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ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF NEW ZEALAND
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JOHANNES ANDERSEN NUMBER

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ISSUED GRATIS TO MEMBERS

NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

of the

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OF NEW ZEALAND INCORPORATED

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INTRODUCTION

The following texts have been reprinted from the reports of the Numismatic Society when they were issued in duplicated form. The membership was then smaller, and this material is not readily available to present-day members.

On account of the interest and value of lectures given by the late Johannes C. Andersen, the Council decided that they should be reprinted. A certain amount of editing has been necessary, but the texts are unaffected.

They reflect extremely well the versatility of their author, showing his wide knowledge not only of numismatics, but also of history, literature and anthropology.

NEW ZEALAND TOKENS

(Delivered 24 April 1939.)

The token issue in New Zealand is one of the latest tributaries to the long and fascinating river of currency that has flowed for centuries through every country whose people have risen through a system of barter to a system of commerce—a system which to-day seems in the throes of a revolutionary change, as if the river has become clogged and dammed up, and will presently burst through its barriers to sweep along in a new and smoother channel. You will perhaps better realise what I mean if you will call to mind the varied and innumerable denominations in the world's coinage; a different series in every different country, the unceasing addition of new series; their fluctuating values even within the country of origin, the more violently fluctuating and apparently arbitrary and unreasonable rates of exchange.

Numismatics in general deals with this river of currency, from the artistic and historical point of view; the fluctuations in value are the concern, and the business, of financiers and merchants. I propose to say no more than a few words in connection with that trickle—it can scarcely be called a tributary—which flowed for a few years in New Zealand.

In England the token issue began in the 1600's, and continued on through the next two centuries, being

swallowed up in the river of regal currency during the closing years of the 1800's.

Token currency began at a time when trading conditions were totally different from what they are now—at a time when there was no postal service, no railway, no telegraph, no telephone, to mention only a few of the conveniences that few of my present auditors can remember as being absent. Road-communication, too, was primitive, more so even than in our own farthest-put back-blocks.

Tokens were issued by corporations, merchants, and tradesmen, in almost all the counties of England and Wales. They were given in exchange for labour as well as goods, during times of scarcity of regal coinage. For convenience in keeping them it is believed that tradesmen had special receptacles, a species of coin-cabinets, where they were arranged so that at regular intervals they could be totalled and forwarded to their respective issuers to be redeemed in silver or gold. In New Zealand this was not observed, so far as I know, the tokens being simply re-issued by the tradesman no matter whose image and superscription they bore.

From the earliest times the small coinage of England was silver, and values as low as a penny, three-farthings, half-penny, and farthing were coined in silver. All were in common use, but from their exasperatingly inconvenient size and weight (the silver half-penny of Elizabeth weighed only four grains) they were extremely inconvenient and easily lost.

In a petition dated 1330 it was pointed out that beer was one penny for three gallons, and that a penny was then the smallest coin; and the petitioners prayed that smaller coins might be struck to pay for their smaller purchases, and for works of charity—smaller coins than a penny for works of charity! Yes, and I can remember the time when the groat as well as the threepenny bit were in common use; and I well remember the consternation of the churches when, on the groat being put out of circulation, the offertories went down by about twenty-five per cent. There was point in the Christchurch artist Kennaway's caricature of Bishop Julius when he showed him holding upright with his forefinger pressed on its upper rim a threepenny-bit on a pedestal, the legend at the foot reading, "The church's one foundation."

The silver penny was small enough; in Elizabeth's time it weighed one-sixtysecond of an ounce; and that is the value to which the later copper penny approximated. The penny in its present form was first issued at the end of 1860; it was only half the value of the earlier copper penny, and, as metal, it is worth about one-seventh of a penny. Coins used to be worth, intrinsically, their face-value; they are not so now. Oh Hamlet, what a falling off was there.

In passing, it may be of interest to note that the old English silver pound was coined into 240 pennies; and this fact is preserved in the troy table of weights—twenty penny-weights equal one ounce; twelve ounces equal one pound. They actually did.

Small change of a more suitable size and weight than the diminutive silver coins was needed, even though it must consist of baser metal, and transactions requiring money of inferior value were carried on by means of base foreign currency, or lead tokens, though the whole of these were illegal. Lead tokens, of inferior workmanship, continued in use till the year 1613, when James I for a monetary conseederation (true Scot) delegated his prerogative of striking copper money to John, Baron Harrington; but this was for farthings only. However, this monopoly of minting farthings was much abused—brass was used as well as copper—so much so that in some parts of the country, including London, there was scarcely any gold or silver left in circulation, the whole of the currency consisting of brass farthings: whence the eloquence of the remark "It isn't worth a brass farthing." The patentees even tried to force the farthing on to the American colonies; but it is recorded of Massachusetts—"March 4, 1634, at the General Court at New Town, brass farthings were forbidden, and bullets were made to pass for farthings." Yet the patent was renewed by Charles I when he came to the throne. The death of that king, however, put an end to the prerogative. But the copper coins had proved so useful that tokens immediately began to be issued and were circulated without authority, for "necessary change," as was stated on some of them. As these were received again by the issuer, they were far more useful, and more acceptable, than the brass farthings. The earliest dates of issue were 1648, 1649, 1650; and although these issues are not now numerous, they appeared in various parts of the country, and now occur in sufficient numbers to justify the belief that most of them were struck prior to the death of the king.

The devices on the tokens are very numerous—(1) arms of the incorporated Trade Companies of the City of London. These were generally adopted by persons of the same trade throughout the country; (2) the arms of cities, towns, abbeys, nobility, and private families; (3) merchants' marks; (4) taverns and shop-signs; (5) articles of dress; (6) implements of trade, agriculture, and war; (7) animals; (8) articles of domestic use; (9) heraldic signs; (10) conveyances; (11) views of public buildings; (12) punning devices. Our New Zealand tokens show that they are true affluents of the parent stream. There are none bearing the arms as in (1), but of private arms; (2) there are two—both drapers, Beaths in Christchurch, and Kirkcaldie and Stains, Wellington; of (3) we have none, unless the three balls displayed by Morris Marks of Auckland, pawnbroker, be one: several tradesmen merely state their business and leave it at that; we have none of

(4), nor of (5), tavern and shop-signs, and articles of dress; but of (6), implements of trade, agriculture, etc., we have the saddle of Mears, Wellington, the clock and watch-face of Petersen, Christchurch, the wheat-sheaf of the Union Bakery, Christchurch, the musical instruments of Milner and Thompson, Christchurch, the man ploughing of Caro, Christchurch, the mining-machinery of G. McCaul, Grahamstown, and perhaps the breakwater and shipping of Clarkson and Turnbull, Timaru. We have none of the other six classes but we have patriotic motives as in the Maori in the canoe, of Gratten, Auckland; the Maori head as in Mason Struthers, Christchurch, Milner and Thompson, Christchurch, and Waters, Auckland; the rose, thistle, and shamrock, as in Somerville, Auckland; the wheat-sheaf and sickle with 'Advance Canterbury' of Reece, Christchurch; and we have portraits, as of Queen Victoria on the tokens of the Licensed Victuallers, and the United Service Hotel, Auckland; the Prince Consort on Hague Smith's, Auckland; himself on S. Coombes, Auckland; and Professor Holloway on his pill-token, if that English token which circulated as freely as his pills in New Zealand can be taken as a New Zealander. A most appropriate portrait is that of the Duke of Wellington on Lipman Levy's token; but one cannot help thinking that in spite of his name he must have been prompted by some percolation of Irish blood in his veins to couple with the iron duke the Irish slogan Erin go bragh.

The largest class has what might be termed a moral motive, though as the tokens were business convenience I do not suppose that morality entered into consideration at all; at least, consciously. This motive is the blindfolded Justice with her scales. I suppose she is blindfolded because it is suspected that the scales have not yet fallen from her eyes. In the designs she is either seated or standing, and her left hand rests on or holds the cornucopia of plenty; the inference being, Be just and you will prosper; in homelier words, Honesty is the best policy. No less than fourteen firms adopted this moral device. It would be interesting to make a census to see how many of these are still in business.

Many of the tokens have considerable artistic merit, pride of place going to the landscape issues of Milner and Thompson of Christchurch.

From the year 1650 to 1660 tokens were plentiful in England, and nearly all of them were farthings; there were very few half-pennies, and no pennies. The tokens of a date subsequent to the Restoration are most abundant, half-pennies being by that time fairly common, and a number of pennies appearing.

The tokens of the 1600's were in circulation for just a quarter of a century. Whilst they originated through a public necessity, in the end they became a public nuisance. They were issued by nearly every tradesman as an advertisement, but being payable only at the shop of the issuer

were at times very inconvenient. The Government had for some time intended the circulation of regal copper money, but it was not till the year 1672 that tradesmen's tokens were disallowed by royal proclamation. This immediately put a stop to their circulation; a few attempts were made to continue them, but the threat of Government proceedings against the offenders effectually discouraged them. There must, however, have been some loosening of the interdict. since they circulated till late in the 1800's.

In one county alone, Sussex, the total recorded number of different issuers of tokens was 183. Many were issued in villages of little importance, and later of less importance. But two exceptions are Brighton and Eastbourne; not only did these rise to be towns of eminence, but from them have sprung sister or daughter towns in New Zealand, where there are several Brightons or New Brightons, all seaside resorts like their prototype, and at least one Eastbourne, here in Wellington. Between 1648 and 1672, over 200 different issues were in use in the whole of the United Kingdom.

It took some time to evolve the principle of issuing the coins in baser metal; they must bear a fixed relation in value to the standard coin; they should be issued in limited quantities; they should be legal tender to only a limited extent; and their so-called intrinsic value should be less than their nominal value.

It will be conceded that tokens certainly have an interesting history; and their appearance in New Zealand was due to the same causes as those influencing their appearance in England. The threepenny-bit was for many years the smallest coin current in New Zealand, and great inconvenience was felt through the absence of smaller coins for small purchases and for loose change. As an expedient, boxes of matches in some places took the place of pennies. It was so in Lyttelton in say the 'fifties. But the boxes then in vogue were not the handy little round cardboard boxes at two a penny we now know; they were boxes of about twice the size; more like little barrels. I was acquainted with one place on Banks Peninsula where a novel form of small change was used. A sawmill was established close by; and the men would come from work with lengths of scantling on their shoulders, whetting their whistles as they walked along and carrying the where-withall to pay for its wetting. The innkeeper stacked the timber at the back, shipping it to Lyttelton when there was a load to dispose of. This was barter primitive enough.

Tasmania was the first of the southern colonies to issue tokens, their first appearing in 1823; the first of the New Zealanders appeared 34 years later, in 1857, when penny tokens were issued by four firms—Clark, of Auckland; Somerville, of Auckland; Day and Mievile, of Dunedin; and Wilson, of Dunedin. The last issue, and the best, was that of Milner and Thompson, Christchurch, in 1881. Tokens were issued by fortysix firms in all, eleven

of them issuing half-pennies as well as pennies, and one, Mears, of Wellington, half-pennies only. For convenience of reference, a list, divided into towns, follows; those preceded by a (x) issued half-pennies, and it will be noted that these were issued by all the Wellington firms:—

AUCKLAND:

- x Ashton, H.
- Barley, C. C.
- Clark, Archibald.
- Coombes, Samuel.
- x Forsaith, T. S.
- Gittos, B.
- Gratten, R.
- Holland and Butler.
- Licensed Victuallers Assocn.
- Marks, Morris.
- Morrin and Co.
- Smith, S. Hague.
- Somerville, M.
- United Service Hotel.
- Waters, Edward.

AUCKLAND, total, 15.

CHRISTCHURCH:

- Alliance Tea Co.
- Beath and Co.
- Caro and Co.
- Clarkson, S.
- Gaisford and Edmonds.
- Gourlay, T. W.
- x Hall, H. J.
- Hobday and Jobberns.
- Mason Struthers and Co.
- Milner and Thompson.
- Petersen, W.
- Pratt, W.
- x Reece, Edward.
- Union Bakery.

CHRISTCHURCH, total 14.

DUNEDIN:

- Day and Mievile.
- De Carle, E.
- Jones and Williamson.
- x Perkins and Co.
- Wilson, A. S.

DUNEDIN, total, 5.

GRAHAMSTOWN:

- McCaul, G.

GRAHAMSTOWN, total, 1.

INVERCARGILL:

- Beavan, S.

INVERCARGILL. total, 1.

NELSON:

Merrington, J. M.

NELSON, total, 1.**NEW PLYMOUTH:**

Brown & Duthie.

Gilmour, J.

NEW PLYMOUTH, total, 2.**TIMARU:**

Clarkson & Turnbull.

TIMARU, total, 1.**WANGANUI:**

x Hurley & Co., J.

WANGANUI, total, 1.**WELLINGTON:**

x Anderson, D.

x Kirkcaldie and Stains.

x Levy, Lipman.

x Mears, J. W.

x Wallace, James.

WELLINGTON, total, 5.

I have not included in the above the New Zealand penny, Holloway's token, nor coaching, ferry, and discount tokens; to me, these have not the interest of the ones in the list. Holloway's token, however, reminds me of a good gold-field story from Nelson. In rainy weather the diggers were, after two or three days of enforced inaction, hard put to it to fill in the time. Books had been read and re-read—and reading matter on the diggings consisted of travel, history, and science; though of magazines the "Australasian" was always welcomed—even cards lost their appeal, until one day an imaginative digger had a brilliant idea, and he and his mates started a new game; that is, the stakes were new—they were to be Holloways' pills, the winner undertaking to dispose in the natural and orthodox way of the whole of his winnings. The game was started with zest, but after a time the winner seemed to feel an oozing of his enthusiasm; and his mates, I suppose through a kind of sympathetic reaction, agreed with him in concluding there was not as much in the game as it promised, and they threw it in.

It is rather remarkable that in the New Zealand tokens as in its regal coinage later, there was no coin of less value than a half-penny, and only 11 firms out of 46 used these; in the far-back first English issue the only coin was the farthing, or the fourthing, the fourth of a penny. Sir Julius Vogel, when writing in 1875 to the Agent General in London regarding a supply of regal copper coinage for New Zealand, instructed him to take advice from the Bank of New Zealand there as to how the £6,000 worth to be sent out was to be divided; that is, the proportion of pennies,

half-pennies, and farthings (if any); and Mr. Larkworthy of the Bank advised that by far the larger proportion should consist of pennies; a limited quantity of half-pennies might be found useful, but he doubted if farthings would be of any use in the colony. This was a wise decision; and it also spoke much for the economic conditions obtaining in the colony. I can well remember the time when there was some agitation, chiefly I believe on the part of the drapery establishments, to have the farthing introduced into New Zealand. These broken amounts do not look much; 1/11d looks much less than 2/-, the psychology being that it is only the shillings that are regarded by the unmathematically-minded, but the unregarded fractions tot up.

The introduction of farthings would not have indicated that we had a population where paupers had to be considered, but where plutocrats were easily inveigled; rather than have a half-penny change the odd yards would be made even, always to the profit of the seller. You have only to look at the prices in these fascinating establishments to see that they cater for plutocrats, and two well-known ones who issued tokens, are still in good dividend-paying business.

An article on New Zealand tokens by Mr. Coleman P. Hyman, of Sydney, supports me in my commendation of the artistic quality of some of them, and he also commends their interesting variety. It is this variety, too, which makes the collecting of them a far more complicated business than might be supposed from the fact that there were only 46 issuers. Most of them have two, three, or more varieties; Beaths have seven varieties, Milner and Thompson eleven, Hall no less than twenty, making in all more than 140. Mr. Hyman is lively in his descriptions of the New Zealand designs, but he is astray in his natural history when he describes the reverse of one of the New Plymouth tokens, saying:—"Three palm-trees and a clumsy bird (perhaps the moa-pok) are depicted on one shore, Mount Egmont is on the intervening water". In reality the palm-trees are tree-ferns; and his bird, a blend of the moa and morepork, is an innocent kiwi. It is one of our good designs, even though imagination has run wild in the designing of the landscape. He was no doubt led astray by Andrews, in his *Coins and Tokens of Australia*, where the bird is called a moa.

Reading over the list of towns whose tradesmen issued tokens, it will be noted that every one of those is still in existence, and in vigorous growth, with one exception which is more apparent than real—Grahams-town; the name has gone, but the township has been absorbed in the more extensive mining township of Thames.

While in Southland I heard of a curious incident. I was with a friend, a collector of this and that, who when he heard I was interested in tokens, produced a tin con-

taining an assortment of old coins, which I turned over with my finger without the least enthusiasm until a token came to light; then the tin was a surprise packet I was eager to investigate. There were several tokens; but as they were untransferable, though also unsorted and unvalued, I looked no further in case there should be something there I might covet. But if I got no tokens I got a good story. "Are you interested in them", he said. "They used to be common enough. My mother had a bit of a milk-business in the 'sixties and 'seventies—the gold-digging days, but whilst coppers may have been handy as change before those golden days nobody bothered about coppers then, and my mother just threw them into a box in the corner and thought no more about them. One day in the store she heard the storekeeper say to a customer who wanted change, 'I can't make out what has come to all the coppers; there used to be plenty, but now I never have enough change.' This reminded my mother of her box; and she said, 'I've got a whole boxful of them if they're any good to you'. 'Any good?' said he. 'I'll give you 25/- for every pound's worth of them'. She had unconsciously been making a corner in coppers, which, of course, were mostly tokens, and made something like £5 out of them." It is only the dealers who make corners in tokens now.

It was with some hesitation that I promised, some time back, to present this paper to you, as I lived in Christchurch during the time that tokens were in circulation, and as I remember distinctly handling them as a boy, I thought I might have something to say on this interesting topic. The two tokens I particularly remember are the Hall and the Milner and Thompson; the latter because of its beauty; the former because of my resentment at the man obtruding his name on me so persistently whichever side of the token met my gaze.

You all know, as well as I do, the difficulty of getting hold of good tokens, as of good coins generally; there is another difficulty, almost equally great, and that is the difficulty of getting rid of bad ones. You may bury them, but some time or other they turn up or are turned up; one of the common Milner and Thompson tokens was brought to the Turnbull Library in that way by someone who thought he had unearthed a treasure. You may throw them into the harbour, but that doesn't say you get rid of them; someone in the Harbour Board employ brought a parcel of about ten old, grimed, disreputable coins to the Library on another occasion and asked were they valuable; they had been brought up by the dredge he was working on and he brought them in to see what they were worth; worth so much, I assured him, that the last owner had thrown them into the harbour to get rid of them, and if he did the same they would some day return in the same way and be brought to some long-suffering numismatist (and serve him right for owning to such a name) to be asked—"Are they valuable?"

THE EARLIEST NEW ZEALAND CURRENCY

(Delivered 27 November, 1939.)

There was trade of a kind going on in New Zealand waters long before there was any regular trading or commercial houses within the shores of New Zealand. That trade was almost altogether a trade of the sea, the objects of trade first of all being composed of sea-creatures or their products, so that the business houses were the ships sailing on those newly-opened waters.

In recent publications it has repeatedly been stressed that the first trade was the whaling-trade; but sealing preceded whaling by some years. Whilst the first sealing was in Bass Strait, Australia, indiscriminate slaughter soon exhausted that field, and the southern seas were soon thoroughly explored for further fields. In 1770 Cook discovered Dusky Sound, New Zealand; and his reports on this place and on New Zealand generally brought down the traders in seal-skins, and in November, 1792, the "Britannia" under William Raven left the first sealing-gang in Dusky. At Luncheon Cove, Anchor Island, in Dusky, a house was built, 40ft. long, 18ft. broad, and 15ft. high; and provisions for twelve months were landed. The gang numbered twelve and they were instructed to build a boat while there so that they could leave in case of accident or in case of the "Britannia" not being able to call. A boat was built, 40ft. keel and 53ft. length of deck, 16ft. 10 extreme breadth, and 12ft. hold. Her frame-knees and crooked pieces were from rata growing there. She was planked, decked and ceiled with rimu, which Cook had called spruce-fir, and which, in the opinion of the ship's carpenter, was little inferior to English Oak. This was the first vessel built of local materials in either New Zealand or Australia. The gang was there for ten months, and it might be wondered how men could subsist in such an out-of-the-way place for so long. But Cook's account of his stay in Dusky reads like a schoolboy's holiday, and the gang found that fresh provisions in plenty were readily procurable. There were coal-fish (as they called the cod) innumerable, and they could be caught by hook and line in almost any quantity. Ducks, wekas, shags, and other wild-fowl they could get in great abundance; tea they made from the rimu tips and young leaves of the manuka; cattle brought with them thrived in the bush, and it was here that Cook discovered that excellent preventative of scurvy, the New Zealand spinach, usually known as Cook's scurvy-grass.

Their chief object here, however, was securing seal-skins and oil, and the seals were here in great numbers, also great elephant-fish, from which was obtained an oil

valued next to spermacetti; and when you read of the gangs collecting so much oil and so many skins, the oil referred to is not whale-oil—that came later—but ‘elephant-oil’ as it was called. It was the quest of the seal in southern waters that took captains so far afield; it was when engaged in this quest that the southern islands, Auckland, Campbell, Bounties, and so on, were discovered, and all yielded their rich harvest; but invariably the sealers killed the goose that laid the golden egg; there was no control over their actions in these lone waters, and so the slaughter was uncontrolled, and what might have been steady trade was no more than a wild and wasteful and transitory scramble.

Naturally the sealers constantly saw whales; the convict and other ships from England to Sydney (then Port Jackson) saw them; many were chased, some were captured: but it took years for steady whaling to begin, nor did it begin until the easier sealing, which was shore work, was through wanton destruction, becoming unprofitable. The trade was really begun by Ebor Bunker, master of the WILLIAM AND ANN, who, in 1798, persuaded the then great whaling firm of Champion to fit out for him the “Albion”, a 362-ton ship, armed with ten guns, to go whaling in Australian waters. This boat in 1799 made the quickest passage till then recorded between England and Port Jackson—3 months 15 days—and in 1801 she took to England 155 tons of oil; in 1803, 1600 barrels, and in 1804, 1400 barrels.

On 1st August, 1800, the Enderbys and Champions told Lord Liverpool that they had at last established a whaling-fishery on the coast of New South Wales, but that they were hampered by an Act of George III which prevented southern whalers from proceeding north of the equator and east of Madagascar, because of the monopolistic rights of the East India Company; and for some time this powerful company, jealous of its rights and blind to those of others, delayed the start of the great trade in the south.

Mention of spermacetti was made above. Spermacetti was the name given to the oil contained in the head of the sperm-whale, or cachalot, where it was found in an almost pure state, in compartments connected with each other. The whale was from 70 to 80 feet long, the head comprising nearly one-half of the whole. The head was called the case, and a large whale would carry in its case 10 to 15 barrels—a barrel contained about 30 gallons. The oil was almost of the consistency of blood, and was ladled out of the case with buckets fashioned for the purpose. Between the case and the upper jaw was a large mass of blubber which yielded nearly double the quantity of oil obtained from the case. When cold, the spermacetti hardened, assuming a snowy, flaky appearance. A large cachalot has yielded as much as 130 barrels, realising £1250. When sperming was in vogue the British used the imperial gallon of 9 barrels to the ton, the old measure of 8 barrels,

or 262 gallons, being used by other nations. This has to be remembered when the value of ships' takings are compared.

The cachalot was found in very large numbers all round the Australian and New Zealand coasts. When undisturbed, it swims under the surface of the water at from 3 to 7 miles an hour, but on being alarmed will dive and afterwards rise slowly, perpendicularly, its blunt head held stationary more or less above water, apparently in a listening or sensing attitude and remaining in this position without moving for perhaps half an hour. At times there seems to be an electrical or other physical—or perhaps psychological—communication between them or among them; a school of upwards of a hundred has been seen spread over the ocean as far as the eye could reach and, on one of them being lanced, an instantaneous disappearance of the whole school has taken place, all diving swiftly and together.

The oil and tried blubber were placed in casks, sometimes of 30 gallons, called barrels, or into larger vessels holding about 280 gallons, called tuns. Readers will often be confused by seeing the two terms "tuns" and "tons" used apparently indiscriminately, and there does seem to have been some confusion—a confusion perhaps encouraged by the oil-changers as confusion is at present encouraged by the money-changers. The English tun of ale or beer held 216 gallons, the tun of wine 252 gallons; and as a tun of water weighs a little more than 2000lb., it is possible that the ton weight was taken from the tun measure. In England the hundredweight is taken at 112 lbs., and the ton consequently at 2240; in the United States the hundredweight is taken (more logically it would seem) at 100 lbs. and the ton consequently 2000. How this squares with the fact that the tun oil was taken at 280 lbs. I leave the mathematicians to decide. No doubt the terms "tun" and "ton" were often wrongly used though it really no longer matters.

Once the fisheries became known, the Americans made no delay in joining in the chase; they proved far more efficient than the English, both at organisation and at individual work, and for a great part of the time there was ten times as much American shipping as English in Australian and New Zealand waters. French whalers entered the field, with Danish and Portuguese. At least three classics of literature sprang from the adventure and romance of whaling—Herman Melville's "Moby Dick," American; Felix Maynard's "Les Baleiniers", edited by Alexander Dumas, French (first translated by F. W. Reed, New Zealand), and Frank Bullen's "The Cruise of the Cachalot." With so many countries represented, the trade soon became thoroughly cosmopolitan. At first one wonders why whalers should carry guns, but many of the English whalers were given letters of marque and seized, or were seized by ships of foreign powers with whom

England might happen at that time to be at war—and during the part of the century concerned she had brushes with the Spanish, the French, the Americans, so that whales were not the only prizes that fell to the lot of the enterprising whalers.

In 1779 several vessels employed in the New South Wales fishery had been driven to the coast of Peru, where Spanish cruisers had captured fifteen of them, but a year or two later the whalers turned the tables, swooping down on the Peruvian coast—then defended only by one ship and two 14-gun brigs—and capturing several prizes, which were brought into Port Jackson and condemned in the prize-court there. When in 1805 Commodore Dance encountered and beat off the French squadron under Linois near the Strait of Malacca, whalers from the south seas formed part of Dance's convoy. During the war of 1812-1813, the American 32-gun frigate "Essex" harassed English whalers in the south Pacific, but in 1814 the "Essex" was captured after a smart action by the "Phoebe" and "Cherub" under Captains Sir J. Hillion and T. T. Tucker. In March, 1840, the London Journal of Commerce stated that the whale-fisheries in the south were practically abandoned to the French and the Americans because there were too few English warships on the station. The French had four or five large frigates, while England had only the tiny "Alligator" with 28 guns, the "Pelorus" with 16 guns, and two small survey ships. The "Alligator" and "Pelorus" were both in New Zealand waters; the former came on the first, and unjust, punitive expedition to take place in New Zealand (that following the wreck of the "Harriet" on the Taranaki coast); the second exploring the Sound that now bears its name, and the name of the "Alligator" is that of the east head of Pelorus Sound.

When in these naval encounters prizes were taken, there would naturally be a certain amount of specie in the booty and this would not, as naturally, be thrown overboard, and even for patriotic reasons; a ducat would be as good as a pagoda, a guilder as good as a rupee; so that the cashboxes of the whalers and the pockets of the sailors would soon accommodate coins of all kinds, and these coins would not come to blows when in contact, whatever their issuer might do. There must soon have been some fairly definite exchange-value decided on, and Government proclamations in Port Jackson have put that value—a varying one—on record.

New Zealand a no-man's-land first of all, and any-man's-land next, and finally a British colony, was first of all regarded as part of New South Wales, and for a short time New South Wales laws applied to New Zealand. These first money-values, as fixed in Port Jackson, were therefore observed more or less in New Zealand.

The scarcity of English coin in the early days of settlement was not due only to the distance of the colonies

from the source of issue—not much was being issued even at the sources. For twenty-six years after George III assumed the Crown, no coins (other than gold) were struck in England. He became King in 1760, and not till 1797 was just on £55,500 worth of shillings and sixpences struck. Such of these coins as might reach Port Jackson were not nearly enough to meet requirements, and as Spanish dollars and half-dollars were plentiful, these were in 1897 countermarked with the King's head and declared current coin. At Port Jackson barter was the recognized medium of exchange, and rum, corn, and wheat were the principal objects used. Rum was from the first the great circulating medium—the aesophagal circulating medium it might with justice be called. A labourer's wages were stated as so many gallons of rum; rewards for the apprehension of escaped convicts were paid in rum; for four gallons of rum a wife could be purchased from her husband. The effect of all this was considered to be very demoralizing. Bligh declared that a sawyer would cut a hundred feet of timber for a bottle of spirits, value half-a-crown, which he would drink in a few hours, when for the same labour he would charge two bushels of wheat, which would furnish him bread for two months. It followed as a pernicious consequence that the price for rum varied enormously and unwarrantably. In 1792 it ranged from 5/- to 20/- a gallon. When King arrived he found that rum which cost the importers from 7d. to 10/- a gallon was being retailed at £2. Spirits were bartered by everyone; even the chaplain in 1793 paid partly in spirits for the cost of the erection of his wattle-and-dab church, and the price of admission to the first theatre in Port Jackson could be paid in any of the following:—money, flour, meat, or spirits, according to the market price.

Apparently the military in Port Jackson had the control of the sale of the spirits, and it is said that it was in consequence of Bligh's attempt to control this degrading monopoly or to burst it, that he was deposed and imprisoned by the incensed men who were the very ones who should have upheld his authority. The most historic case of the use of rum as currency was connected with the erection of the hospital in Sydney in Macquarie's time, the contractors for which were paid with a monopoly of the spirit-traffic for four years.

The first record of a currency-regulation appeared in a proclamation issued by Governor King on 19th November, 1800. He had received a shipment of pennies, half-pennies and farthings, to meet the need for small coins, and these were to circulate at the value of twopence for each ounce copper, one penny for each half-ounce copper, and a halfpenny for each quarter-ounce copper—in fact, at double face-value, so ensuring their remaining within the colony. Besides this, a table was published detailing all specie legally circulating in the colony, with the rates affixed to each at which they were to be accepted as legal

tender in all payments or transactions in the colony :

A guinea	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	0
A half-Johanna	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	0	0
A Johanna	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	0	0
A gold mohur	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	17	0
A Spanish dollar	.....	.....	.....	.....		5	0
A ducat	.....	.....	.....	.....		9	6
A pagoda	.....	.....	.....	.....		8	0
A rupee	.....	.....	.....	.....		2	6
A Dutch guilder	.....	.....	.....	.....		2	6
An English shilling	.....	.....	.....	.....		1	8

To this table a Note was added to the effect that when a sufficient quantity of copper coin was received in the colony, of which notice would be given, no Notes or Cards would be allowed to circulate. As the copper issued was for the purpose of meeting payments of small amounts, it was not to be deemed legal tender for any amount exceeding £5, but even £5 worth of coppers would be a good weighty bagful. The Notes and Cards referred to appear to have been promissory notes issued by the merchants, and were for amounts as small as 3d. The Spanish dollar in the table above played a large part in the history of currency, not only of New South Wales but of the whole commercial world. For several centuries practically the whole coinage of Europe and dependent countries elsewhere came from Mexico, where a mint was established in the year 1535. From this mint were issued the Spanish dollars, or pieces of eight, so well known to buccaneers and captors of treasure-ships, and to readers of fiction based on their doings. The sign \$ now used to identify the United States dollar is supposed to derive from the Spanish 'pillar-dollar' of the value of eight reals; the curved portion of the sign is a rude '8' and the vertical stroke or double stroke is a symbol of the Pillars of Hercules, an emblem of the Spanish Empire. Pieces of eight were known by that name until about 1828, after which date they were called dollars—a name originally invented for silver coins of equivalent value minted in a Bohemian valley—silver coins called thalers, from Joachim's thal. The word 'thal' means 'valley', and as the 'th' is pronounced 't' with no 'h' sound, the word 'thalers'—'talers' (with a long 'a' like 'ah')—sounds very like 'dollars.' These dollars circulated through the world, but as our Hon. Secretary, Mr. Allan Sutherland, is dealing with them fully in his book on our currency, including the famous 'holey dollar' and its kitten, the 'dump,' I will refer no more to it here.

But again I should like to refer to literature, to show how pirates as well as traders (the 'water rats' and 'land rats' of old Shylock in 'The Merchant of Venice') were faced with mixed currency. Take a look at Jim, in Stevenson's 'Treasure Island,' bending over and sorting 'English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Georges, and Louises, doubloons, and double guineas, and moidores and sequins,

the pictures of all the Kings of Europe for the last hundred years, strange Oriental pieces stamped with what looks like wisps of string or bits of spiders' webs, round pieces and square pieces, and pieces bored through the middle, as if to wear them round your neck—nearly every variety of money in the world must, I think, have found a place in that collection.' Then there was Dumas' 'Monte Cristo' though here the treasure is rather in gold ingots and jewels than in coins, the only ones which he mentions being 'twenty-five thousand golden crowns, each worth about twenty-five francs, bearing the heads of Pope Alexander V, and his predecessors.' And reference may be made to the amazing recently reported find in a cask of English gold coins during the demolishing of a bridge at Pont Remy, the coins bearing the effigy of the English King Edward III, and supposed to have been abandoned by the English at the battle of Crecy in 1346. Who will say that the pleasure of numismatics is without thrills either in fact or in fiction?

Dollars were rampant in New South Wales till 1829, when they gradually went out of circulation. They lingered longer in Tasmania, but finally toward the end of 1942 it was enacted that after October of that year foreign coins should cease to circulate legally.

That sailors and soldiers must have been puzzled by the varieties of the coinage and the vagaries of exchange values, is seen in a good story of English soldiers stationed in Aden. The story is told by Sergeant-Major Bezar, a Maori War veteran, who died a couple of years ago in Wellington at the age of 97. One John Mullins was stationed at Aden what time the current coins were rupees, annas, and Mexican dollars. The first month after their arrival, John's credit at the bank was read out to him—so many rupees, annas, etc.—it had been changed from English to local currency. John roared out 'To hell wid the rupees; let me hear the credit in pounds. What do I know about your rupees?' There at Aden, too, they saw a strange gambling-game which very much puzzled them. Some natives were sitting in a ring, each with a coin in front of him. Suddenly one man scooped up all the coins, and each man put down another. No word was said, no act was done; all gazed intently at the coins, when suddenly another man scooped the pool. It was a mystery until it was learned that Fate took the form of a fly. The man whose coin the first fly settled on was the winner of the lot. It seemed the fairest form of gambling possible—no double-header availed here.

Some may be curious, as I always was, to know what were the articles upon which whalers and sailormen in the pre-colonizing days spent their hard-earned coin, so I was pleased when some years ago I was given a copy of a shore-whaler's journal in which were entered the day-to-day sales from the ship-store to the men engaged on the party. The following are the consecutive sales to

one man during the period of the season from 20 March to the end of October:

	£	s	d
2 lbs. tobacco		9	0
1 tin pot		1	3
1 blanket	15	0	
1 red shirt	5	0	
1 lb. tobacco	4	6	
$\frac{1}{2}$ bar soap	1	6	
1 duck frock	5	0	
1 monkey jack	15	0	
1 pr. flushing trousers	12	0	
1 duck frock	5	0	
7 yards calico	9	4	
1 pr. duck trousers	5	0	
1 pr. flushing trousers	14	0	
1 twilled shirt	7	6	
1 comforter	4	0	
1 pr. boots	15	0	
1 pr. stockings	3	6	
9 yards print	16	6	
1 lb. tobacco	4	6	
2 lbs. tobacco	9	0	
1 doz. pipes	1	0	
Boat bottles up to 7 June, 8 bottles	18	0	

Half pint per day from 7 June to 14 Sept. 99 days,

	£	s	d
6 galls. $1\frac{1}{2}$	3	14	3
6 yards canvas		15	0
1 skein twine		1	0
2 doz. pipes		2	0
Potatoes 59 lbs.		2	$8\frac{1}{4}$
128 lbs. flour	1	18	$4\frac{1}{2}$
$95\frac{1}{2}$ beef	2	7	9
2 lbs. tea		6	0
$18\frac{1}{2}$ sugar		7	$8\frac{1}{2}$
3 qrts. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint rum extra		9	9
123 lbs. potatoes		5	$8\frac{1}{4}$
121 lbs. flour	1	16	$1\frac{1}{2}$
73 lbs. beef	1	16	6
$2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. tea		7	6
28 lbs. sugar		11	8
2 qrts. 1 pint rum his share in mess		16	6
$19\frac{1}{2}$ lbs flour		5	0
14 lbs. pork		7	0
$1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. tea		3	9
4 lbs. sugar		1	8
1 jews harp		1	6
7 lbs. sugar		2	11
2 lbs. tea		6	0
Cooking utensiles, his share		9	2
1 pint beer			6
2 glasses rum			6
4 glasses rum		1	0

1 quart beer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	0
							£	s
6 lbs sugar	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		d
16 lbs. pork	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	6
2 lbs. tea	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	0
1 quart beer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	0
1 regatta shirt	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	0
Share of gear lost	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	0
Ditto.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	5
Ditto.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	9½
Ditto.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	8
Ditto.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	13
1 lb. tobacco	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	0
1 pint beer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		6
Dr.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34	2
Share of oil and bone	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	36	1
								9½
Balance due	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	18
Money advanced	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	0
								8
In debt	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1
Settled cred.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		4
								0
In debt	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	9
								4

This hand was unlucky; after all his season's hard work he remained indebted to the ship. Others were even more unlucky; some were luckier, coming out with £20 or more to credit. How were they paid? In goods? If not what? There are no packs of cards included in the list of purchases above. There are entries of such purchases above. There are entries of such in other men's accounts, however, the price being 1/6d. a pack. What did they pay in when they gambled? Possibly rum, which was to be had close by. Apparently, however, the daily allowance was limited—no doubt to make sure that no hand should be incapable during the working season. How they got on in the off-season may be learned from books like E. J. Wakefield's 'Adventure in New Zealand', which gives excellent descriptions of whaling life, showing how the steady ones who had taken Maori wives lived in their little houses, sometimes extremely neat and comfortable, with their vegetable-gardens alongside, and goats grazing near-by, supplying them with milk.

This life lingered a little after the land became regularly settled, but there was little of the foreign money floating around; that there was some, however, is told by the occasional finds of foreign coins that have occasionally been made. The finding of Spanish money has been taken as an indication that there have been some unrecorded visits of those early adventurers into the then unknown New Zealand seas; the explanation, whilst simpler, is by no means prosaic, as it refers us to a wild and romantic period of our New Zealand numismatology.

The enormous influx of diggers into New Zealand when gold was discovered in the early sixties would have put a great strain on the currency were it not for the fact that the alluring metal sought could itself be used for currency, and was so used. On the goldfields goods were at Mt. