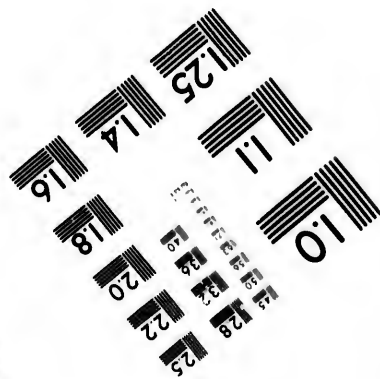
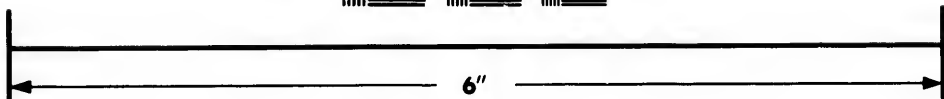
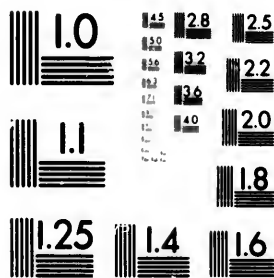


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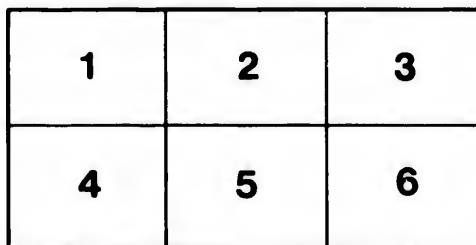
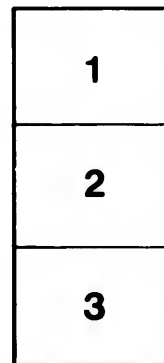
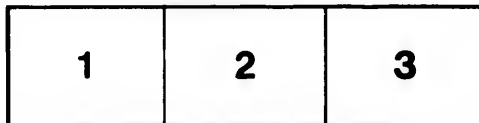
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MONEY AND MEDALS

—♦♦OF♦♦—

CANADA UNDER THE OLD REGIME.

By R. W. McLACHLAN.



MONEY AND MEDALS OF CANADA UNDER
THE OLD REGIME.

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THE proper adjustment of money, the circulating medium, to the requirements of the people has, in times whether of depression or of growth and expansion or of change, ever been, to rulers, a problem difficult of solution. Many a useless piece of legislation has been enacted in the attempt to make the available supply answer the increased or diminished demand. This difficulty was felt more keenly in newly settled colonies than in older established communities. Experiments of every conceivable kind were tried as a cure, some of them of the most quixotic nature; but no form of legislation proved successful in retaining within the bounds of a colony its scanty supply of money. The "coin of the realm" often became so scarce that trade was at a standstill. Other media had to be adopted, as the tobacco currency of Virginia or the goose quill money of the North-West.

In Canada, under the French, this problem seems to have been more troublesome even than elsewhere on this continent. Almost every letter to the Minister contained some allusion to the dearth of change. During the earlier times wampum, the bead money of the Indian, passed current and was accepted by them in exchange for furs; but intercourse with Europeans and the importation of cheaper and more showy glass beads so depressed the value of wampum that it was no longer prized by the aborigines. It therefore, in time, was rejected by them in their annual settlements with the traders and more useful articles demanded. Beaver skins, the most valuable product of the chase, together with moose skins were made a legal tender and passed cur-

rent in lieu of coin. The Dutch of New Amsterdam, to the South, kept their accounts and even reckoned in beaver skins. This kind of change was very inconvenient on account of its bulk and fluctuation in value. Then again the stock on hand had to be shipped before the close of navigation. One year, too, when the Iroquois had overrun the country and almost exterminated the Hurons, the annual supply was wanting and the beaver currency had to be discarded. The council, in 1669, declared wheat to be a legal tender at four *livres* the minot; but, on account of its bulk and the necessity of using it for food, it did not long continue to be accepted as a currency. A shipment of money was occasionally made to the colony by the King, and this, together with what was brought over for their own use by traders and immigrants, had it remained in the country might, under careful management, have proved sufficient for the limited wants of the community. But through the improvidence and extravagant mode of living of some of the colonists, and because few engaged in agricultural labor the balance of trade was against them; that is their imports exceeded their exports. The difference had to be made up in coin which soon denuded the country of that commodity. Under these circumstances trade was much embarrassed and transactions were, to a limited extent, carried on by means of promissory notes payable in furs, goods or farm produce. These notes sometimes passed from hand to hand in making large settlements; still this could not take the place of coin and trade became more and more depressed.

The issue of a paper currency, that would be worthless in any other country, seems to have been the only untried expedient. Although it was not a new idea it had not before been attempted on this continent. The circumstances connected with its first issue are as follows; as the Intendant Meules writes to the Minister in 1685:— "I have no money

to pay the soldiers and not knowing to what Saint to make my vows, the idea has occurred to me of putting into circulation notes made of cards." As there was no printing press in the colony and as few of the inhabitants did any writing the stock of paper on hand was very limited. During the long winter evenings card playing was the favorite amusement of the people consequently there was a large stock on hand ready to supply the writer's demands. This supply was used by the Intendant, and common playing cards, cut in four with the amount written thereon, was the first paper money issued on this continent. From this circumstance it was always known in Canada as *monnaie de carte* or card money. Following the example of Canada, paper money became for a time, almost the only currency of the North American Colonies. Each card was stamped with a *fleur-de-lis* and a crown in sealing wax and was signed by the Intendant and the clerk of the Treasury at Quebec. At a specified time they were convertible into bills of exchange drawn on the Imperial Treasury.

When this issue had been withdrawn from circulation other cards, made payable to bearer, were issued by the home government redeemable in France. They circulated freely among the people who found them convenient in making remittances. At a later period another issue of Canadian card money was put into circulation. They were signed by the Governor and Intendant and bore the coat of arms of the Intendant, the seal of the Governor together with the date and value in writing. The denominations issued were twenty and forty *sols*, and four, sixteen and thirty-two *livres*. At first the issue was not so popular as the old one payable in France, as the people believed that the Canadian cards would not be as readily received in exchange for Treasury bills; but when the time came for making the exchange the Treasurer gave the preference to the holders of the Canad-

ian cards. This had the desired effect, the new issue was accepted without questioning and it was preferred to the old.

The regular issue of card money continued for twenty-five years. It circulated in the Colony and was preferred to any other money as long as it was promptly redeemed. The financial difficulties, that had so long been a source of weakness to the Colony, seemed to have come to an end. But troublesome times were at hand. The wars which made glorious the reign of Louis XIV. and his lavish expenditure of money in other directions, had so drained the Treasury of France that the drafts drawn by the Colonial Treasurer could not be honored. Treasury bills, so useful to the colonists in remitting for their purchases, were sold at a heavy discount. Meanwhile card money continued to be issued for the defrayment of the colonial expenses. As the Treasury bills, with which it might have been redeemed, were almost worthless, the card money increased in circulation far beyond the requirements of the people. It was estimated that there was over 2,000,000 livres in circulation in 1714. It soon, under these circumstances, became depreciated in value and the government, under pressure, from time to time compounded with the holders of cards at a discount of fifty per cent. Finally in 1717, a decree was issued which, after alluding to these settlements, provided that the cards should be current for half their value and that finally they be altogether withdrawn from circulation. In the meantime a new issue was made to provide for the immediate wants of the Treasury, to be redeemed on the same conditions as the old. The arrangement for the settlement was as follows:— The cards were to be presented to the Treasurer before the sailing of the last ships, for the year, in November. The holders were to receive bills of exchange for their cards at a discount of fifty per cent, one third payable on the first of March 1718, one third same day in 1719, and the balance in 1720.

All cards not presented before that time to be cancelled. The Minister of Marine in writing to the Council, states, under date of May 1716, that :—"The Council should order M. Bigon (the Intendant) to draw 99,000 livres for bills of exchange which remain out of the 160,000 payable in 1717, and in the same manner for a like sum payable in 1718, and to continue until the total extinction of the cards and then cause them to be burned up according to the first project."

Trade had been in a comparatively healthy condition during the regular issue and redemption of the card money and it would have speedily recovered from the depression into which it had been thrown by the over issue of cards and the dishonoring of the colonial drafts, had a sufficient quantity been left in the hands of the people for their immediate wants as a currency. As it was, commerce was almost totally suspended. A number of decrees were issued between the years 1719 and 1726 affecting the currency without material improvement. For this continued stagnation of the trade of the colony, the reissue of the card money was believed to be the only remedy and representations to that effect were made to the king. He therefore on the 2nd of March 1726, issued an ordinance announcing the reissue of the card money. The following is a condensed translation of the ordinance :- "His Majesty, having been informed of the situation of the Colony of Canada since the extinction of the card money, and hearing that the gold and silver which he has sent out during the last ten years for the expenses of the country have successively returned each year to France which has caused the decay of the internal trade of the Colony, hinders the increase of the establishments, makes it more difficult for the merchants to retail their goods and wares; and as a necessary consequence caused a decline of the foreign trade which cannot be sustained but by retail consumption; His Majesty proposes the best

means for the remedy of these inconveniences which is not less needful for the commerce of the Kingdom than to his subjects in New France; in the discussion of the different projects none seemed more feasible than that of establishing a card money which will be received at His Majesty's warehouses in payment of powder and other munitions and merchandise that may be sold and for which bills will be given on the General Treasurer of Marine for the time being; this has been voluntarily determined upon in answer to the desires of the Canadian Merchants, who last year presented a request to this effect to the Governor, Lieutenant General and to the *Commissaire-Ordonnateur* of New France, and also to the demands of the inhabitants in general who have made the same representation, and that this currency will be of great utility to home and foreign trade by the facilitating of purchases and sales which will be made in the colony which will increase the establishments, and His Majesty wishing to explain these intentions, has ordered and orders as follows:—

“ I. Card money will be made to the amount of four hundred thousand *livres*, of denominations, twenty-four, twelve, six and three *livres*; one *livre* ten *sols*, fifteen *sols* and seven *sols* ten *deniers*, which cards will be stamped with His Majesty's arms, and written and signed by the *Controleur* of Marine at Quebec.

“ II. The cards of twenty-four, twelve and three *livres* will be signed by the Governor, the Lieutenant General, and Intendant or *Commissaire-Ordonnateur*.

“ III. Those of one *livre*, ten *sols*, fifteen *sols*, and seven *sols* six *deniers* will only be initialed by the Governor, Lieutenant General and Intendant or *Commissaire-Ordonnateur*.”

The remainder of the Ordinance relates to guarding the quantity to be issued, prevention of counterfeiting and so forth. From this ordinance we learn the denominations, the amount issued and the manner of inscribing them. As the

issue, four hundred thousand *livres*, equal to about seventy two thousand dollars was too small for the wants of the population the amount was increased by two hundred thousand, by an ordinance dated May 12th 1733. The denominations and form of the cards were to be the same as those of 1729. As the population continued to increase, this quantity barely enough at the time of its first issue, became entirely inadequate for the requirements of the people; the Intendant therefore undertook the issue of what are called Ordinances. These were of nominal values, all the way from twenty *sols* to one hundred *livres*. Unlike the card money they were made of printing paper about three inches square with the following inscription printed thereon. "COLONIES," at the top. Dépenses générales No.....*IL sera tenu compte par le Roi, au mois d'octobre prochain, de la somme de valeur en la soumission du Trésorier, restée au bureau du contrôle A Québec, le*" The nominal value, date and number with the signature of the Intendant were written thereon. These ordinances circulated freely along with the cards, although the cards were preferred as it was believed they had the prior claim on the Treasury. In 1754 they were settled for on equal terms by bills of exchange, one third payable in 1754, one third in 1755 and the balance in 1756. About this time a quantity of specie was imported with which the card money and ordinances were interchangeable at a discount of twenty five per cent. This depreciation was caused by the over issue of the ordinances; and the government attempted to fix their value as well as that of the cards at this rate; but as ordinances continued to be issued in greater quantities they so rapidly depreciated in value that the discount reached to sixty and seventy per cent. Permission had been given to the government officials, on account of the smallness of their salaries, to engage in trade. This privilege, with the irresponsible

power of issuing ordinances to an unlimited extent, was so abused that the whole financial condition of the colony was ruined. Coupled with this the Imperial Treasury was again compelled to dishonor the Colonial drafts. The expenses of the colony had risen, through mismanagement and the misappropriation of funds by the Intendant from one million seven hundred thousand *livres* in 1749 to twenty seven millions in 1759. At the time of the capitulation the ordinances and cards in the hands of the people amounted to thirty four million *livres* besides dishonored bills of exchange. Stipulations were made in the treaty, by which Canada was ceded to the English, for the redemption of outstanding cards and ordinances by the French Government. These stipulations were carried into effect by convention of March 29th 1766 which brought to an end the card currency of Canada.

