Elmer Lupul I would like to acknowledge their contributions at this time. If you have any questions, comments or additional information please contact me at egjensen@telus.net.

<u>Chapter Name And Location</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Metal</u>	<u>Size</u> <u>mm</u>
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Pile O Bones R.B.P. No. 581
Regina

581	C	33
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Queen Alexandra R.B.P. No. 713
Moosomin

713	C	33.5
-----	---	------



King Solomon R.B.P. No. 777
Saskatoon

777	C	35.5
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Empire R.B.P. No. 803
Moose Jaw

803	C	33.5
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<u>Chapter Name And Location</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Metal</u>	<u>Size</u> <u>mm</u>
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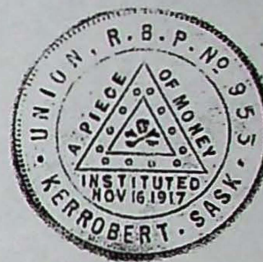
Laura R.B.P. No. 841
Tessier

841	C	35
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Union R.B.P. No. 953
Kerrobot

953	C	33.5
-----	---	------



Golden Crown R.B.P. No. 954
Weyburn

954	C	33
-----	---	----



Flaxcombe R.B.P. No. 955
Flaxcombe

955	C	33.5
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Bateman R.B.P. No. 970
Bateman

970	C	33.5
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<u>Chapter Name And Location</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Metal</u>	<u>Size</u> <u>mm</u>
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Calvary R.B.P. No. 1128

Eston

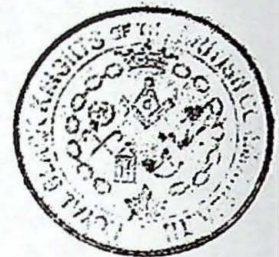
1128	C	35
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Excelsior R.B.P. No. 1131

Wiseton

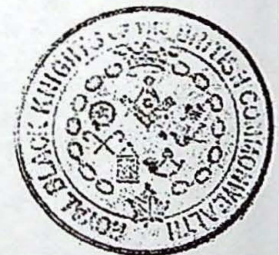
1131	S	32
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Armstrong R.B.P. No. 1164

Lucky Lake

1164	C	33
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Abbreviations:

C = Copper

CNRS = Canadian Numismatic Research Society

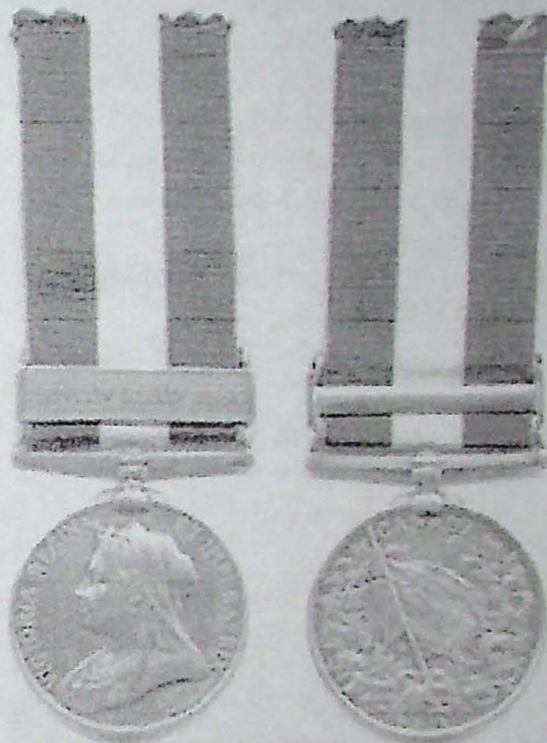
CT = The Canadian Token

mm = millimetres

R.B.P. = Royal Black Preceptory

S = Silver

EMANUEL THOMAS ESSERY, K. C.
LONDON, ONTARIO
- LEN BUTH, F.C.N.R.S.



Emanuel Thomas Essery Fenian Raid Medal Awarded to E.T. Essery
1843 - 1937 Actual size of medal 36mm [entire 36x99mm]

Emanuel Thomas Essery was a prominent and active individual in the business, political and social activities of London, Ontario, during the latter part of the 1800's and until around 1930.

He was born in London, Ontario on June 29, 1843, the son of William Henry [1815-1897] and Martha Essery. Wm. H. Essery was born in England, and had immigrated to London, Ontario where he established a shoe manufacturing business.

Emanuel T. Essery received his education in London, Ontario, and Toronto University where he received his law degree in 1876. He married Eliza Jane Wales of Toronto on August 29, 1871. They had three children: Arthur T., Basil W., and Grace B. E.T. Essery practiced law in London from offices at Coote Chambers, 12 Market Lane, and his residence was situated at 78 Kent Street. He received his King's Council in 1908.

Mr. Essery was Chairman of the Public Utilities Commission in 1889, and served as a Commissioner of same in 1888 and 1890. In 1893 -1894 he was Mayor of the City of London, while at the same time holding the Presidency of the London & Port Stanley Railway. A London Free Press newspaper article in 1938 by H.J. Davis entitled "London Can View with Pride Long Line of Able Civic Leaders", referred to Mr. Essery as "one of London's most colorful mayors". Mr. Davis writes further: "Present-day citizens often like to refer to the exciting times when he fought the London Street Railway Company by tearing up the street car tracks as fast as the company could lay them. It is also recalled that he demanded the 'cold cash' from a Cleveland syndicate in leasing the London & Port Stanley Railway. The amount happened to be \$50,000. and later the syndicate relinquished the road. His death occurred only a year or two ago. On leaving London to reside with his son in Toronto he was presented with the Freedom of the City".

He also unsuccessfully contested the London Provincial Riding as a Conservative in 1894.

Emanuel Essery held a Military Certificate from the Royal Military College. He saw active service in the Fenian Raids [1866-1870] and the medal shown above was awarded to him, and is inscribed on the edge as; "SERGEANT E.T. ESSERY - 7th BATT. LONDON LIGHT INFANTRY". This medal is in the collection of the writer. He held the positions of Sec. Treas., and later as President of the "Veterans of 1866 Association".

He served the community in many civic endeavours, and at one time was Treasurer of the Mechanics Institute. He was most active in various fraternal organizations, including the following:

- Grand Lodge of Canada A.F. & A.M. – Grand Master London
- King Solomon Masonic Lodge #378
- St. George's Society – President
- Sons of England – President
- Order of Eastern Star – Grand Treasurer
- Canadian Order of Chosen Friends – Grand Councillor
- Tri-Annual Orange Grand Council of World, Liverpool, England – 1908 Representative
- Canadian Fraternal Association – Pres. 1908; Grand Sect. 1915
- Canadian Order of Beavers – Grand Sect. & Councillor
- Eureka Lodge #30 – Independent Order of Odd Fellows

As mentioned above, Mr. Essery moved to Toronto in 1930 to live with his son Basil, at whose home he died on March 25, 1937. His wife had predeceased him many years earlier. His interment was at Woodland Cemetery, London, on March 27th.

While E.T. Essery may not be as easily recognized as a former Mayor of London, Ontario as George Taylor, John W. Little or Sir Adam Beck who all dated around the same time, Mr. Essery was nevertheless a most significant and important figure in London's history.

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The following paragraphs are appended to this article for clarification and to assist in the event a reader may conduct additional research on Mr. Essery.

Difficulty was experienced in establishing Mr. Essery's year of birth. Canada Census data provided four different dates: the Census for 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 revealed dates of 1846, 1851, 1849 and 1856 respectively. A copy of Mr. Essery's Marriage Certificate [information for which he no doubt provided personally] sets his birth year at 1843, and the year 1843 matches with data provided in his obituaries by the Globe & Mail and London Free Press [information presumably provided by his son Basil]. Based on the foregoing, the writer has used 1843 as the birth year.

Additionally, in "London and Its Men of Affairs" it is recorded E.T. Essery was born in London, Ontario, while his Marriage Certificate reads he was born in Kingston, Ontario.

Interestingly, and as prominent as Mr. Essery was, his burial location at Woodland Cemetery in London is devoid of any kind of grave stone or marker. There is a stone for his father and mother.

