

Volume 32

# Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia



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Address: 4 Station St  
Nunawading  
VIC 3131 Australia

Website: <http://www.numismatics.org.au>  
Website Manager: W R Bloom  
Website Designer: M Bevan, Digital Guppy

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D Galt [david@galt.net.nz](mailto:david@galt.net.nz)

K Shillam [shillam@romanorum.com.au](mailto:shillam@romanorum.com.au)

B M Newman [adelaidemint@bigpond.com](mailto:adelaidemint@bigpond.com)

K A Sheedy [ken.sheedy@mq.edu.au](mailto:ken.sheedy@mq.edu.au)

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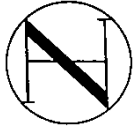
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Front cover: Photo of Mr. Billing's Gold Medal for Law (see article Figure 2 page 88).

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# NUMISMATIC ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA INC

## President's Report

You are looking at Volume 32 of the *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia* (JNAA). It is a result of authors who have been sufficiently excited about a numismatic topic to carry out original research and put 'pen to paper', reviewers who have been willing to offer constructive criticisms to make the manuscripts the best they can be and the efforts of the editor who shepherds all the articles through the whole process and adds a 'final polish'. I acknowledge everyone involved, with special thanks to Managing Editor Gil Davis and Production Editor Barrie Newman for their continued efforts at maintaining a high-quality journal.

Much has happened since the last president's report published in Volume 31. The opening up of COVID-19 restrictions saw a welcome return to the NAA conference (NAAC2023), which was held in Adelaide at the Naval, Military & Air Force Club on the weekend of 19 – 20<sup>th</sup> October 2023, and hosted by the Numismatic Society of South Australia (NSSA). The conference was preceded by the 1000<sup>th</sup> meeting of the NSSA on the evening of Friday 18<sup>th</sup> October 2023. I would like to congratulate the NSSA for reaching this impressive milestone and for their major efforts in hosting the 9<sup>th</sup> NAA conference. The conference was an outstanding success, with attendees from every state of Australia and New Zealand. The conference program consisted of an opening talk by Ms Lainie Anderson (author of the *Long Flight Home*), two plenary lectures, 12 regular talks and a short talk. All talks were of a high standard and highlighted the diverse interests of the Australian and New Zealand numismatic community.

One of the highlights of the conference was the dinner, during which the Ray Jewell Silver Medal was awarded to the JNAA Managing Editor, Associate Professor Gillan Davis. This important award for 'outstanding contribution to Australian numismatics and the Numismatic Association of Australia' recognises Gil for his services to the NAA, and his numismatic research in Australia and overseas for which he is internationally renowned. Given that Gil is only the 8<sup>th</sup> recipient since the award was first presented in 1998, I have asked Walter Bloom to prepare a separate short report based on his presentation speech, which can be found in this volume.

The AGM, held at the conference, saw a ‘changing of the guard’, with Walter Bloom and Lyn Bloom handing over the reins as president and treasurer respectively. I personally want to thank Walter and Lyn for their tireless efforts in maintaining the local and international profile of the NAA over many years, including during the difficult COVID-19 period.

The following Office Bearers were elected at the 2023 AGM:

Treasurer – Rachel Mansfield

Secretary – Bridget McClean

President – Richard O’Hair

Vice President – Walter Bloom

Managing Editor – Gil Davis

I would like to thank our sponsors for their continued support of the NAA: Noble Numismatics (Gold), Coinworks, Downies (Silver), Drake Sterling, Mowbray Collectables and Sterling & Currency.

Finally, a valuable part of NAAC2023 was a round table discussion on the future of the Numismatic Association of Australia. Prior to the conference, clubs and societies were asked to send their feedback on the following:

- Any views of the Society/Club about the NAA, especially its activities and how these serve Australian numismatics.
- What would the Society/Club like to see from the NAA in the future?

The feedback received and the discussions had at the conference were valuable and the Council will work through the issues raised. The most important issue which was identified is one with which many societies are grappling: how to maintain an active membership that is willing and able to volunteer to help out with the various activities required to maintain the society. So, I would encourage all of you to think about how you might contribute to your local club or society and the NAA. We welcome your submissions to the JNAA and hope to see you at the NAAC2025 (details to appear in 2024)!

Professor Richard A. J. O’Hair

President, NAA

27 November 2023

# Report on the Silver Ray Jewell Award to Associate Professor Gillan Davis

We acknowledge the important work that Associate Professor Gillan Davis, as Managing Editor of the *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia (JNAA)*, has undertaken for the NAA over the past 11 years. Gil has been Managing Editor of each of the Journals consecutively since 2011 – Volume 22 through to Volume 31 in 2023, and has almost completed finalising the articles for JNAA32, 2023. His contribution for all these Journals has been outstanding.

The Journal is now recognised internationally, and Gil has been instrumental in sourcing contributors and assessing their input. His attention to detail and editorial work is unsurpassed and we believe Gil should be recognised by the NAA for his support and services to the Association by being awarded the silver Ray Jewell Award.

Gil has included an Editor's Letter or Note in all the NAA Journals issued since the 2012 edition (No 23) in which he has highlighted the Journal as the showcase of the NAA, the peak body for numismatics in Australia.

He strongly promotes the NAA through each Journal and through his involvement with Macquarie University and its Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies (ACANS) and students.

Gil has sourced many of the unique articles from highly qualified Australian and international numismatic authors and supported Australian PhD students in their numismatic research in digs in Israel and the Middle East. He has ensured that there is a good mix of modern and ancients coverage throughout each Journal.

Gil was instrumental in introducing the Journal electronically in 2015 and it is now readily available to members and the public alike on our website. Through his efforts the Journal has now become a major teaching aid in subjects such as history and humanities, as he has highlighted in Journal No 30, 'teaching with numismatics – coins are useful teaching tools'.

Gil has truly supported the NAA in all his endeavours and is most deserving of the Ray Jewell silver award.

Gillan (Gil) Davis has given me (in my previous role as President) excellent advice on many issues arising in the NAA outside of his editorial expertise. I always value his input, and indeed continue to do so.



After Gil moved to the Australian Catholic University, where he is the Director of the Ancient Israel Program at the Australian Catholic University which offers a full major and minor in Archaeology to students in Arts, Education, Theology and the Ramsay Centre for Western Civilisation together with an annual dig in Israel and school outreach, he faced establishing a new degree programme, supervising students and liaising with ACANS, continuing with his Middle Eastern digs, and being an important member of the European Research Council (ERC) Advanced Grant titled ‘Silver Isotopes and the Rise of Money’, based in Lyon, which is geolocating and isotopically identifying ancient silver ore sources and matching them with coins and silver artefacts.

Gil is a personal friend and we are in frequent contact, but still I continue to be impressed about how he has managed to fit in all of these activities after a change mid-life from Real Estate to academia.



**Figure 1:** Presentation of the silver Ray Jewell Award by Professor Walter Bloom to Associate Professor Gillan Davis at the dinner of the NAA Conference 2023 in Adelaide, 19<sup>th</sup> August 2023.

Professor Walter Bloom  
12 December 2023



# Editor's note

This is an eclectic volume covering a wide range of interesting topics. The concentration is on modern material while the 'ancients' deal with Roman coins and medals. Many of the papers were also given as presentations at the highly successful Numismatic Association of Australia conference held in Adelaide earlier in the year. As always, it is a pleasure to see domestic scholarship supplemented by overseas contributors from the United States, the UK, Italy and New Zealand.

Paul Holland gives us interesting information about that perennial Australian favourite – the 1930 penny, providing details of the mint records and earliest numismatic literature. Mint records are used in another way by Eric Frazer in his analysis of the patterns of coin circulation in Australia over the last two decades. He quantifies the decline in the number of coins in circulation per person speculating on the probable phasing out of 5 and 10 cents coins. Eric provides a second and complementary article analysing the circulation of foreign coins among Australian decimal coinage and their sources of origin; the list may surprise you.

A topic that intrigues ancient through to early modern numismatists is estimating the production rate of mints. This is essential for quantification studies and it is fair to state that opinions are greatly divided. So, it is with interest that we present a detailed study by Pierluigi Debernardi on the production of denarii of Crepusius, an otherwise unknown moneyer in the Roman Republic dated to 82 BCE. The software that he has developed provides a mintage model which successfully matches the coin evidence.

While in the Roman period, we have an article by Bruce Marshall on the so-called 'Restoration' coins of the CE first century emperors Vespasian and Titus which, he argues, by reviving Augustan types, served as propaganda to justify their seizure of power. Andrew Chugg takes us into the second century with a short note updating his earlier article (*JNAA* 31) on the authenticity of some of the specimens of the medallion struck by the emperor Hadrian to commemorate his lover and favourite, the youth Antinous, who drowned in the Nile in CE 130.

Vaughn Humberstone usefully provides a comprehensive and fully referenced listing of the 45 New Zealand trade tokens issued between 1857 and 1875 together with background on the circumstances which led to them being struck despite never being legal tender and interesting details on the merchants and the dies they employed. Across the ditch and almost exactly contemporaneously, NAA President Richard O'Hair has contributed a study of the gold medal for law awarded by Mr Billing at the University of Melbourne. The research was prompted by the discovery of one of the 15 medals awarded between 1858 and 1874.

Finally we have a pair of articles dealing with remembrance by two stalwarts of the NAA. Barrie Newman, our Production Editor, shares a lovely story of his proposal to sell commemorative ingots to the United Arab Emirates for his company, The Adelaide Mint. Sadly, it did not end well. Channelling Marcel Proust à la recherche du temps perdu, Walter Bloom, President of the NAA for many years, narrates the story of his numismatic life. It is like walking through a wonderful antiquarian bookshop with a friend. Along the way, he tells the story of numismatics and coin dealers and medallists in this country, as well as his personal, often quirky, research and collecting interests.

As always, I sincerely thank the many anonymous reviewers who have reviewed the papers with special thanks to Barrie Newman for his careful attention to the role of Production Editor and John Melville-Jones for proofreading many of the articles.

On a personal note, I thank the selection committee of the NAA for awarding me the Ray Jewell silver medal which I shall always treasure.

Associate Professor Gil Davis  
Managing Editor

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## **Managing Editor**

Associate Professor Gil Davis  
Australian Catholic University  
editor@numismatics.org.au

Dr Clare Rowan  
(Roman coinage; ancient tokens)  
Warwick University  
c.rowan@warwick.ac.uk

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antiquity)  
University of Western Australia  
john.melville-jones@uwa.edu.au

Mr Christian Stoess  
(Mediaeval)  
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c.stoess@smb.spk-berlin.de

## **Technical Editor**

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# Periods of issue of New Zealand Merchant Tokens

Vaughn Humberstone

## Abstract

*Merchant tokens are a private and unauthorised issue of metallic currency. They were struck to a coin-like quality and were issued by various business owners in New Zealand in response to a chronic shortage of official British coinage in the lower denominations. Merchant tokens were never at any stage legal tender but circulated out of necessity. Between 1857 and 1875 a total of 44 businesses and one trade association issued merchant tokens covering the halfpenny and one-penny denominations. Of the 45 New Zealand token issues from this period, only 20 were dated and some of these dates do not refer to the year in which the tokens were struck. Much of the information on when tokens were issued was unrecorded and thus lost forever. This article summarises what is known about the periods of issue of all 45 issues of New Zealand merchant tokens.*

## Keywords

[New Zealand] [Merchant tokens] [Date] [Period of issue] [1857-1875]

## Introduction

From the outset of colonisation in New Zealand, there was never sufficient British copper coinage minted to supply all the colonies of the vast British Empire. What was minted was often immediately absorbed within Britain. The situation was not helped by the fact that migrants coming to New Zealand tended not to bring many of the heavy and cumbersome copper coins with them, and because imports had to be paid for in hard cash, coins that made it into circulation often went straight back out of the colony. Coinage that remained was often hoarded. Colonial governments did not have the authority to strike their own coinage, and the Colonial Office in London did not consider the provision of such coinage to be a high priority. Trading banks imported coin, but only enough to satisfy their own business needs. This shortage hampered everyday commerce. Some shopkeepers resorted to keeping accounts with trusted customers, with a bookkeeping entry replacing coinage. Others resorted to giving change in the form of lower value goods, such as postage stamps, cigars, or boxes of pins or matches. No doubt, bartering also flourished throughout the colony. There was also a shortage of lower denomination silver coinage, and much that remained in circulation became heavily worn and defaced.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Humberstone 2022: vii, viii.

In 1844-1845 some businesses in Auckland, Wellington and New Plymouth issued their own paper currency in small denominations. However, these notes were only redeemable in larger multiples (for example, ten sixpence notes for five shillings). They were, with few exceptions, only redeemable in Governor Fitzroy's government debentures, which themselves were of dubious value, and the notes tended to be printed on flimsy paper which deteriorated rapidly. These notes only circulated at great reluctance in their own localities for a brief period. Their circulation ceased when Fitzroy's debentures were recalled in late 1845. In 1847 Governor Grey took the first steps towards the removal of all foreign (i.e. non-British) coinage from circulation, and the following year he secured a shipment of British coin. But this still fell a long way short of providing the quantity of coinage needed to sustain day-to-day trading in the various settlements throughout the colony. Some firms issued I.O.U. cards in lieu of change. These were issued in confirmed denominations ranging from 1d to 9d. They sufficed as a proof of payment owed between a storekeeper and their customers, and they also entered into limited circulation. In Nelson, circular discs were cut out of sheets of zinc and crudely stamped with initials or symbols of issuers for local circulation. However, none of these measures provided a lasting solution to the shortage of lower denomination coinage. If the government was unable to provide enough currency for everyday needs, then it fell upon individuals to do so.<sup>1</sup> Business owners had been issuing merchant tokens in Australia since 1849,<sup>2</sup> and it was unsurprising that New Zealand would follow suit. Nobody was under any legal obligation to accept tokens. In fact, banks, government departments and post offices refused to accept them. Anybody who did accept them did so at their own risk. The civil case of *A.J. Raphael v H.J. Hall*, 1867, established the legal precedent that token issuers were obligated to redeem tokens of their issue. However, tokens issued in other towns were virtually unredeemable, as were tokens issued by those who had since moved to another town or left the colony altogether. Merchant tokens were often accepted with reluctance, and their circulation was the subject of much criticism. Despite all of this, tokens fulfilled a very real need, and they soon formed a significant part of the general circulating currency. For the issuer, tokens were profitable because they cost much less than face value to produce and many were never redeemed. They were also a good source of advertising.<sup>1</sup> A government Gazette was issued on 16 September 1875 informing the public that tokens would be 'interdicted' (i.e. prohibited) as of 31 January 1876,<sup>3</sup> and this discouraged any further orders for tokens. Sufficient supplies of bronze coinage arrived in early 1876 and the circulation of tokens gradually died out thereafter. From being both a nuisance and a necessity in circulation, surviving tokens went on to become prized as collectors' items.