The few coins circulating in Canada were mainly those of France of the reigns of Henri iv and Louis xiii, xiv and xv. These generally circulated in earlier times at the same nominal value as in France although towards the close of the Regime, the nominal value was more or less raised. It seems to have been a prevailing fallacy among all colonists of those days, that the raising of the nominal value of coins would prevent them from being taken from the country.

This not proving effectual a special coinage was, according to Le Blanc a cotemporary numismatic writer, struck for the colony in 1670, in his "*Traite Historique des Monnaies de France,*" he states that:—"To facilitate trade in Canada the King caused to be struck one hundred thousand livres worth of Louis of fifteen *sols* and *five sols* and *doubles* of pure copper. These coins were of the same value, weight and fineness as those of France. On the silver Louis of fifteen sols and of five sols in place of, "*Sit nomen Domini benedictum*" was "*Gloriam regni tui dicent*", and on the double "*Doubles de*

l'Amerique Francoise." Charlevoix states that this coinage was struck for the West Indies. He writes as follows:- "In 1670 the West India Company, to which the King had ceded the dominion over the islands of the French American Continent, had permission to introduce into the islands small money to the amount of one hundred thousand *livres* stamped by a particular die with a legend which was peculiar to it. The King's edict is of the month of February and was to the effect that these coins be current only in the islands. But on certain difficulties that supervened, the Council issued on the 18th of November 1672, a decree by which it was ordered that the money aforesaid and all other species being current in France should also be current not only in the French Islands but also on the *terra firma* of America subject to the crown with an augmentation of one fourth superadded; that is to say, the fifteen *sol* piece for twenty *sols* and others in like proportion."

American collectors have continued to reiterate a claim that this money was current in Louisiana and as such may be classed as money pertaining to the colonial times of the United States. But, as the French made no settlement in Louisiana or any part of the great West until the beginning of the eighteenth century, and as the Mississippi was not even discovered by La Salle until some time after 1670, we can safely affirm that this coinage never circulated in any of the territory now under the jurisdiction of the United States. This claim then, that the "*Gloriam Regni*," as this coinage has been called, relates to any other place than Canada on the North American continent, can be dismissed without further comment.

These coins are all very rare. Of the five *sol* piece, the commonest, only five or six specimens are known in Canada and about as many in the United States. One of these was found in circulation, some years ago, in a small town on the

New Brunswick border. The fifteen sol piece is much scarcer as only two or three are known to numismatists one of which is in the cabinet of the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa having cost over one hundred dollars. The double is almost unknown and for a long time, as no specimens of that denomination had come under the observation of numismatists, it was believed that no coin answering to this description was ever struck. But some years ago a Boston numismatist obtained an electrotype from which the piece has been properly described. From the letter "A" appearing on all denominations of the coinage we learn that it was struck in Paris. Most of the specimens of these coins, known on this continent, were imported from France, which proves that coins sent out to Canada returned to France, in the shape of remittances, almost as soon as they were imported. One or two specimens of the five sol piece were found in Hayti, which seems to corroborate Charlevoix's statement that this money was struck for the West India Company.

During the ten years from 1719 to 1729 when no card money was issued the regular coinage of France circulated which consisted of *deniers*, *double deniers* in copper, and five, fifteen, thirty and sixty *sols* in silver. A letter signed by the Governor and Intendant, under date September 6th 1717, refers to these coins as follows:- "We have received the letter which the Council has done us the honor to write us, with the printed edict of the King rendered in the month of November last which orders the making of the new *Louis d'or* at the Paris mint. We have made it public and we shall see that it is observed, none of that make has yet come into the country."

In 1719 a decree was issued reducing the value of the gold coins, while another, issued October 24th 1720, raised the nominal value, of gold and silver and attempted the reduction of the value of commodities. This had hardly

gone into operation when it was suspended by a decree of December 26th.

In April 29th 1721 a decree ordered the issue of a copper coinage for the colonies. This coinage had on the obverse the legend "*Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum,*" common to the coins of France at that time and two *L,s* crossed with a crown above. The reverse had the inscription, "*Colonies Francoises 1721,*" with a letter indicating the place of mintage. Those with the letter "H" were struck at the La Rochelle mint. Much of the shipping trade with Canada was carried on from that port and likely for that reason its mint was employed to strike the coinage. Others, with the letter "B" were issued from the Rouen mint because many of the partners in *Le Compagnie des Indes* were residents of that town. Another coinage, struck at the mint La Rochelle was issued in 1722. Coins of this issue are by no means rare as specimens are occasionally met with in circulation when a hoard of old coppers are turned out. Those dated 1721 are much scarcer especially that of the Rouen mint which seems to indicate that this variety was shipped mainly to some of the other colonies, probably the West Indies.

Decrees were issued concerning the lack of specie in February, March and September 1724. And again in 1726 there was another decree augmenting its nominal value. As the cards, which have already been described were issued in 1729 and continued along with the ordinances to be the chief circulating medium until the close of the regime we hear little if anything about coins in Canada; except, that in 1756, a shipment of coins, amounting to one million three hundred thousand *livres*, was sent out, which soon found its way back to France in the shape of remittance and left the people as innocent of coined money as before.

Now as to the medals. During the reigns of Louis XIV and XV, medals were struck to commemorate every conceivable event in the life of these kings or the history of the nation. And yet very few have any direct reference to Canada. The earliest of these is one struck in 1658, in honor of the Duke de Dampville, who is thereon entitled Viceroy of America. The legend on the reverse, "For out of thee shall come a ruler that shall rule my people" indicates the extent of the laudations and of flattery expressed in those times towards those in prominent positions.