References:

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- Canada Census - 1881, 1891, 1901 & 1911
- Ontario Vital Statistics - Marriages
- Ontario Genealogy Society - Cemetery Transcriptions
- Interment records - Woodland Cemetery - London
- Globe & Mail - March 26, 1937
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- "The Forest City - An Illustrated History of London, Canada"; Frederick H. Armstrong; 1986
- "Canada General Service Medal Roll - 1866-70"; Compiled & Edited by John R. Thyen, 1998.
- "Vernons's" London Directories -Various
- "Lovell Canada Directory", 1851; London: "Wm. H. Essery - Ladies' & Gentlemens' Boots & Shoes - Dundas St. opposite Market"
- Middlemiss & Co. Register", 1874; London : " W. H. Essery - Hotel"

**EDWARDS, GENERAL MERCHANT, NEWBURY [ONTARIO]
- A NEWLY DISCOVERED TOKEN -**

- LEN BUTH, FCNRS



Aluminum actual size - 24mm

The above previously unknown token has recently emerged. Based on research conducted, this token can now be attributed to James Wesley Edwards, Newbury, Ontario. James Wesley Edwards [hereafter referred to as J. W.] was born on September 25, 1862 to Thomas and Kezia [nee Samson] Edwards in Wardsville, Mosa Township, Middlesex County, Ontario. J. W. married Martha May Getty [daughter of Uriah and Anna [nee Parker] Getty, on January 15, 1905 when he was 42 years old. They had one child, a son, James Howard who was born November 21, 1907.

J. W. mostly farmed in Mosa Township in his early years and up until the time of and after his marriage. By 1907 business directories find J. W. as a merchant in Cairo, Ontario [Euphemia Township, Lambton County] in a building owned by Geo. Banghart. This operation came to an end on August 20, 1908 as a result of a fire which destroyed both the building and the inventory. The newspaper account mentioned " the post office was transferred to the dwelling of E. Arnold", so it was possible J. W. also acted Postmaster at the time.

The Edwards' are next found in Newbury, Ontario. The 1909 Union Publishing Company's *Farmers and Business Directory* lists a general store in the name of M. M. Edwards, which is presumably Martha May. The 1909-1910 *Vernon's Middlesex County Directory* records J. W. Edwards as a merchant in Newbury. Directories continue to list J. W. as a merchant in Newbury until 1919. Based on the foregoing, the Edwards token would have been in circulation sometime from 1909 to 1919. While the 5c token is the only one know at this time, presumably the other usual denominations were used.

In 1921 and 1922 directories, the Edwards' are farming at Wardsville, Ontario [Mosa Township]. In 1923 they again become grocery merchants for the third time, but now in Strathroy, Ontario [Adelaide Township, Middlesex County]. J. W. continues this business until at least 1929 according to directories, when he would have been 67 years of age. J. W. is found next in the 1935-1936 directory and listed as a "gentleman", presumably indicating he was retired.

James Wesley Edwards died on September 20, 1945 in his 83rd year, after a lengthy illness. He had been taken to a London, Ontario hospital. His obituary mentions "he conducted a hardware business for a short time" in Glencoe, Ontario prior to moving to Strathroy in 1923. Evidence of this has not been found in business directories. His wife Martha passed away in 1958 at the age of 86 years. Son James died in 1951. They are all buried in Strathroy.

The research of this article revealed a discrepancy regarding the year of birth of James Wesley Edwards. The Canada Census for 1881, 1901 and 1911 all recorded the date as September 25, 1862. The Marriage Certificate data also makes the date of birth as 1862. However, the obituaries mention he died in his 85th year, which calculates the year of birth at 1860. Burial data also indicate the grave maker to read "1860-1945". Mention is made of this here in the event someone may conduct further research of the Edwards family.

Ontario merchant token collectors will be aware of the 5c token for Wm. A. Edwards of Shetland, Ontario [Bowman 932-A-E] who was there during the period 1911-1918. Wm. A. Edwards was a nephew of James Wesley Edwards.

