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The Australasian Tradesmen's Tokens Project, The James Nokes Proof Halfpenny and Problems of the Kangaroo Office

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Preamble

The discoveries of gold in Australia in the mid nineteenth century led to the famed gold rushes and an urban population explosion. Yet before that happened the Melbourne firm of Annand, Smith and Company in the Port Phillip district in New South Wales had already arranged for copper trade tokens, the numismatic icons of the gold rush cities, to be produced in England and shipped to Australia.

Annand, Smith and Company was a small to medium sized Melbourne firm with good standing in the community. Like other local firms at the time it needed small change to successfully carry on daily business. It was the first to copy the British merchants of the Napoleonic War era (then only 35 years ago) and arrange for the manufacture of its own tokens.

A shortage of coins in the colony had caused a real need for small change. The issue of trade tokens was seen as a way of filling this need; privately issued tokens were a commercial response to a need in the community and not simply an advertising gimmick. The tokens that were put into circulation were produced in good quality copper and their thickness and weight corresponded approximately to that of English regal pennies and halfpennies of the period.

Recent archaeological finds have confirmed that during the early gold rush period there was a shortage of circulating small change.¹ Coins unearthed in Melbourne appear to have been in circulation for a long time as they were in a very worn state. Given that Melbourne was not settled until 1835, it was surprising to find evidence of circulation, in the middle of the nineteenth century, of pence struck in 1797. These coins were identifiable only from their size and a hint of the broad raised rim that half a century earlier had been developed to protect the design. Also found have been halfpennies (Fig.1) and farthings struck between 1799 and 1806 and even a British token penny of 1812, all in similar worn condition. In addition there were trade tokens.

The original production of tokens was controlled by the same commercial laws that governed any contract between an individual and a manufacturer, the closest equivalent today being the manufacture of private commemorative and prize medals. Dies to make the tokens were paid for by the company ordering them and remained their property after the order was filled. The company, or their agent, could take possession of the dies and subsequently take them to another private mint should they want a second order filled.

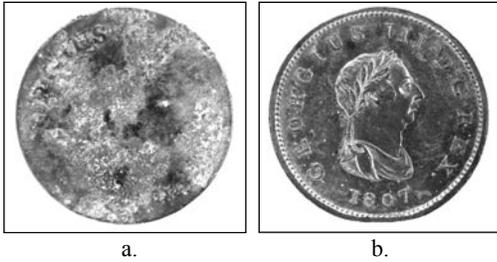


Figure 1. Excavated halfpenny: a. before cleaning and b. after cleaning.

Indeed, there was no reason why dies could not be manufactured by a particular mint and the tokens struck by another mint—a contract for the production of dies and a contract for the production of tokens from those dies could both be based upon the cheapest quote. Thus, for example, some of the die squeezes in the Heaton archives, for tokens that have not in the past been considered to be Heaton products, probably reflects die movement between mints.²

Tokens actually had no legal status as a circulating medium of exchange. There were no acts of Parliament or Proclamations by Governors authorising their use. They circulated as long as people were willing to accept them. In the case of Victoria, circulation of tokens ceased immediately after Government departments were instructed to refuse to take them. But in fact, while these departments refused to accept tokens from the public in payments, they continued to offer them in change, resulting in complaints against the Government.³

The Australasian tradesmen's tokens project

Collectors began taking an interest in Australian tokens in the 1850s; one such collector was Eugene von Guerard,

the famed artist. His collection came to the National Gallery of Victoria in 1880, forming the basis of the current museum collection.

The Museum Victoria collection of Australasian tokens contains about 2,000 pieces—mostly collected before World War II. It includes the Melbourne Mint collection as well as that formed at the National Gallery of Victoria, itself incorporating, among others, the private collections of von Guerard, George McArthur, Alfred Chitty and Dr Yelland. In the 1930s duplicates were swapped with other State collections, sold to dealers in London and even used as 'payment' for the services of people involved with the collection. Duplicates were considered to be any type that had been improved upon in terms of the one criterion, condition, no matter what the source of the token was!