The title or position of Viceroy of the French Colonies in America was an honorary one and seems to have been instituted by Champlain in 1612. Filled with his project of colonizing Canada and hampered by the indifference of the government he, while on his way to Paris, conceived the idea that a powerful protector must be had for the new colony; one that could push its interests at court amid rival intrigues. On his arrival he unfolded his designs to Charles de Bourbon Conte de Soissons expatiating on the wonderful prospects and great extent of New France. Soissons, having obtained the consent of the King, became guardian of the French New World, and was made Lieutenant General of the colony, with viceregal powers. Champlain accepted a position under him as lieutenant, but scarcely had the commission been signed when the Count died. Henri de Bourbon, Prince de Condé was then appointed to the vacant protectorship, which honor he held until he was imprisoned in 1620 when he sold his vicerealty to Henri II Duc de Montmorency, for eleven thousand crowns. Montmorency soon becoming tired of the annoyances of the position sold it to Aimé de Levi, Duc de Vetandour. From him it passed to his fourth son Francois Christoph de Levi, Duc de Dampville. In November 1644, he was appointed by letters patent which were confirmed in 1645. He held the position until August 1660.

None of the Viceroy's ever lived in Canada and only one, De Tracy, visited the colony ; their office being mainly to watch over its affairs at the court ; and yet at one time the appointment must have been a profitable one or it would not have changed hands at such a high figure.

The *Kebecca liberata* medal, as the one next in order is called, was struck on the receipt of the news of the successful defence of Quebec against the attack of Sir William Phipps in 1690. The circumstances of the affair may be briefly stated as follows :—The people of New England, determined to drive the French out of Canada, made preparations for an attack on Quebec and Montreal. The expedition against Quebec, comprising thirty four ships and two thousand volunteers under Phipps, sailed from Boston on the 19th of August, reaching Quebec on the 16th of October. Phipps on his arrival sent Frontenac a summons to surrender. The governor's reply to the English commander's messenger was "Return sir, and tell your General that the muzzle of my cannon will forthwith bear my answer to the rude summons he has sent me." The batteries at once opened on his ships and although Sir William attempted to capture the town by strategy, he had to return vanquished, leaving the artillery he had landed, as a prize to the French. This medal represents France as a female, surrounded with battle trophies, seated on a rock which rises out of the sea, at her feet is a beaver with the legend "France in the new world conqueror."

Another medal, commemorative of the foundation and fortification of Louisbourg, was struck in 1720. Louisbourg was built as an outpost for the protection of Canadian shipping and as a harbour of refuge for the fishing fleet in those troublesome times. Claims and counter claims were constantly being made of exclusive rights to the Gulf fisheries. Under these circumstances there was much need of such a fortress especially as a chronic state of warfare existed between the French and English colonists. There was much pleasure

felt in the completion of these fortifications, and Louisbourg was after Quebec, considered the most impregnable point on the continent. Under these circumstances its completion was well worthy thus to be commemorated. The reverse of the medal gives a good view of the harbour with the town and fortifications. Its capitulation to Admiral Boscawen, after a brief siege, was a surprise to the French depressing them so greatly that the final conquest of Canada was much facilitated thereby. The consequent joy of the English was such that no less than twelve different medals were struck in commemoration of the event.

Another medal was struck for distribution as rewards among the friendly Indian chiefs. In making treaties with the Indian tribes it was customary to present the chiefs with belts of wampum. But as wampum after a time was not so highly esteemed, medals, the ornamental money of the European, were substituted; and no treaty was consummated or friendly chief rewarded without the presentation of medals.

As throwing some light on the subject, the following letter, dated September 21st, 1722, from Governor Vaudreuil may be quoted:—"I have received the letter that the council has honored me with and the twelve medals with the portrait of the King, eight small and four large ones. I have continued to be careful not to lavish this favor too freely among the Indians and to give them only to those who deserve them by their services to the nation and to those whom I desire to bind to our interests by this mark of honor." Again on the 25th of August 1727 the Marquis de Beauharnois writes "since the death of M. de Vaudreuil, the Jesuits have have not asked for medals for the chiefs * * * The Rev. Father de la Chase, to whom the Marquis de Vaudreuil had given one, tells me it is absolutely necessary to procure some more. I have received proofs of this. The Indians from above, when they come down to Montreal, would not relieve me from promising them to several who have served us well among their tribes, I pray you to enable me to

satisfy these savages and send me a dozen small medals and six large ones." In connection with the above an extract from a letter, written by Mother Mary in 1723, may be quoted, as the medal is therein described. After mentioning the Indians she states that:—Louis XIV had sent several silver medals of considerable size, on one side of which was his portrait, and on the other that of the Dauphin, his son, and the three princes, children of the latter, to be given to those who should distinguish themselves in war. To them has since been attached a flame coloured ribbon four fingers in breadth and the whole decoration is highly prized by them. * * * When any chief dies he is honorably buried, a detachment of troops parade, several volleys of musketry are fired over his grave and on his coffin are laid a sword crossed with its scabbard and the medal under consideration fastened upon them." Some years ago a silver medal answering to the above description was found in the possession of an old Huron Indian living at Lorette near Quebec. This medal bears the date 1693, about which time it may have been given to a Huron chief. It therefore must have continued in the possession of this family for over one hundred and fifty years. These medals were prized by the Indians as bearing the image of the great white father, over the Ocean, and his illustrious sons. It was in fact a letter from him conveying his message to them, his children, telling them as plainly as did the wampum belt of old, of the greatness of the French King and people, and of the benefits they would receive as their allies.

This medal is described in the catalogue of the *Musée Monétaire*, Paris 1833 with the heading "*Naissance du Duc de Berry.*" But, as the Duke was born in 1686, and the medal in question struck in 1693, there cannot be any doubt that the heading is wrong and that the medal was struck especially for the Indians. There is a small medal similar in appearance which bears the date of his birth. This may be the small medal alluded to by the Governors in their letters quoted

above, which, while originally struck in commemoration of the birth of the young Duke, was afterwards used in rewarding the minor Indian chiefs.

In the reign of Louis XV another medal was struck for distribution among the friendly Indians, on the obverse were the bust and titles of the King while the reverse represented two ancient warriors clasping hands. The one to the right with a plumed helmet and dressed in the Roman toga, represents France, while the one to the left having no other covering than a loose drapery probably represents the Indian allies. The inscription *Honos et Virtus* indicates that the recipient was rewarded for an honorable and brave act. One or two of these medals have been found among the Indians here. And the absence of all mention of it in the catalogue of the *Musée Monétaire* clearly proves that it was struck for the Canadian Indians.

Medals were struck commemorative of other events, more or less remotely connected with the history of Canada, such as the formation of the *Compagnie des Indes*, and the treaties that effected the changes in Canadian boundaries. But, as their connection with Canada is only secondary, it is unnecessary to enumerate them here.

Another series of numismatic mementoes relating to Canada are the colonial jetons that were struck during the last decade of the Old Regime. As it was almost impossible to work out the simplest question in arithmetic by the old forms of notation, aids were soon adopted, and these in ancient times took the forms of plain discs of bone or horn. In mediæval times, counters struck in metal, were first issued in France, where they were called jetons from *jetter* to cast up or reckon accounts. A complete set did not amount to over a hundred with which the most complex arithmetical problems could be worked out. The earliest specimens, which made their appearance about the middle of the twelfth century, were rudely struck often without legend and occasionally with roughly executed and unintelligible

device. Later specimens were much improved as works of art and often commemorated some local historical incident in the history of town or province in which they were issued. But with the general adoption of the Arabic form of notation, their original use declined. Still jetons continued to be struck in France long after their use as counters had been abandoned and impressions in silver, and occasionally in gold, were given as presents to patrons, governors and other persons of influence. Every department of the government, every prince and duke, every province and town, every abbey and company, once, if not oftener, in their history, had commemorative jetons struck for presentation to their patrons.

Although Pinkerton in his "Essay on Medals" states that jetons were counted worthless by higher numismatians, and also warns young collectors against being deceived into purchasing them, believing them to be rare antiques, they are much sought after by modern collectors, especially in France. Many old costumes and manners are graphically pictured, and many an event in local history brought to light, by means of these jetons. Local collections of them are often valuable aids in compiling the history of towns and provinces.

Jetons relating to Canada were first struck in 1751, and the emission of a new design continued annually, until 1758, making eight designs in all. These all have titles and bust of Louis XV on the obverse, while on the reverse was depicted allegorical design and legend referring to the progress of the colonies and colonization. The inscription "*Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique,*" more or less abbreviated, together with the date, always occurs in exergue. These devices are often full of meaning and may be explained thus:—That on the jeton of 1751, which represents an Indian looking backwards towards a group of lilies growing, of which the inscription states that "They grow under every constellation" or in every clime, alludes to the lilies of France, that is the progress and extent of her colonies that were being estab-

lished all over the world. The jeton of 1752, which has a figure of Mercury flying towards the western shores with the legend "He makes commerce for both worlds," indicates that the colonizing policy of the King of France had wonderfully enlarged the commerce of his people making an entirely new avenue for trade. On that issued in 1753, the sun is represented as shining on the two hemispheres, about which the legend states "One enough for both." That is the benign reign of the King of France is sufficient for both the old and the new world, and that the whole of the western hemisphere should be blessed with the prosperous government of the French King. In the 1754 piece a representation is given of three beavers at work on the bank of a stream, while beyond the stream is a plantation of Indian corn growing. The inscription "Not inferior to metals" indicates that although many adventurers, fired with the reports of the wonderful stores of precious metals found in the Spanish colonies, had come to Canada expecting that it too overflowed with such wealth, had been sadly disappointed, yet the fur trade and the pursuit of agriculture were not inferior to the silver of Mexico and Peru as a source of true wealth. On the jeton of 1755 is an ancient galley, that of Jason, it would appear, bringing home the golden fleece. The inscription "not more common than the golden" is another allusion to fur trade shewing that its pursuit was as difficult and as beset with dangers and that the reward might be as great as was Jason's. The jeton issued in 1756 represents a swarm of bees passing from one hive to another, regarding which the legend states that "They change their seat but not their mind." This refers to the hiving off of the superabundant population of Old France as colonists in New France, and that they remained as true and loyal citizens as before. Another issued in 1757 has for device Mars and Neptune on a shell floating towards the western shore and states that "The remotest earth is preparing victories." This may be regarded as an empty boast when

we know how soon the Empire of France was dismembered, for defeats rather than conquests and victories, was in store for her. The last, issued in 1758, has a representation of a number of birds flying towards a rock bound coast. The inscription states that, there was, "The same valor beyond the seas," commemorating the valor of the Canadians in defending their country against great odds and under such straitened circumstances. Each of the eight reverses occur with one or more different obverses, which makes the total number of varieties about thirty four. It is not likely that any were sent to Canada at the time of issue, as they were unknown to Canadian Numismatists, until a few years ago when they were brought to our notice by a German catalogue of North American coins and medals, where they were described and classified as Canadian. Since then the interest manifested in them has so continued to increase that there is hardly a Canadian Cabinet of importance that does not contain one or more varieties; and specimens to supply the demand are constantly being imported from France at high and higher prices. Some of the varieties are very rare but others especially those of 1751 and 1755 are easily to be obtained. They are mementoes of the days of patronage, and bring us back to a time when the nod of approval of some great man and the propitiation of a host of sycophant courtiers was considered necessary to the success of an enterprise. These colonial jetons, struck for presentation to such, open up before us the intrigues and frivolous etiquette of a dilettante court through which those ardent spirits—the colonists of New France—had to push their claims for support against overwhelming odds, in the struggle for the supremacy of their race on this continent.

From this Numismatic history we learn that the instability of their circulating medium was to the early Canadians their greatest trouble. It was an ever recutting one. And while they, unlike the New England Colonists, had no heavy irresponsible taxation grievance; this their special one

grew and multiplied. Through their own unthriftiness and love of dress they lost their specie having to accept the card money as a substitute which in time became worthless. While considering these mementoes of our past we are brought back to those stirring times when the destinies of Canada were moulded ; back to the heroic days of Jacques Cartier, Champlain, La Salle and the discoverers of the Great West; and we learn that through this money difficulty coupled with the corruption and extravagant management of the later rulers, the conquest was made possible, and how a brave and patriotic people accepted contentedly the condition of conquered under the better financial management of the conquerors,



The following is a list of coins, medals, and jetons as far as they are known to me that were struck by the French for circulation in Canada or to commemorate some Canadian event, or for distribution among the Indian Allies.