Sources:

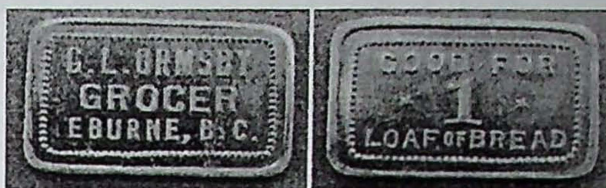
- Business Directories for London-Middlesex, Lambton Counties. Including: Union Publishing Company's *Farmers and Business Directories*; J.G. Foster & Co; *Vernon's R.G. Dun; Bradstreet's; Canada & Nfld. Gazetteer & Business Directory, County Atlases*
- Canada Census for 1881, 1901 & 1911
- Various issues of the newspapers: *Glencoe Transcript & Strathroy Age Dispatch*
- Ontario Vital Statistics* -London Family History Centre, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Acknowledgements:

- Staff at the libraries at Newbury, Strathroy and London [London Room]; Glencoe Historical Society; Ken Willis, Wardsville, Ontario

George L. Ormsby of Eburne, B.C.

by Ronald Greene



BC Database E0410a Al: Re: 32 x 19 mm

Back in the mid 1960's when I was first introduced to the token collection held by the Provincial Archives, now the British Columbia Archives, one of the pieces was a token good for a loaf of bread bearing the name G.L. Ormsby, Eburne, B.C. I searched through the directories, the main tool of research then available and found nothing between 1918 and 1927 except for Margaret A. Ormsby, a student at the University of British Columbia. This was the same Margaret A. Ormsby, who was later a professor of history at UBC and whose one volume history of British Columbia has been a standard work for half a century. So, as one did in those days, I wrote a letter and received a nice reply stating the G.L. Ormsby was her father, that she didn't recall the tokens ever being mentioned but that if I wished to provide her with a number of questions she would ask her father when she visited him in Vernon over the Easter weekend. A couple of years later, in 1968, when I spoke with Dr. Ormsby she explained that her father, who by then had passed away, had a general store at Granville Street and 70th Avenue at one time and that he had made arrangements with an English baker next door to sell bread. I put the information aside and concentrated on other things. Some years later, Dr. Ormsby wrote an article for the Okanagan Historical Society entitled, "My Irish Father."¹ This very interesting biography had one peculiar characteristic – it failed to mention his time in Eburne. His obituary in the *Vernon News* also failed to mention any time spent in Eburne. These omissions, of course, spurred me on to dig into that period.

Looking at the directories, credit listings, the *Point Grey Gazette* and other sources such as WWI Attestation papers, a picture of George L. Ormsby evolved. From his "official" biography written by his daughter we found that George had met his wife to be, Margaret Turner McArthur, a recent graduate of the Vancouver Normal School in April 1905 at Lumby. After ardently pursuing the lovely Miss McArthur, George Ormsby was to marry her, in a picturesque small Presbyterian church near the home of her parents on Sea Island, October 2, 1906.² At that time he was a lumber mill manager at Savona, and for eighteen months they lived happily there. However, George's wanderlust got the best of him and the couple travelled by horse and canoe to Cluculz Lake in the Nechako Valley. To George this was a paradise, but to Margaret winter in the valley was a hell. In the spring of 1909 George managed to get his pregnant wife to Quesnel, where the closest doctor resided. There Margaret (the future historian) was born in June 1909. Afterwards George took his wife and child to Ashcroft by buggy where they caught the train to Vancouver. He returned to his beloved property, but his wife refused to join him there. Fortunately he managed to sell the property before the boom collapsed, joined his wife and opened a general store at the corner of Granville and Townsend (now 70th Avenue) in Eburne. He was listed as a grocer, but also carried hardware. Today we think of this part of Vancouver as Marpole, but in 1909 it was a part of Point Grey, which had seceded from South Vancouver in

1908. There were two Eburnes, one on either side of the North Arm of the Fraser River. The true Eburne was on the south side, in Richmond, but the area around Eburne Station on the north side was commonly called Eburne and it was the commercial and industrial centre of the area. This confusion was ended in June 1916 when the area around Eburne Station was renamed Marpole.³ Point Grey was swallowed up by amalgamation with the City of Vancouver in 1929. When George Ormsby opened his business the main communication with Vancouver was over the Lulu Island line of the B.C. Electric Railway Company. The one through-road, Granville Street was a mud hole until it was paved in the spring and summer of 1911. In an aside, there was much written in the *Point Grey Gazette* about steel-shod steam traction engines pulling wagon loads of goods which tore up the roads in Point Grey and were consequently banned. A lovely fact for trivia buffs.

It was noted in September 1909 that "Mr. G.L. Ormsby has bought out the general store business of Mr. Searson," and on October 2 1909 that "Mr. Ormsby has taken over the business of Searson's on Granville street."⁴ Ormsby was an occasional advertiser in the *Gazette*, running ads for a time, then going without advertising for months. His last advertisement appeared in January 1912. Apparently he confronted a would-be burglar in February of that year and chased after him. The burglar got away, but was later caught. The last mention of George Ormsby as a resident of Eburne was a March 1912 article that mentioned he had purchased a home at Granville and Peters (now West 64th Avenue). He was still listed in the July 1912 R.G. Dun's credit directory. According to his daughter his health was not the best. He received medical advice that recommended he move to a drier climate and the move to Lumby was made. In December 1912 the *Vernon News* noted that, "Mr. Geo. Ormsby, late of Eburne, has opened a new general store on Shuswap Avenue. The second storey of the store, which will be used for dancing, etc., will be known as Lumby Hall."⁵ A special edition of the *Vernon News* noted that Mr. Ormsby had built a "magnificent store worthy of any city. Indeed the building is a model of his Vancouver premises and measures 40 x 70 feet. This store was opened at the beginning of December with a large and varied stock of goods..."⁶ He probably sold his Eburne business to H.A. Dunlap, who in his sole advertisement in January 1913 was at the same corner, with the same phone number and who carried the same unusual assortment of goods.⁷ Mr. Dunlap went bankrupt in early 1914 during the depression that struck in the years leading up to World War I and moved to Vancouver. The English baker that was said to be next door, would have been the Eburne Bakery of C.J. Crouner, which was taken over by W.O. Kenny in 1910.

While serving overseas Mr. Ormsby was severely wounded and gassed. After he recovered an outdoors life was indicated and he turned to farming, ultimately operating an orchard near Vernon. The example of the token in the BC Archives is still the only known piece.

¹ Margaret A. Ormsby, *Okanagan Historical Society 47th Annual Report*, 1983 p. 82 and *48th Annual Report*, 1984, p. 130

² Vancouver's International Airport today occupies most of Sea Island.

³ *The Weekly Gazette*, May 27, 1916, p. 1 This local newspaper serving Point Grey, Richmond, and Delta went through several name changes during its first decade of existence.

⁴ *The Point Grey Gazette*, September 18, 1909, p. 1 and October 2, 1909, p. 1

⁵ *The Vernon News*, December 19, 1912, p. 7

⁶ *The Vernon News*, December 26, 1912, Special Edition, p. 24 "Lumby and District"

⁷ Unfortunately there are a number of issues missing from the microfilm file at the British Columbia Archives and consequently no sale to Mr. Dunlap was found.

Mrs. E.C. Clarke and the Queen's Hotel of Nelson, B.C.

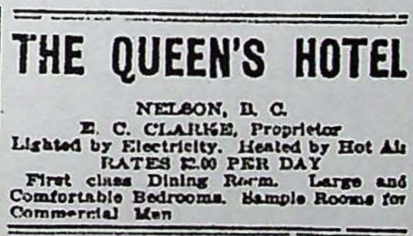
Ronald Greene



BC database N5710a
Brass: Round: 21 mm

The regular reader may have noted that in past articles we have written very little about women. There are several reasons for this. Firstly one hundred years ago British Columbia was still a pioneer country and there were many more men than women. In the Nelson Riding women represented only 26.1% of the population.¹ Secondly, married women were expected to stay at home. Some professions such as teaching and nursing were available although when a woman married she retired. And we might note that the women in the oldest profession tended not to leave much trace. Of course there were some women in respectable businesses and one legitimate field of work that attracted quite a few women was the operation of hotels and boarding houses.

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Clarke² came to Nelson in 1896 from Calgary. There she had been associated with the Royal Hotel and since she mentioned it regularly in her advertisements, Mrs. Clarke must have been quite proud of the Royal Hotel's reputation. Before Calgary she was in Winnipeg as her three children were born there.³ In Nelson Mrs. Clarke ran the Clarke Hotel for two years until May 1898 when she took on the lease of the Queen's Hotel.



Licensing regulations of the day were stringent and drafted with a Victorian period mindset. A woman who was living with her husband could not hold a liquor licence. In that case the licence had to be in her husband's name. But if she were single, widowed or living apart from her husband she could hold a licence. The 1899 Liquor Licence Act stated that, "No licence under this Act shall be issued or transferred to any person of the Indian, Chinese or Japanese race."⁴ However, this was disallowed by the Federal Government. Disallowance, an interesting topic in its own right, was used by the Dominion government more against British Columbia legislation than that of any other province as the British Columbia government was more rabidly anti-Oriental than any other province. Since Japan was officially an ally of Great Britain the Dominion Government was sensitive to not embarrassing Imperial policy by allowing anti-Japanese legislation. But the provincial government got around the "problem" of

disallowance by requiring that licence holders be registered on the provincial voters' list.⁵ This amendment was introduced to eliminate the Chinese and Japanese from holding liquor licences but had the unintended consequence of eliminating women licence holders as they had not yet been enfranchised. However, this consequence was corrected with a further amendment in 1903.⁶

It appears that Mrs. Clarke was separated but not divorced from her husband as the license was in her name. The 1901 Canada Census showed her as a married woman, not divorced, the head of the household and a Roman Catholic. We have not found any indication that her husband, Michael John Clarke, ever lived in British Columbia. Over the years that Mrs. Clarke was operating the Queen's Hotel she was active in the Catholic community, for instance giving a card party in aid of the Roman Catholic Church fund in January 1905. Father J. Althoff, the local Catholic priest, was said to have dinner at the Queen's Hotel every night.⁷ Adolph Lapointe purchased the Queen's Hotel from W.E. McCandlish in July 1908 and intended to operate the hotel after Mrs. Clarke's lease expired in 1908. In August 1908 Mrs. Clarke gave up her lease after ten years and retired from the hotel business. The 1911 Canada Census showed her living with her daughter Nellie Mclean, Nellie's husband William, and their two children. William "Billy" Mclean (he later used the spelling MacLean) was a soda water manufacturer in Nelson. He had arrived in Nelson by 1897 to manage the Thorpe Bottling company branch, and when that closed he carried on as the MacLean Bottling Works. He was a Conservative M.P.P. from 1912 to 1916. Billy MacLean died suddenly in 1931 aged 59.⁸

When Thomas Madden of Madden House died suddenly in September 1912 Mrs. Clarke came out of retirement and took over the Madden House by November 1912. It is hard to say whether Mrs. Clarke ran a genteel house or not as in August 1916 Ross Young was given a stiff sentence (four years and lashes) for assaulting Robert Yuill in the Madden House.⁹ Her last advertisement for the Madden House was run September 30, 1916. The first mention of Mrs. Thomas Madden assuming the management of the Madden House was days before Prohibition took effect.¹⁰ Mrs. Madden was planning to operate a portion of the Madden House as a hotel and had rented another part to the Canadian Pacific Railway for its freight, passenger and telegraph offices.

Unfortunately during World War I the Daily News of Nelson had so much available news from the war front that it very rarely mentioned local events and people. Some people, such as token issuer Gus Matthew, who had been mentioned regularly, weekly or monthly before the war were not mentioned for years during the war. Another problem is that the editor or publisher may not have been on good terms with the local Catholics. There were many ads from other Christian denominations, but nothing from the Catholics, and there was no coverage of Catholic events. The only mentions of Mrs. Clarke after September 1916 that have been found are when Mrs. Madden took over the Madden House and when her daughter, Lillie, died.

In February 1908, the younger daughter, Lillie, married Archibald McKenzie Brown who was the manager of the Queen's Hotel under Mrs. Clarke. This marriage was all too short as Mr. Brown died January 26, 1912 while working in Fernie as a druggist's clerk. His death was caused by accidental poisoning by a narcotic. The death certificate also mentioned "undue use of Brandy and Absinthe." Lillie died March 11, 1920 of pneumonia resulting from Influenza. In addition to two children, a girl aged 7 and a boy aged 11, she left her mother and sister, Nellie, in Nelson and brother Dr. J.C. Clarke of Seattle.

Mrs. Clarke subsequently may have left the province as she neither remarried nor died in British Columbia. She is not mentioned in city directories of the early 1920's.

Adolphe Lapointe continued to run the Queen's Hotel for many years. The building, at 605 Baker Street, was destroyed by fire c. 1970. The tokens would have been used between 1898 and 1908 when Mrs. Clarke was operating the hotel. The tokens are scarce, with fewer than ten being recorded, of which two are in museums.

¹ Government of Canada, Fourth Census of Canada 1901, Volume I, Population, King's Printer, 1902, p. 27/28

² Canada Census 1911, 9-39, page 25 Elizabeth Coulter Clarke, née Kelley, was born in Scotland in 1852 according to the census. The Census did not provide any information on when she came to Canada. Additionally the daughter's marriage certificates gave Mr. Clarke's name as Michael John. Mary Helen's marriage certificate GR2962 Marriage Registration 02-09145170, microfilm B11384 and Marguerite Lillian's marriage certificate 08-09-144592, microfilm B11384

³ Mary Helen (known as Nellie) was born in Winnipeg in 1878, Marguerite Lillian (Lillie) was born in Winnipeg in 1880 and James Christopher was born in Winnipeg in 1882. Marriage certificates, 1901 Census, and Officer's Declaration Paper (Canadian Over-Seas Expeditionary Force)

⁴ 62 Vict. Chapter 39, An Act respecting Liquor Licences, 27th February 1899.

⁵ Edward, Chapter 40, An Act to amend the 'Liquor Licence Act, 1900,' 21st June 1900. The Liquor Licence Act, 1900 (64 Vict. Chapter 18) had removed the offending Chinese & Japanese references and replaced the disallowed 1899 Act.

⁶ Edward 2, Chapter 16, An Act to amend the 'Liquor Licence Act, 1900, 4th June 1903. The Licence Act technically only applied to areas outside municipalities but influenced the licensing rules within them.

⁷ mentioned by Shawn Lamb, Touchstones Nelson (Museum) curator, in conversation with the author, March 5, 2009

⁸ GR2951 Death Registrations 31-09-464256, microfilm B13143 and *The Nelson Daily News*, June 23, 1931, p. 5

⁹ *The Daily News*, Nelson August 16, 1916, p. 8

¹⁰ *The Daily News*, Nelson, September 27, 1917, p. 8

New Token Finds

Brantford, Ontario Brant County

RICHARDSON COAL CO. LTD. / COAL / COKE / WOOD / PHONES / G.6016 G.0135
GOOD FOR / 25¢ / IN / MERCHANDISE A-R-28

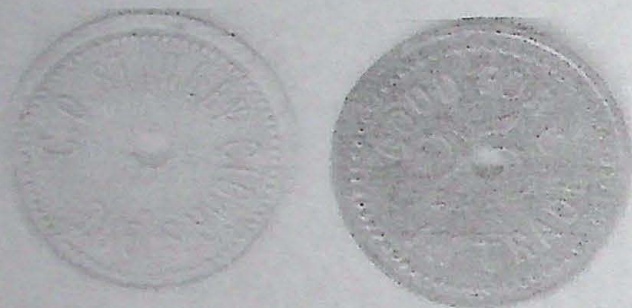
From Larry Laevens

St. Thomas, Ontario Elgin County

C.O. STANLEY / CIGAR STORE
GOOD FOR / 25¢ / IN TRADE

W-R21(centre hole)

A 5¢ token is also known from this business. *From Lorne Barnes*



Toronto, Ontario York County

SHAPIRO'S DRUGS / 287 / SPADINA / TR.0194 / 346 / BATHURST ST / TR.703
GOOD FOR / 2 ½ ¢ / IN TRADE A-R-12

A 5¢ token exists for this firm - from Larry Laevens

Hamilton, Ontario Wentworth County

3116 / 10C. / TRADING CHECKS / GILBERT/ THE SHOE MAN / SHOES, TRUNKS / 23
MacNAB ST. NORTH / HAMILTON, ONT.

RETURN 50 CHECKS / AND GET / 25C. IN TRADE / GILBERT / THE SHOE MAN /
SHOES, TRUNKS / 23 MacNAB ST. NORTH / HAMILTON, ONT. Cd-Re-31x28

from Larry Laevens - cardboard check