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2 Andrews, 1921: 6.

3 *EP*, September, 17<sup>th</sup>, 1875.



It helps to understand the broader historical and numismatic context. On 6 February 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between representatives of the British Crown and Maori chiefs. New Zealand was formally established as a British colony and as a consequence, British law was applied to New Zealand. British coinage thus became the sole official legal tender coinage of New Zealand. In 1933 New Zealand became the last self-governing part of the British dominion to issue its own coinage. This was done not out of any growing sense of nationhood, but for the more practical reason of the New Zealand pound depreciating against the British pound resulting in coin smuggling. By April 1934, the full range of silver denominations from threepence to halfcrown had arrived from the Royal Mint in London. The humble halfpenny and penny (both dated 1940) arrived in December 1939, thus completing the full range of New Zealand coinage.<sup>4</sup> Merchant tokens can lay claim to being the only distinctive New Zealand circulating metallic currency issued prior to 1933 with the limited exception of the Nelson zinc tokens mentioned above which were in general circulation by January 1854.<sup>5</sup>

This article primarily deals with when token issues were first placed into circulation. Many of the New Zealand token issues, though, have multiple varieties resulting from the engraving and pairing of different dies. This indicates that in some instances multiple orders were placed, possibly over a period of years. This is certainly the case with the tokens of H.J. Hall. In another example, the tokens of S.H. Smith comprise seven obverse and three reverse dies, for a total of eight varieties.<sup>6</sup> Given that S.H. Smith traded for another eight years after his initial issue of tokens,<sup>7</sup> further orders are a distinct possibility.

Fig. 1 shows that tokens were not issued evenly throughout the period 1857-1875. In fact, there were three distinct periods of sub-issue: 1857-1859, 1862-1866 and 1873-1875.

The Milner & Thompson tokens were not issued in response to a shortage of coin. They were struck in late 1881 as advertising tokens in conjunction with the Christchurch Industrial Exhibition of 1882. They did, however, inadvertently see a local circulation confined to Christchurch during the staging of the Exhibition (April to July).<sup>8</sup>

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4 Pepping, 2017: 1, 86, 90, 105, 114, 124, 134, 140.

5 *NE & NZC*, January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1854.

6 Dean, 1992: 46-48.

7 *AS*, July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1870.

8 Sutherland, 1939: 43; *TS*, April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1882; *NZT*, July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1882.



**Fig. 1.** Years of issue of New Zealand merchant tokens, 1857-1875. H. Ashton is recorded twice due to the fact that his halfpenny tokens were issued separately to his penny tokens. This brings the total number of token issues up to 46. Concurrent to the New Zealand token issues would have been the importation of withdrawn Australian tokens, with tokens being outlawed in Victoria in 1863 and NSW in 1868.

## Catalogue

Issuer	Date	Period of issue
1. ALLIANCE TEA COMPANY / ROBERT THOMPSON	1866	-
R. Thompson took over this business on 16 June 1866. <sup>9</sup> His tokens and his initial newspaper advertising state a stock of fancy goods (Fig. 2), whereas he ended up trading only as a grocer. <sup>10</sup> This implies that he placed his order for tokens soon after securing proprietorship.		
2. ANDERSON, DAVID	ND	1858-1863
The ½d and 1d tokens of D. Anderson share their generic reverse dies with the tokens of Weight & Johnson of Sydney. <sup>11</sup> Weight & Johnson traded from the address stated on the obverse of their tokens from March 1858 to October 1861. <sup>12</sup> The tokens of Day & Mieville shows that token makers are known to have kept dies for up to two years after their initial use. Assuming that the Weight & Johnson tokens were struck first, this gives a probable issue period of 1858-1863.		

<sup>9</sup> *TP*, June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1866.

<sup>10</sup> *NZD*, 1866-67.

<sup>11</sup> Gray, 2013: 21, 22.

<sup>12</sup> *SMH*, February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1858; September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1861.

3.	ASHTON, HERBERT	½d	1858	1859
			1859	-
		1d	1862	-
			1863	-

H. Ashton arrived in Auckland in February 1859,<sup>13</sup> going into business the following month.<sup>14</sup> Some of his halfpennies were struck with the reverse die used for the ½d tokens of T.S. Forsaith, dated 1858.<sup>15</sup> His 1d tokens dated 1862 arrived in Auckland from London aboard *African* on 27 August 1862.<sup>16</sup>

4. AUCKLAND LICENSED VICTUALLERS' ASSOCIATION

ND                      October 1874

These tokens arrived in Auckland from London aboard *Oxford* on 8 September 1874.<sup>17</sup> Delays in unloading the cargo meant that the tokens were not made available to members of the Association until 1 October 1874.<sup>18</sup>

5. BARLEY, CHARLES CULLEDGE                      1858                      -

6. BEATH, GEORGE LOW                      ND                      June-July 1869

In a letter to the editor of *The Press*, 12 July 1869, when referring to tokens it was stated that 'I have seen recently a great number of them coming from one house of business quite new' (p. 2). At this stage, the only token issuing firm in Christchurch that could possibly have been described as 'quite new' is G.L. Beath & Co, formed soon after March 1868.<sup>19</sup>

7. BEAVEN, SAMUEL                      1863                      -

Gray, 2013, reports that the reverse die of these tokens were hubbed from the same master die as the reverse of the tokens of Warnock Brothers of Melbourne.<sup>20</sup> Given that tokens were outlawed in Victoria in 1863, this die would have been engraved in the latter part of 1862 (any earlier and this die would have been dated 1862). With the opening of the Otago goldfields in 1861, prospectors flocked over from the Victorian goldfields. When tokens were outlawed in Victoria in early 1863, both Dunedin and Invercargill were then flooded with withdrawn Victorian tokens and local issues became unpopular.<sup>21</sup> Thus it can be assumed that Beaven's tokens were actually issued in 1863.

13 DSC, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 1859.

14 NZR, March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1859.

15 Meek, 1951: 30.

16 DSC, August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1862; NZR, September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1862.

17 AS, September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1874; NZH, September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1874.

18 AS, September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1874; NZH, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1874.

19 LT, April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1868; March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1869.

20 Gray, 2013: 31.

21 ODT, January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1863; February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1863; February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1863; SLN, November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1863.

8. BROWN, CHARLES & DUTHIE, JOHN 1866 -
9. CARO, JACOB ND 1864-1865  
This firm traded from April 1864 to August 1865.<sup>22</sup> The tokens of J. Caro & Co were struck by T. Stokes of Melbourne. The layout of wording on the obverse is virtually identical to that of the tokens of Collins & Co of Bathurst, NSW. The Collins tokens are dated 1864 and were struck by T. Stokes. This indicates that the Caro tokens were struck in 1864 also, although this is unconfirmed.
10. CLARK, ARCHIBALD 1857 1857-1859  
The same reverse die was used for the tokens of A. Clark, Day & Mieville and A.S. Wilson,<sup>23</sup> as illustrated in Fig. 3. The Day & Mieville tokens were struck in 1859, proving that this die was in use from 1857 to 1859. There are strong similarities between the tokens of Levy Brothers of Melbourne, dated 1855, and A. Clark. Both were struck by Heaton & Sons, both depict Justice seated on their reverses and have an almost identical layout of wording on their obverses. As of 1 March 1859 A.S. Wilson conducted his business on a cash-only basis.<sup>24</sup> This would have increased his need for lower-denomination coinage. Based on this evidence, it is probable that A. Clark issued his tokens in 1857 and A.S. Wilson in 1859. However, this is unconfirmed.
11. CLARKSON, SAMUEL 1875 late 1875-early 1876  
These tokens have two obverse types: one stating an occupation of 'Builder & importer' and the other stating 'Importer' only. The last listing of S. Clarkson as a builder dates from May 1875,<sup>25</sup> and by September 1875 he was in business as an importer.<sup>26</sup> Thus it appears that the order (or orders) for these tokens was placed sometime during May-September 1875; it certainly would not have been any later than September 1875 (refer to introduction). These tokens are attributed to W.J. Taylor of London. Given the minimum three-month voyage between New Zealand and England, the tokens would have been placed into circulation in either late 1875 or early 1876.
12. CLARKSON, DAVID & TURNBULL, RICHARD  
1866 -
13. COOMBES, SAMUEL ND August 1874  
Confirmed by an editorial column in a local newspaper, shown in Fig. 4.

<sup>22</sup> *TP*, April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1864; *LT*, December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1865.

<sup>23</sup> Meek, 1951: 35.

<sup>24</sup> *OW*, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1859.

<sup>25</sup> *LT*, May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1875.

<sup>26</sup> *LT*, September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1875.

14. DAY, WALTER & MIEVILLE, FREDERICK LOUIS  
 1857 1859  
 The partnership of Day & Mieville began trading on 1 November 1858.<sup>27</sup> These tokens state an occupation of ‘Merchants’, whereas from March 1860 this firm began trading as ironmongers.<sup>28</sup> Tokens of this size (34 mm) with this particular depiction of Justice seated were all struck c. 1857-1859. Furthermore, no New Zealand tokens are confirmed to have been struck during 1860-1861. Thus these tokens were almost certainly struck in 1859.
15. DE CARLE, EDWARD 1862 February 1863  
 These tokens were placed into circulation on 9 February 1863.<sup>29</sup>
16. FORSAITH, THOMAS SPENCER 1858 -
17. GAISFORD, WILLIAM & EDMONDS, GEORGE  
 1875 late 1875-early 1876  
 These tokens share their reverse die with both obverse types of the tokens of S. Clarkson.<sup>30</sup> This suggests a similar timeline for the striking and issuing of these two token issues.
18. GILMOUR, JOHN ND February 1875  
 Confirmed by an editorial column in a contemporary newspaper.<sup>31</sup>
19. GITTOS, BENJAMIN 1864 -
20. GOURLAY, THOMAS WILLIAM ND 1864-1868  
 This firm began trading from Ferry Road in September 1862.<sup>32</sup> These tokens state an address in ‘High Street’. Ferry Road was renamed High Street in 1864. The partnership stated on the tokens, ‘T.W. Gourlay & Co’, was dissolved in February 1869.<sup>33</sup>
21. GRATTEN, RICHARD / THAMES HOTEL 1872 February 1874  
 These tokens arrived in Auckland from London aboard *Wave Queen* on 7 February 1874.<sup>34</sup> The date of 1872 on the tokens presumably refers to the year in which R. Gratten took over management of the Thames Hotel.<sup>35</sup>

27 OW, February 5<sup>th</sup>, 1859.

28 OW, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1860.

29 ODT, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1863.

30 Meek, 1951: 35.

31 WC, February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1875.

32 TP, October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1862

33 TS, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1869.

34 DSC, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1874; February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1874.

35 DSC, June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1872.

22. HALL, HENRY JOSEPH ND 1864-1866  
 H. J. Hall went into business in Christchurch in June 1863,<sup>36</sup> and his tokens are confirmed as being in circulation by mid-1865.<sup>37</sup> Given that H.J. Hall placed multiple orders, his tokens are likely to have been in circulation in 1864. In July 1866 a shipment of tokens arrived in Christchurch aboard *Albion* from Melbourne.<sup>38</sup> This business ceased trading in February 1867.<sup>39</sup>
23. HOBDAY, HENRY SMART & JOBBERNS, DANIEL ND 1874-1875  
 This partnership traded from January 1874 to July 1875.<sup>40</sup>
24. HOLLAND, JOHN LORRAINE & BUTLER, JOHN ANGELICUS THOMAS ND 1874-1875  
 This firm began trading from the address stated on their tokens in October 1874.<sup>41</sup> The circulation of their tokens was mentioned in a local newspaper in June 1875.<sup>42</sup>
25. HURLEY, JOHN ND 1864-1867  
 As stated on the obverse of the tokens, J. Hurley began trading in 1853. He relinquished his grocery business in the late 1850s to pursue farming interests.<sup>43</sup> The tokens could not have been struck before 1860, though, because they are the same size (½d, 25 mm; 1d, 31 mm) as the Imperial bronze coinage introduced in 1860. J. Hurley re-entered business in 1864,<sup>44</sup> and the circulation of his tokens was mentioned in a local newspaper in November 1867.<sup>45</sup>
26. JONES, JAMES WILLIAM & WILLIAMSON, ALEXANDER 1858 -
27. KIRKCALDIE, JOHN & STAINS, ROBERT ND December 1874  
 Confirmed by an editorial column in a contemporary newspaper.<sup>46</sup>
28. LEVY, LIPMAN ND 1864-1866  
 L. Levy traded throughout the period of New Zealand token issue (1857-1875), but no definitive evidence could be found regarding the tokens themselves. These were one of five token issues to feature wording only with no pictorial design. The

<sup>36</sup> *LT*, June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1865.

<sup>37</sup> *ME*, January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1868.

<sup>38</sup> *TP*, July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1866.

<sup>39</sup> *LT*, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1867.

<sup>40</sup> *TS*, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1874; *TP*, July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1875.

<sup>41</sup> *NZH*, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1874; October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1874.

<sup>42</sup> *DSC*, June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1875.

<sup>43</sup> *WC*, February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1860.

<sup>44</sup> *WC*, April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1864.

<sup>45</sup> *WC*, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1867.

<sup>46</sup> *OW*, December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1874.



other four consist of the Alliance Tea Co. (1866), Gittos (1864), Hall (c. 1864-1866) and Pratt (1864-1872). This sub-series of tokens is clustered around an issue period of 1864-1866, which is assumed to be the likely period of issue of Levy's tokens. The wording on Levy's tokens mirrors the wording of his advertisements that first appeared in the Wellington Almanac in 1862.<sup>47</sup>

- |     |   |      |               |
|-----|---|------|---------------|
| 29. | MARKS, MORRIS   | ND   | December 1870 |
|     | Confirmed by passages in a local newspaper. <sup>48</sup>   |      |               |
| 30. | MASON, FREDERICK & STRUTHERS, ROBERT  | ND   | 1874-1875     |
|     | This firm began trading in February 1874, <sup>49</sup> and no further tokens were ordered after September 1875 (refer to introduction).  |      |               |
| 31. | MCCAUL, GEORGE  | 1874 | November 1875 |
|     | Confirmed by an editorial column in a contemporary newspaper. <sup>50</sup> It is unknown why these tokens are dated 1874, given that they were presumably struck in 1875.  |      |               |
| 32. | MEARS, JAMES WILLIAM  | ND   | 1857-1863     |
|     | J.W. Mears began trading in 1854, <sup>51</sup> and his tokens are listed by Neumann, 1863. <sup>52</sup>   |      |               |
| 33. | MERRINGTON, JAMES MAYFIELD  | ND   | May 1866      |
|     | These tokens arrived in Nelson from Sydney aboard <i>Tararua</i> on 22 May 1866. <sup>53</sup>  |      |               |
| 34. | MORRIN, JOHN CARSLY   | ND   | 1862          |
|     | This firm began trading in January 1862. <sup>54</sup> The circulation of their tokens was mentioned in a local newspaper in September 1862. <sup>55</sup>  |      |               |
| 35. | PERKINS; JOHN HENRY, WILLIAM HERBERT & WILLIAM ROBINSON   | ND   | late 1862     |
|     | This firm traded from December 1861 to May 1863. <sup>56</sup> The reverse die of the 1d tokens of E. De Carle & Co and Perkins & Co were hubbed from the same master die as the 1863 Warnock Brothers 1d obverse die, <sup>57</sup> engraved in the latter part of 1862 (refer to Beaven). This suggests a similar timeline for the striking and issuing |      |               |

47 WA: 1862, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1875, 1880.

48 DSC, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1871; January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1871.

49 TP, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1874.

50 NZH, November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1875.

51 WI, March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1854.

52 Neumann, 1863: 214.

53 NE&NZC, May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1866.

54 DSC, January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1862.

55 NZR, September 10<sup>th</sup> 1862.

56 ODT, December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1861; SLN, May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1863.

57 Gray, 2013: 123.

of the tokens of both E. De Carle & Co and Perkins & Co. The E. De Carle & Co tokens were placed into circulation on 9 February 1863 (refer to De Carle). A local newspaper reports that the De Carle tokens were met with consumer resistance due to Otago being flooded with withdrawn Australian tokens from January 1863,<sup>58</sup> and what was considered to be the small size of the De Carle tokens (30.5 mm in diameter and weighing 9.23g).<sup>59</sup> However, there were no reports of the Perkins & Co tokens meeting the same fate, even though the 1d tokens of Perkins & Co were of a similar size (30 mm and 9.51g). Thus it can be assumed that the Perkins tokens were issued *before* the De Carle tokens; presumably in late 1862.

36. PETERSEN, BENJAMIN MARTIN                      ND                      1864-1865  
 This firm began trading in December 1863.<sup>60</sup> In June 1867 B.M. Petersen began advertising as ‘Watchmaker, jeweller & silversmith,’ having added a silversmith department to his business.<sup>61</sup> In contrast, the tokens state the earlier occupation of ‘Watchmaker & jeweller.’ Thus, they had to have been issued before 1867. Up until February 1864, Petersen’s newspaper advertisements stated ‘All watches and clocks bought at his establishment he will guarantee to go correct, and keep them in repair free of any charge for 12 months. Repairs of all descriptions will be neatly done at the lowest rates’ (*Lyttelton Times*, 16 February 1864, p. 1). This closely resembles the wording on the reverse of the tokens; ‘Everything sold guaranteed. All repairs well executed.’ This suggests that Petersen placed his order for his tokens either concurrent to, or soon after, these newspaper advertisements. Furthermore, Petersen’s tokens are inscribed ‘T. Stokes Melbourne.’ This inscription also appears on the tokens of Collins & Co (Bathurst, NSW) dated 1864 and Love & Roberts (Wagga Wagga, NSW) dated 1865. A similar inscription of ‘Stokes, Melb’ appears on the tokens of J. Caro & Co., c. 1864-1865. Thus these tokens have a combined issue period of 1864-1865, which is the assumed issue period of the Petersen tokens.
37. PRATT, WILLIAM                                      ND                      1864-1866  
 W. Pratt took over this business in 1864 and sold out in 1872,<sup>62</sup> but no definitive evidence can be found regarding the tokens themselves. During 1864-1872, the main period of token issue in New Zealand was 1864-1866 (Fig. 1). Given that these tokens feature wording only with no pictorial design, the assumed period of issue is 1864-1866 (refer to Levy).

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58 *ODT*, January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1863.

59 *ODT*, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1863.

60 *LT*, December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1863.

61 *LT*, June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1867.

62 Pratt, 1877: 274, 283.

- |     |   |      |              |
|-----|---|------|--------------|
| 38. | REECE, EDWARD   | ND   | 1858-1863    |
|     | E. Reece opened the Birmingham and Sheffield warehouse stated on the obverse of his tokens in November 1857, <sup>63</sup> and his tokens are listed by Neumann, 1863. <sup>64</sup> As of 1 July 1859 E. Reece conducted his business on a cash-only basis, <sup>65</sup> thus increasing his need for lower-denomination coinage. This quite possibly prompted an order for the tokens, although this is unconfirmed.   |      |              |
| 39. | SMITH, SAMUEL HAGUE   | ND   | 1862         |
|     | In 1862, S.H. Smith placed an order with his Birmingham agent, Messrs. Henry Symonds & Co, for a shipment of tokens. <sup>66</sup>  |      |              |
| 40. | SOMERVILLE, MARCUS JARVIS   | 1857 | -            |
| 41. | UNION BAKERY COMPANY / EDWIN COXHEAD MOULDEY  | ND   | 1873         |
|     | This firm traded from April to August 1873. <sup>67</sup>   |      |              |
| 42. | UNITED SERVICE HOTEL / JOHN HANCOCK   | 1874 | -            |
| 43. | WALLACE, JAMES  | 1859 | -            |
|     | The 1d tokens share their reverse die with two Australian token issues: a generic issue by Heaton & Sons not stating any issuer's name, and some of the tokens of T. Butterworth & Co of Castlemaine, Victoria. <sup>68</sup> T. Butterworth & Co began trading from the address stated on the obverse of their tokens in November 1859. <sup>69</sup> New Zealand tokens of this size (34 mm) with this particular depiction of Justice seated were all struck c. 1857-1859. Furthermore, no New Zealand tokens are confirmed to have been struck during 1860-1861. Thus it is assumed that the Wallace tokens were actually struck in 1859. |      |              |
| 44. | WATERS, EDWARD  | ND   | October 1873 |
|     | These tokens arrived in Auckland from Melbourne aboard S.S. <i>Hero</i> on 6 October 1873. <sup>70</sup>  |      |              |
| 45. | WILSON, ANDREW SMITH  | 1857 | 1857-1859    |
|     | Refer to Clark.   |      |              |

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63 *LT*, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1857.

64 Neumann, 1863: 207.

65 *LT*, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1859.

66 *AS*, October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1906.

67 *TP*, April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1873; August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1873.

68 Gray, 2013: 158.

69 *MAM*, November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1859; November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1859.

70 *DSC*, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1873.



**Fig. 2.** The Alliance Tea Company tokens were the only New Zealand tokens to state their year of issue on both obverse and reverse sides. When Robert Thompson took over this store on 16 June 1866, he announced his stock as ‘choice brands of Teas, raw and fresh-roasted Coffees, Spices, Sugars, raw and refined, dried and bottled Fruits, with every description of grocery and Italian goods. It is also intended to introduce a variety of fancy and useful articles in other departments, selected by experienced buyers’ (*The Press*, 16 June 1866, p. 1). Note that this corresponds almost perfectly with the goods stated on the reverse of the tokens. [Image courtesy of Noble Numismatics Pty Ltd, Sale 122, 2019, Lot 838]



**Fig. 3.** New Zealand’s one-penny tokens dated 1857 and depicting the stock design of Justice seated. These tokens all share a common reverse die, in use from 1857-1859. In 1968 a box containing cardboard impressions of various dies was found in the records of the Birmingham Mint, successor to Heaton & Sons. Amongst these impressions was the obverse die of A. Clark, confirming that this small series of tokens was struck by Heaton & Sons. Using the same generic reverse die for multiple token issues made economic sense for the manufacturing firm, although when that die is dated, it can cause difficulty when attributing periods of issue. [Images courtesy of Noble Numismatics Pty Ltd; Sale 114, 2017, Lot 722; Sale 117, 2018, Lot 541; Sale 99, 2012, Lot 783]



Mr Samuel Coombes, clothier of Queen-street, has issued a copper token, bearing on the one side a portrait of himself, and on the other the address of his Auckland and Grahamstown premises. Those who receive Mr Coombes' coin will certainly get their penny-worth of copper. Unlike some others who have issued tokens Mr Coombes has not been stingy in the use of metal; but a dozen of his coppers are worth anybody's shilling. The coin is neatly impressed, although the artist cannot be congratulated on his successful delineation of the well-known features of his patron.

Fig. 4. By far, the two towns with the highest number of token issues were Auckland and Christchurch, with 15 and 13 respectively. Unfortunately, the Christchurch newspapers were silent on the issue of tokens. By contrast, the Auckland newspapers in the 1870s often mentioned the appearance of a new token issue in circulation. The extract above, from the page 2 editorial column of the *Auckland Star*, 20 August 1874, allows Samuel Coombes' undated tokens to be dated. Just six days before, Samuel Coombes had relinquished his Grahamstown store. Thus his tokens were never actually issued from this store. [Image downloaded from <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/>]

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## **Abbreviations**

*AS = Auckland Star newspaper*

*DSC = Daily Southern Cross newspaper*

*EP = Evening Post newspaper*

*LT = Lyttelton Times newspaper*

*MAM = Mount Alexander Mail newspaper*

*ME = Marlborough Express newspaper*

*ND = No Date*

*NE&NZC = Nelson Examiner & New Zealand Chronicle newspaper*

*NZD = New Zealand Directory*

*NZH = New Zealand Herald newspaper*

*NZR = New Zealander newspaper*

*NZT = New Zealand Times newspaper*

*ODT = Otago Daily Times newspaper*

*OW = Otago Witness newspaper*

*SLN = Southland News newspaper*

*SMH = Sydney Morning Herald newspaper*

*TP = The Press newspaper*

*TS = The Star newspaper*

*WA = Wellington Almanac*

*WC = Wanganui Chronicle newspaper*

*WI = Wellington Independent newspaper*

## **Author biography**

*My interest in numismatics was first sparked when, as a kid in the late 1980s, I found a well-worn 1947 florin in circulation. After a long hiatus, I got back into numismatics as an adult, eventually gravitating towards New Zealand's early indigenous circulating currency. In 2003 I began compiling biographical information on the issuers of New Zealand merchant tokens, culminating in the 2022 edition of Merchants Making Money (471 pages), which rewrites what is known about this branch of New Zealand numismatics.*



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