—COINS—

1. *Obv.*:—LVD. XIII. D.G. FR. ET NAV. REX. Laureated bust of the King, in corslet and mantle, to the right above the bust between the letters "G" and "P" is the sun for mint mark,
Rev.:—GLORIAM. REGNI. TVI. DICENT. 1670. The arms of France three *fleur-de-lis* two and one on a Crowned Shield. Above the crown is a tower for mint mark with the letter A, the symbol of the Paris mint, underneath between "REGNI" and "TVI." Size 27 millimetres.

2. *Obv.* :—As the last.
Rev. :—As the last. Size 20 *m.*
3. *Obv.* :—LVDOVICUS XIII D. GR. R. FRAN. ET NAV. REX. a crowned H dividing the date 1670, under the date is the letter A,
Rev. :— DOVBLE | DE LA | MERIQVE, | FRANCOISE | A
 Inscription in five lines. Three *Fleur-de-lis* one on either side of the A and one under it size, 23 *m.*
4. *Obv.* :—SIT. NOMEN. DOMINI. BENEDICTUM. Two L's surmounted by a crown.
Rev. :—COLONIES | FRANCOISES | 1721 | B. Inscription in four lines size 25 *m.*
5. *Obv.* :—As last.
Rev. :—As last, but with the letter H instead of B. Size 25 *m.*
6. *Obv.* :—As No. 4.
Rev. :—As last but dated 1722. Size 25 *m.*

—MEDALS.—

7. *Obv.* :—FR. CHRIST. DE. LEVI. D. DAMPVILLE. P. FRANC. PROREX. AMERICÆ. Bust in armor to the right with long hair falling over the shoulder. I. HARDY. F. 1658.
Rev. :—EXIE. ENIM. EXIET. DVX. QVI. REGAT. POPVLVM. MEVM. Arms on a royal mantle of ermine surmounted by a ducal coronet. Arms are quartered, the first and fourth being alike, and are quartered as follows without indication of colors, first three chevrons the arms of de Levi, second, three bends the arms of Thoire Villars, third, three stars—two and one; fourth a lion rampant the Arms of Layre. The second and third quarters a cross with sixteen alerions; the Arms of Montmorency. Size 50 *m.*
8. *Obv.* :—LUDOVICUS MAGNUS REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS. Head of Louis XIV, with long flowing hair, to the

right under the head R,

Rev.—FRANCIA IN NOVO ORBE VICTRIX. Ex:—
KEBECA LIBERATA | M. DC. XC. A female, to the
left representing France, seated on a rock rising
out of the water on her head is a mural crown,
her left hand rests on the Shield of France, and her
right foot rests on a shield, probably that of England.
On either side are battle flags, while a beaver is
crawling towards her feet. To the right of the rock
is a river god. Size 41 *m*.

9. *Obv.*—As last but with DOLLIN F. under the head.

Rev.—Same as last, size 41 *m*.

10. *Obv.*—As No. 8 but with I. MAVGER F. under the
head.

Rev.—Same as No. 8, size 41 *m*.

11. *Obv.*—LUDOVICUS XV. D. G. FR. ET NAV. REX.. Lau-
reated and draped youthful bust of the King to
the right. Under the bust DU VIVIER.

Rev.—LUDOVICOBURGUM FUNDATUM ET MUNITUM.
Ex:—M.DCC.XX. A view of the town, harbour
and fortifications. There are three vessels in the
harbour with three smaller and two larger ones
sailing out to sea. Size 41 *m*.

12. *Obv.*—LUDOVICUS XV. REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS. Laur-
eated and older bust of the King to the right.

Rev.—Same as last, size 41 *m*.

13. *Obv.*—PAX UBIQUE VICTRIX. Ex:—GALLORUM ET
BRITANNIORUM | CONCORDIA | MDCCLXIII. Peace to
the left standing, with a *Caduceus* in her left hand
and an olive branch in her extended hand. At her
feet is a naked figure representing war, seated and
bound. Behind them are flags, a battering ram and
other implements of ancient warfare.

Rev.—Same as No. 11, size 41 *m*.

14. *Obv.*—LUDOVICUS MAGNUS REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS.
Naked bust of Louis XIV, laureated—to the right

under the bust H. ROVSSEL. F.

Rev. :—FELICITAS DOMUS AUGUSTAE. Bust of the Dauphin to the left underneath. SEREN. DELPH. that of the Duke de Burgoyne, to the right, inscription, LUD. D. BURG. That of the Duke d'Angou to the left PHIL. D. AND., and that of the Duke de Berry CAR. D. BITUR. Underneath is the date M.DC.XCIII. and the name of the engraver H. ROVSSEL in small letters, size 75 *m.*

15. *Obv.* :—LUDOVICUS XV. REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS. Laureated and draped bust of the King to the right.
Rev. :—HONOS ET VIRTUS. Two warriors, standing, clasping hands. The one to the right holds in his left hand a spear and has the Roman tunic and a plumed helmet. The other holds his spear in his right hand and has a loose drapery round his loins and over his left arm. Size 49 *m.*

—JETONS.—

16. *Obv.* :—LUD. XV. REX CHRISTIANISS. Laureated bust in armour to the right with a broad ribbon over the shoulder, eleven laurel leaves on the breast-plate D.V. under the arm.
Rev. :—SUB OMNI SIDERE CRESCUNT. Ex.—COL. FRANC. DE | LAM. 1751. An Indian to the right with bow and quiver looking back towards a group of seven lilies, two trees in the distance, size 28 *m.*
17. *Obv.* :—As last, but with seventeen laurel leaves on the breast-plate.
Rev. :—As last, but with an alligator coming up out of the water in front of the Indian. Size 29 *m.*
18. *Obv.* :—As No. 16, but with seven fleur-de-lis on the breast-plate.
Rev. :—Same as last. Size 29 *m.*
19. *Obv.* :—Inscription as on No. 16. Bust in civic dress to the right, locks flowing over the shoulder. Under

the bust DU VIVIER.