In 2004 Museum Victoria made a firm decision for its token holdings: to record the image and an accurate description of every piece in the collection. An associated research programme would draw together information on the people, the companies and the mints involved in the production of the tokens.

I undertook the numismatic identification and description processes, coordinated imaging and helped guide the historical research. The photography was done by Naomi Andrzejewski. The historical research was undertaken by Adrian Regan, kindly assisted by John Hope with his extensive knowledge of tokens. The project, involving four dedicated people, marked a significant step forward in the Museum's capacity to facilitate research.

I would like to illustrate this by following a single token: a halfpenny issued



Figure 2. Halfpenny token issued by the Melbourne firm of James Nokes. This is the proof striking.



Figure 3. Normal working strike showing die cracks.

by the Melbourne firm of James Nokes (Fig.2).

The James Nokes proof halfpenny

The database⁴ tells us that the Museum received this token by transfer from the National Gallery of Victoria on 15 March 1976. Gallery records indicate that they had received it from von Guerard in 1880: the original von Guerard's catalogue states that he purchased it in Melbourne for 3d. Threepence may not seem like much, but in the context that he was routinely paying a maximum of 1½d. for a penny token, there is the implication that this halfpenny was rather special. The Nokes halfpenny is indeed a special token. It is a proof strike—a token that was carefully manufactured.

Proof strikes of Australian tokens are very unusual; indeed, this one is so unusual that it raises some questions. Firstly, given the fact that re-strikes for collectors are known in the Australian series, we might ask: 'when was this token made?' It is possible to be quite specific about this.

The Museum holds a number of important letters written by the manager of the Kangaroo Office, Reginald Scaife, who manufactured the Nokes pieces. In one letter written to his father on 9 September

1854 Scaife states, at the end of a passage where he laments that copper suitable to strike penny tokens was not available in Melbourne, that: 'the novelty of immediate execution has enabled us to get rid of the 1/2d discs'.⁵ These halfpenny discs he had brought with him from London. It is apparent then that the halfpenny tokens struck by the Kangaroo Office were manufactured before 9 September 1854.

The Nokes proof should in theory belong in that era but, if the die survived, it also could be a later re-strike for a collector. The database refers to a second Nokes token in the collection, a normal working strike from the same die, but badly cracked (Fig. 3). This cracking of the die, visible on circulated tokens but not on the proof, places the time of striking of the proof before at least some of the working strikes. The Nokes proof thus pre-dates the letter of 9 September 1854.

Since the Nokes proof is a contemporary strike one might wonder why such a piece was made. I would propose that it was manufactured to form part of the Kangaroo Office display at the Melbourne Exhibition of 1854. Scaife set up the Kangaroo Office press for that Exhibition to manufacture mementos: medals depicting the Exhibition

Building and made from local Victorian tin. I am tempted to suggest that von Guerard acquired his Nokes proof directly from Reginald Scaife at the 1854 Melbourne Exhibition. In addition to the tin medals, we know that Scaife struck sets of the Kangaroo Office gold tokens for sale at the exhibition, so perhaps too, proof tokens for threepence each.⁶ There is every likelihood that Scaife and von Guerard did meet. Von Guerard had entered paintings and won a silver prize medal at the 1854 Melbourne Exhibition; also, he was already a keen coin collector. It seems quite unlikely that von Guerard would have passed by a coining press without showing interest. Indeed, a database search shows that the Museum collection contains a special striking of each of Scaife's halfpenny tokens. These may have been part of Scaife's display, and offered for sale at the end of the Exhibition to visitors: proof and specimen quality strikes at 3d each.

Problems of the Kangaroo Office

Even at the time of the 1854 Exhibition, storm clouds hung over the Kangaroo Office. Over the past few years we have gained some insight into its background. It began with my acquiring for the Museum lot 2653 from the Spink (Australia) auction in July 1990. This lot included copies of personal letters between Scaife and his parents. Perhaps the most significant was that of 9 September 1854, the letter from which I have already quoted. It is a very important letter and is therefore published here almost in full:

With reference to the "Gold Business" in a private letter I wrote to P Tinsdall Jr. I mentioned that I had no objection to prosecute the scheme subject to being

supplied with funds. He replied to my request for a remittance of £1000 made after my arrival, by saying "Such a thing was never contemplated" He, evidently is under the impression that I have caused the scheme to fail. We here, however are better able to judge the matter & our verdict is in accordance with Fannings letter; copy of wh...I send. Mr. Brown has not yet presented the joint letter about transferring the press—He shall have such money as he may require, and I can spare. Drawing for £100 without a Credit on a Bank is impossible. Such a thing as Gold being bought in Melbourne from Diggers is quite an exception to the general rule, and the amount so purchased are very trifling. It is usual for the Diggers to sell their gold either to a store keeper or the Agents of the Banks at the Diggings and this latter for some time, comparatively become the sole purchasers. Copper tokens might be minted in abundance had we but the copper. As it is there is no sheet copper small enough for 1/2d. and the gauges for pence was sold at 2/6 p. lb. & thicker at 3/- p. lb. So that without a person is inclined to pay 2d. for a penny token there is no chance for us—we may probably arrange with one man to make a lot, in finding Dies & Copper, and in striking them @ 1/2d.Ea. Had we copper pence now, we could get orders for £150 worth. If dies were to be sent for [from] England, it would be much cheaper to have the tokens made at home, and sent out, but the novelty of immediate execution has enabled us to get rid of the 1/2d. discs There is still great scarcity of Copper.

I have written to a Sydney man abt.

Making copper I.O.U.'s for 2d., 3d or 4d., I enclose you one of card in use there...

I shall be delighted if you have sent us a Die of Sir Charles Hotham who is very popular & a medal of him, would sell to advantage.

We are making two sets of the pieces to exhibit in this Exhibition and afterwards forward to Paris. As the Comm, do this free of expense. I shall order them to be transferred to you and in case you should decide not to retain them, they wd. Fetch the cost, without loss.

The store is still Empty—it has only brought in 9/- since it was finished, I have placed the building in an Agents hands & as soon as summer sets in I only hope he dispose of the lease at as little loss as possible. Business is in such a state that the idea of consignments is absurd...

I am perfectly satisfied that I have done all I could to serve all parties interested but not having a copy of my agreement I am at a loss to define my position.

I infer from Mr. Tindall's letters that I was the prosecution of the affair on my own shoulders, finding the necessary capital over & above the £500 advanced. Such I never contemplated...

Your ideas about native labour are carried out to a small extent up the country—some being employed on stations, others are (or were) in the Corps of native police—There are a few instances of others being employed in shops in Melbourne. As a general rule there are very few Natives in town—a dozen occasionally come down...Mr. Brown says he has only seen two natives in Melbourne. Foreign Emigrants (except by prior agreement)

*obtain the same wages as English or Colonials—Day Labour is now 12/- a Day. Most affectionately Yours,
Reginald Scaife.*

Clearly the letter tells us much about token production in Victoria in the early 1850s.

The Kangaroo Office had brought over from London, in addition to the press and dies for the gold pieces, the copper discs already discussed, and the dies for halfpennies. Some of the dies bore designs of the kangaroo or Australia seated while some were blank. By early September 1854 all of the copper blanks had been used up and could not be replaced. The issues for Crombie, Clapperton and Findlay (A.84)⁷, Nokes (A.406–7), Thomas (A.576), Adamson Watts McKechnie (A.3), Thrale and Cross (A.584–5) as well as the anonymous halfpenny tokens bearing the Kangaroo and Australia stock designs (A.573) must therefore be dated before this letter was written—they all are products of 1854.

WJ Taylor in London, retained some identical dies to those sent to Melbourne; indeed, he probably even had master tools. The well known fourpence (A.571) and lesser known twopence patterns (Fig.4) were prepared in London probably as a direct response to this letter. The mule halfpenny with the United States reverse was a product of Taylor in London.