Rev.—Same as No. 17. Size 30 *m.*

20. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Bust in civic dress to the right with long hair tied behind and a broad ribbon over the right, shoulder under the bust B. DUVIV.

Rev.—UTRIQUE FACIT COMMERCIA MUNDO. Ex—COL. FRANC. DE | LAM 1752. Mercury with a *Caduceus* in his right flying over the sea—towards the left. To the left is the shore with buildings and the letters C. N. R. Size 29 *m.*

21. *Obv.*—Same as No. 18.

Rev.—Same as last. Size 29 *m.*

22. *Obv.*—Same as No. 19.

Rev.—Same as No 20.

23. *Obv.*—PROTEGIT ET PASCIT. Ex—1752. Arms of the *Compagnie des Indes*, or a palm tree, Crest, a Baron's Coronet supports two Indians with clubs the one to the left on one knee, and the other to the right, seated ; under his foot D. V.

Rev.—Same as No 20. Size 30 *m.*

24. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Head to the right with long hair behind. CJR under the head in script monogram,

Rev.—SATIS UNUS UTRIQUE. Ex—COL. FRANC. DE L'AM. 1753. The sun shining upon the two hemispheres upon which the names of the continents and oceans are inscribed size 29 *m.*

25. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Bust in lionskin, long hair tied behind, under the bust F M. in monogram.

Rev.—Same as No. 24. Size 29 *m.*

27. *Obv.*—Same as No. 18.

Rev.—Same as No. 24. Size 29 *m.*

28. *Obv.*—Same as No. 19.

Rev.—Same as No. 24. Size 30 *m.*

29. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Laureated bust in armour to the right, under the bust *fm.* in monogram.

Rev.—NON INFERIORA METALLIS. *Ex*—COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM. 1754. To the left are three beavers at work on the bank of a stream, on the other side of the stream is a plantation, probably of Indian Corn underneath on the groundwork are the letters C.N.R. Size 28 *m*.

30. *Obv.*—LUD. XV. REX. CHRISTIANSS. Bust in armour to the right with band of ermine over the left shoulder, hair tied behind.

Rev.—Same as last. Size 29 *m*.

31. *Obv.*—Same inscription as on No. 16. Laureated head to the right under the head B. DUVIV. F.

Rev.—Same as No 29. Size 29 *m*.

32. *Obv.*—Same as No 17.

Rev.—Same as No 29 Size 29 *m*.

33. *Obv.*—Same as No 18.

Rev.—Same as No 29. Size 29 *m*.

34. *Obv.*—Same as No 19.

Rev.—Same as No 29. Size 39 *m*.

35. *Obv.*—Same as No 26.

Rev.—Same as No 29. Size 39 *m*.

36. *Obv.*—Same as No 26.

Rev.—NON VILIUS AUREO *Ex* :— COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM. 1755. A twelve oared galley to the left, the golden fleece suspended from the mast. Size 29 *m*.

37. *Obv.*—Same as No 29.

Rev.—Same as last. Size 29 *m*.

38. *Obv.*—Same as No 18.

Rev.—Same as No 36. Size 29 *m*.

39. *Obv.*—Same as No 19.

Rev.—Same as No 30. Size 29 *m*.

40. *Obv.*—Same as No 25.

Rev.—Same as No 36.

- 41 *Obv.*—UT TOTO SERVET COMMERCIA MUNDO. *Ex* :— MARINE | 1741. Neptune with a trident in his right hand and a *Caduceus* in his left, long drapery passing behind him and

curving over to the right

Rev. :—Same as No 26 size 28 *m.*

42 *Obv.*—Same inscription. Laureated head, with long hair to the right, under the head *R. Filius.*

Rev.—SEDEM NON ANIMUM MUTANT EX.—COL. FRANC DE | L'AM 1756. A swarm of bees passing from one hive to another, size 39 *m.*

43. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Laureated and draped bust to the right, under the bust *R. FIL.*

Rev.—PARAT ULTIMA TERRA TRIUMPHOS EX.—COL. FRANC. | DE L'AMERIQUE— 1757. Mars with a spear in his upraised right hand and a shield on which are emblazoned the lilies of France in his left and Neptune, grasping a trident in both hands, floating on a shell towards the left ; size 26 *m.*

44. *Obv.*—Same as No 30.

Rev.—Same as last ; size 29 *m.*

45. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Laureated naked bust with long hair tied behind. *B. DUVIV* under the bust.

Rev.—EADEM TRANS ÆQUORA VIRTUS EX. | COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM. 1758. A number of eagles flying across the sea towards a rocky shore, buildings on the opposite shore in the distance ; size 28 *m.*

46. *Obv.*—Same as No 42.

Rev.—Same as last ; size 28 *m.*

47. *Obv.*—Same as No 18.

Rev.—Same as No 45 ; size 29 *m.*

48. *Obv.*—Same as No 19.

Rev.—Same as No 45 ; size 30 *m.*

49. *Obv.*—Same as No 30.

Rev.—Same as No 45 ; size 29 *m.*



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x 9. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Head under the head. *FM* in monogram.

x 10. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Bust. *Rev.*—Same as No. 8. W23.

10 — x 11. *Obv.*—Same as No. 4. *Rev.*—

x 12. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Laureate bust under the bust. *Rev.*—NON INFERRE. To the right three beavers are at the mouth of the river are a number of plantations, C.N.R. W25. A4

x 13. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Bust of a woman with ermine over the bust and left side.

15 — 14. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Laureate bust. *Rev.*—Same as N. 12. A4x.

x 15. *Obv.*—Same as No. 10. *Rev.*—

x 16. *Obv.*—Same as No. 2. *Rev.*—

x 17. *Obv.*—Same as No. 3. *Rev.*—

x 18. *Obv.*—Same as No. 4. *Rev.*—

x 19. *Obv.*—Same as No. 10. *Rev.*—
1755. A galley with twelve oars and a single mast. A5x. W30. F19.

15 — 20. *Obv.*—Same as No. 12. *Rev.*—

x 21. *Obv.*—Same as No. 9. *Rev.*—

~~x 22. *Obv.*—Same as No. 3. *Rev.*—~~

x 23. *Obv.*—Same as No. 4. *Rev.*—

15 — 24. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Laureate bust under the head. *Rev.*—SEDEM. 1756. A swarm of bees passing

27 — 25. *Obv.*—Same as No. 13. *Rev.*—
| DE L'AMERIQUE | 1757. Mars, France, and Neptune with his trident. A7. F24.

28 — 26. *Obv.*—Same inscription. Laureate bust. B. DUVIV. *Rev.*—EADEM. 1758. A number of eagles flying over a building on the the other shore.

x 27. *Obv.*—Same as No. 3. *Rev.*—

x 28. *Obv.*—Same as No. 4. *Rev.*—

x 29 *Obv.* Same as No 24 *Rev.*
x 30 " " " " 184 "

MONTREAL, April 21st, 1884.



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THE FRENCH-AMERICAN COLONIAL JETTONS.



THESE Jettons were first prominently brought before Canadian and American Collectors by the descriptions and cut that appeared in the Fonrobert Collection. Since then the interest manifested in them has continued to increase, and many new varieties have been brought to light. When Professor Anthon's list and my description of the Coins under the old Regime in Canada appeared only ten varieties were known. Now the number according to a list published by Mr. Adolpl Weyl in Berlin, and another by Mr. E. Froissard in *Numisma*, amounts to twenty seven.

Believing that more may be in existence, I have carefully gone over all the published lists and submit for your correction the list given below. Should you have any of these Jettons in your collection will you kindly compare them minutely with this list, and send me rubbings of specimens not described and those showing points of difference. My object is to publish a more perfect description of the Jettons in a supplement to my articles on "Canadian Numismatics" appearing in the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

Jettons marked with an X are in my own Collection. References are made to descriptions of them as found in the other Catalogue as follows: "A" for Professor Anthon, "W" for Mr. Weyl, and "F" for Mr. Froissard.

1751.

- X 1. *Obv.*—LUD. XV. REX CHRISTIANISS. Laureate bust in armour to the right with broad ribbon over shoulder, eleven laurel leaves on the breastplate, D.V. under the arm. *Rev.*—SUB OMNI SIDERE CRESCUNT. *Ex.*—COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM. 1751. An Indian to the right with bow and quiver looking back towards a group of seven lilies; two trees in the distance. A1. W14. F3.
- X 2 *Obv.*—As last but with seventeen leaves on the breast-plate. *Rev.*—As last but has an alligator coming out of the water in front of the Indian. W15. F2.
- X 3 *Obv.*—As No. 1 but with seven fleur-de-lis on the breast-plate. *Rev.*—Same as No. 2. W18. F4.
- X 4 *Obv.*—Inscription as in No. 1 Bust to right in civil dress. Locks flowing over the shoulder. DU VIVIER. *Rev.*—Same as No. 2. F1. 48

1752.

- 20-5 *Obv.*—Same inscription. Bust in civic dress to the right with long hair tied behind Broad ribbon over the shoulder. B. DU VIV. *Rev.*—TRIQUÉ FACIT COMMERCIA MUNDO. *Ex.*—COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM. 1752. Mercury with *Caduceus* flying to the left over the sea. On the left is the shore with buildings and the letters C.N.R. A2. F6.
- X 6 *Obv.*—Same as No. 4. *Rev.*—Same as No. 5. F7.
- X 7 *Obv.*—PROTEGIT ET PASCIT *Ex.*—1752. Arms of the French Indian Company consisting of a palm tree; crest a coronet, supporters two Indians with clubs. Under the Indian's foot to right D. V. *Rev.*—Same as No. 5. W19. F7. six leaves in
amount

1753

- 20-8 *Obv.*—Same inscription as on No. 1 Diademed head to the right under it *J. C. R* in monogram. *Rev.*—SATIS UNUS UTRIQUE. *Ex.*—COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM. 1753. The sun shining over two hemispheres on which are inscribed the names of the continents, etc. A3. F9.

and tied behind
o.
n in monogram.

11x *As same as*
Rev ... "

z in monogram,
DE | L'AM. 1754.
On the other side
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27.

HLAN.

to the right with a ribbon over the top and tied behind
ram. *Rev.*—Same as No. 8. W21. F10.
in a lions skin, with hair tied behind, *fm* in monogram.
F8.

Same as No. 8. F8.

11x Rev same as
Rev ...

1754.

reated bust in armour to the right. *fm* in monogram,
PRIORA METALLIS. *Ex.*—COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM. 1754.
work on the bank of a small stream. On the other side
ts, probably Indian corn, growing. Underneath, on the
F14.

n armour, to the right, hair tied behind. A band of
alder. *Rev.*—Same as No. 12. W26. F15.

eated head, to the right. Under the head. B. DUVIV. F.
F18.

Same as No. 12. W24. F13.

Same as No. 12. W29. F17.

Same as No. 12. W27. F16.

Same as No. 12. F12.

~~Rev same as~~
Rev same as

1755.

—NON VILLIUS AUREO. *Ex.*—COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM.
s, to the right; the golden fleece hanging from the

Same as No. 19. A5.

Same as No. 19. W32. F22.

~~Same as No. 19. F21.~~

Same as No. 19. F20.

X 23 ans
Rev same 19

1756.

ated head, to the right, with flowing hair. *R. filius* un-
ON ANIMUM MUTANT. *Ex.*—COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM.
from one hive to another. A6. F23.

1757.

ARAT ULTIMA TERRA TRIUMPHOS. *Ex.*—COL. FRANC.
with a shield, on which are emblazoned the lilies of
trident floating on a shell towards the shore on the left.

1758.

25x Bust in toga R. Fil
Rev same as last

eated bust, with long hair tied behind. Under the
TRANS ÆQUORA VIRTUS. *Ex.*—COL. FRANC. DE | L'AM.
ing across the sea towards a rocky shore on the left,
the distance. A8. W36. F27.

Same as No. 26. W34. F26.

Same as No. 26. F25.

Same as 26

" " 26

R. W. McLACHLAN.

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