I have taken some interest in the Kangaroo Office to try to establish exactly on what terms the Kangaroo Office mint was established: was it a private mint set up to buy gold cheaply and mint it into gold tokens to be circulated at full intrinsic value (Fig 5), as argued by Dr Wroth after interviewing Scaife in London, or



Figure 4. WJ Taylor's little known Melbourne twopence patterns.

was it a complex commercial endeavour primarily in the form of a retail outlet for all manner of colonial goods with an associated minting facility and a ship (the *Kangaroo*).⁸

From the letter I have just read, we now know that there was a formal agreement signed by Scaife: 'I am perfectly satisfied that I have done all I could to serve all parties interested but not having a copy of my agreement I am at a loss to define my position'. The extraordinary thing is that this agreement has survived! In the final moments of preparing for this conference I made one final internet search and to my surprise (both joy and horror) obtained the following information:

Thomas Hodgkin (1798-1866) physician and philanthropist: extensive papers with material on the developing world generally, including...letter to and signed agreement with his stepson Reginald Scaife on the latter's departure for Melbourne, 1853 [my emphasis].

With the assistance of the Melbourne Museum 'IT' staff and the co-operation of the staff at the Wellcome Library in London where the original document is housed, I have been able to get a copy of the original legal agreement that established the Kangaroo Office in Melbourne.⁹ These are the key sections of numismatic interest, again published for the first time and

therefore extensively:

*This Indenture made the twentyfifth day of June One thousand eight hundred and fifty three **Between** Thomas Hodgkin of Bedford Square in the County of Middlesex M.D. Peter Tindall the younger of Gracechurch Street in the City of London Ship Broker and William Joseph Taylor of Little (Queen) Street in the said County of Middlesex Medallist and Die Sinker of the one part and Reginald Scaife of Bedford Square aforesaid Merchant of the other part.*

***Whereas** the said Reginald Scaife is about to sail to Australia in order to settle himself there as a Merchant **And whereas** the said Thomas Hodgkin Peter Tindall and William Joseph Taylor are the owners of a stamping press and apparatus for the purpose of assaying and stamping gold and other metals together with dies for stamping the said gold into pieces of specific weight which have been prepared by Thomas Hodgkin Peter Tindall and William Joseph Taylor have proposed to the said Reginald Scaife that he should establish and carry on in Australia the business of purchasing Gold and Gold dust there and smelting and stamping the same by means of said stamping press and apparatus and Dies into pieces of Gold of certain specific weights and then purchasing other Gold and Gold dust by*



Figure 5. Halfpenny token issued by the Kangaroo Office to serve as an advertisement for the production of its gold tokens.

the barter of exchange of those pieces of stamped Gold for other unstamped Gold and Gold dust.

*And also of associating with such business the stamping of and dealing in other metals for stamping purpose only if the occasion should require **And whereas** the said Reginald Scaife has agreed to such proposal and also agreed to hire of the said Thomas Hodgkin Peter Tindall and William Joseph Taylor the sole and exclusive use of the said stamping press Apparatus and dies for the use of his said business during the term of ten years of commerce on the expiration of two calendar months after the arrival of the said Reginald Scaife in to Australia at and under the certain rent and other payments stipulations and provisoes and conditions hereinafter contained.*

***And whereas** in part pursuance of the said agreement the said Thomas Hodgkin Peter Tindall and William Joseph Taylor have shipped on board the ship Kangaroo the said stamping press and apparatus deliverable to the said Reginald Scaife and have also furnished the said Reginald Scaife with the said dies for the purpose of said Business...*

And also shall and will from time to time as and when the said dies or any of them

shall be worn out or injured so as to be incapable of beneficial use during the said term on request for that purpose furnish and supply other sufficient similar dies of the same rate and quality And also shall not nor will henceforth until the expiration of said term of Ten years determinable as aforesaid furnish any stamping press dies or other apparatus for stamping Gold to any person resident in Australia or for use in that Colony And shall not nor will henceforth and until the expiration of such term of Ten years be directly or indirectly concerned in any similar or other establishments for stamping gold in Australia...

the said Thomas Hodgkin Peter Tindall and William Joseph Taylor their respective executors administrators and assigns as and by way of certain rent for use of the said stamping press apparatus and dies the yearly rent or sum of Thirty Pounds in each and every year during the said term of ten years determinable as hereinafter is mentioned such rent to commence on the expiration of two calendar months after the arrival of said Reginald Scaife in Australia and to be payable and paid by four equal quarterly payments in every year the first of such said rent to be payable and paid without any deduction for rates taxes or otherwise (whatsoever) and by remittance to this country in cash Gold or approved Bills on parties resident in this Country...

***And also** shall and will in respect of every year during the said term determinable as hereinafter mentioned pay the said Thomas Hodgkin Peter Tindall and William Joseph Taylor in addition to the said yearly rent and by way of seigniorage a further compensation for the use of the said stamping press apparatus and dies a*

sum equal to two third parts of the amount by which the profits gained in the year by the said Reginald Scaife in his said business of assaying smelting stamping and dealing in Gold and other metal shall exceed the sum of Two hundred...

And also shall and will engage and employ William Brown of Ewell in the County of Surrey Engineer a party nominated and approved of the said Thomas Hodgkin Peter Tindall and William Joseph Taylor and in whom they place much trust and confidence as manager and superintendent of the said stamping press and apparatus during the said term and not remove the said William Brown except in case of absolute necessity without previously communicating his intention so to do to the said Thomas Hodgkin Peter Tindall and William Joseph Taylor and having their sanction thereto...

And also that the said Reginald Scaife shall and will Assiduously and diligently exert himself in carrying on the said business of assaying smelting stamping and dealing in gold and other metals in each year aforesaid and push the same to as advantageous an extent as possible and so as to stamp as many pieces of gold and other metals in each year as may be advantageously done...

and inasmuch as the said Reginald Scaife must be necessarily entrusted with dies to replace those in use when worn out or impaired by use the said Reginald Scaife his executors or administrators shall not nor will give out other dies without calling in and defacing the dies so worn out and impaired which dies are to be forthwith returned to the said Thomas Hodgkin Peter Tindall and William Joseph Taylor their respective executors administrators

or assigns in this country And also that the said Reginald Scaife shall and will keep proper books of account and enter therein all purchases of gold and gold dust made by him and the number weight quantity and price of all gold and gold dust when smelted into gold and stamped into pieces of specific weight as aforesaid and exchanged for other gold or gold dust and so from time to time during the said term whenever the same shall happen And shall also keep like accounts of the other metals to be stamped with the said dies...

Provided *nevertheless that in case the said Reginald Scaife shall die before the expiration of the said period of ten years Then and thenceforth the said rent and seigniorage or further compensation shall immediately cease and determine And the said stamping press and apparatus and all dies then in the possession of the said Reginald Scaife shall be forthwith delivered to the said William Brown...*

Thomas Hodgkin, William Joseph Taylor, Peter Tindall Jr, Reginald Scaife.

For years I have mistakenly believed that the chronology of the Kangaroo Office could not fit with the explanation of original plans and expectations accorded to its founders. In London in 1893, Reginald Scaife told Dr Wroth that there had been two major incentives for the setting up of a private mint in Melbourne: firstly that gold was selling cheaply on the gold-fields and secondly that there was a need for gold coins in the colony. For a long time I had questioned this explanation, knowing the exact date that the Kangaroo Office was established and also knowing the price of gold and availability of gold coin in Australia six months before that date. My error was to assume that the London based

financiers would have made informed judgements.¹⁰ They clearly had not.

The entrepreneurs who had formed the company (and who had used *The Times* to promote their ship's voyage to Port Phillip) should have been regularly reading the newspaper reports about the gold fields. I had incorrectly believed that an understanding of their mindset could be gleaned by studying these newspaper reports.

The Kangaroo Office was indeed intending to purchase raw gold at a low price as its main money making venture. The Australian gold rush was not the first and the entrepreneurs of London should have been well aware of the fact that the quality of gold and therefore the price it would sell at, could vary. They should have read the discussions about the superior quality of Australian gold, a major factor influencing its value both on the gold fields and in London. From 1851, well before the agreement was signed, the *Times* was publishing detailed reports about Australian gold:

London *Times* Sep. 8 1851 p. 7 col. e:

The only doubt I have is as to the quality of gold which may be found in any given spot – whether the Australian broth is as thick as that of California. The quality of Australian gold is superior; it fetches 3s. to 4s. per ounce more than California in the Sydney market.

London *Times* Dec. 22 1851 p. 5 col. f:

The alluvial gold hitherto found in Australia is rather superior to that of California and of Minsk in Russia.

London *Times* Jan. 13 1853 p. 5 col. f:

Victorian gold is fine and pure...N.S.W.

gold sells at £3.7.6 oz...Victorian fields at Mt. Alexander, Bendigo and Ballarat yield at £3.10.9 even at Sydney.

Clearly, long before the indenture was signed it was known in London that gold could not be purchased cheaply in Australia.

The second issue was the purported need for gold coin in the Colonies. This was certainly a major problem in California, where gold coin was unavailable for circulation as demand for paying customs duties (which could not legally be paid without gold coin) outstripped supply. But some nine months before the advertisement for the sailing of the *Kangaroo* the Australian situation was clearly different:

London *Times* Sep. 13 1852 p. 6 col. e:

Attention has been drawn to the large amount of coin that has been sent to Australia within the last year. The ship-ments of freight are understood to amount to about 2,000,000l [pounds], and estimating the additional sums taken out by emigrants...

London *Times* Jan. 13 1853 p. 5 col. d:
Adelaide Oct. 4 1852...*Active preparations are in progress for turning the golden products of these colonies to the best advantage. The Legislative Council of South Australia has passed an address to Her Majesty, praying for the establishment of a branch of the Royal Mint. In the meantime the Assay Office here (with whose history and working your readers are of course familiar) is issuing gold tokens.*

London *Times* Mar. 16 1853 p. 5 cols c, d and e:

Adelaide Dec. 16. The Assay-office has nearly done its work, and will probably

die out at the time which was originally named as the limit of its existence – the 28th January next. Gold tokens of 11 [pound] value (estimating standard gold as 71 s. per ounce) are now issued from the Assay-office, but do not find their way into circulation, inasmuch as coin of the realm is now sufficiently plentiful to meet the ordinary demands of business. Our merchants and capitalists have begun to discover it is wiser to send their gold to Britain, on exchange for specie, than to convert into South Australian sovereigns. The cry for a Mint is consequently very much on the decline...gold dust stands ready at 72s...

Long before setting out for Victoria alarm bells should have been ringing about the potential for the Kangaroo Office mint. But conditions for commerce and difficulties on arrival should also have caused concern:

London Times Mar. 1 1853 p. 6 col. a: EMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA – extract of letter from William Howit dated Oct. 20 1852...It cannot be too widely known what those who come here have to expect on landing. They should be well informed of this that they may calculate their funds accordingly. There are numbers of our fellow passengers who have not yet got their effects out of the ship and thus have had to stop a month in this exorbitant place. All luggage has to pay £1 per ton measurement by the lighter; £1 10s. by the steamer; but in truth I have seen none of the goods measured – they are merely guessed at...

Dr Hodgkin and Messrs Taylor, Tyndall and Scaife either did not read or did not understand what they read in the

paper. When the document was signed and the coining press was loaded onto their ship in London they still believed that money could be made from buying raw gold, purifying it and circulating it in assayed token form—they signed this legal document to that effect.

On the other hand the Kangaroo Office mint was only one component of the Scaife venture and the newly discovered agreement only related to that minting component. The shop, brought to Melbourne pre-fabricated and fully stocked with goods, was a second component. It failed because it was one of many offering identical goods for sale in Melbourne and, even worse, opened at the beginning of a general commercial decline in Melbourne. The third component was to be the ship *Kangaroo* which was to bring migrants to Melbourne and new goods and even gold coins and bullion to and from Melbourne. Its maiden voyage was so slow that it was considered unable to compete on the Australian run and was sold off.

The Kangaroo Office gold sets that were made in Melbourne were manufactured for exhibition in Melbourne and Paris and to sell as mementos of the 1854 Melbourne Exhibition. And it now seems likely that proof examples of the halfpenny tokens were also struck for exhibition and sale at the same time.

WJ Taylor in London, however, had the master tools to make more dies as required—squeezes from these tools in the Powerhouse collection now make complete sense as do other numismatic objects we see occasionally in sale catalogues. Our understanding can, I believe, now take great steps forward.

But on a sadder note, let me close with

the words of Reginald Scaife from letters to his mother as he reflected on the end of the Kangaroo Office venture¹¹:

The store is a great bore, this moment a Bill for rent has just come in for £43.15/- and I shall have to find the money somehow. Never say die, as the raven said, which reminds me of the inconvenience caused by the breakage of the bottom die, by which I am £57 out of pocket, setting aside some £40 I should have had to the good Mr. Brown...who came down...to help me make the medals. The store is not yet positively let; I should be glad to get side of it—and the machinery I am advertising for sale.

I have had a great deal of bother with the men who were to take the store...now one of the 3 partners is in Gaol for 6 months for upsetting No1 and No2 has run off to the diggings...A regular nuisance that unfortunate building has been & is....With our united kindest love to you both always believe me, your very affectionate son.

Reg. S.

Notes

- 1 Sharples, John P. 'Down Under, Feedback between numismatics and Archaeology in Melbourne', *Proceedings of the 9th Annual Meeting of ICOMON*, Beijing 2002, pp 126–32, China Numismatic Society.
2. Sweeny, JO. *A Numismatic History of the Birmingham Mint*, Birmingham, 1981, Appendix VI: Australasian Tokens, pp 240–5.
3. Hansard, Nov 20 1862, p 93 and Dec 2 1862, p 164 ending:

Mr Don complained that the copper tokens were given in exchange at the Post Office and railways, which were departments connected to the Government; but the Post-Office and railways refused to receive tokens. Mr. Haines – They

cannot compel you to take them (Laughter).

4. For the presentation of my paper at the conference, images from the database were shown, and contents of the different fields discussed.
5. Museum Victoria registration NU44283.
6. For the sale of Kangaroo Office gold tokens at the 1854 Melbourne Exhibition see: *The Argus*, Fri 15 Sept 1854.
7. Andrews, Arthur. *Australasian Tokens & Coins*, Mitchell Library, Sydney, 1921, token 84.
8. eg. Sharples, John P. 'Gold & Entrepreneurial Culture: The Kangaroo Office and its Private Mint for Victoria', in *Cardell, Kerry & Cumming, Cliff. 2001. A World Turned Upside Down, Cultural Change on the Australian Goldfields 1851 – 2001*, pp 171 ff, Humanities Research Centre Monograph 14, Australian National University.
9. Wellcome Library MS 5685; with special thanks to Dr Christopher Hilton and Mr Clive Coward of the Wellcome Library and Bob Forbes of Museum Victoria for their efforts to make this document available before the NAA conference.
10. Sharples, John P. "The Kangaroo Office" a Nineteenth Century "Sting", *JNAA* vol 4, 1988, pp 29 ff.
11. Museum Victoria registration NU44288.

John Sharples was appointed Curator of Numismatics at the Science Museum of Victoria in 1976. He remained with the museum through its merger with the National Museum (when it was renamed Museum of Victoria) and was a Senior Curator when the new Melbourne Museum was opened. He is now an Emeritus Curator and undertakes numismatic data enhancement projects for the museum. This paper is a report on a small part of one of those projects, 'Australasian Trade Tokens'.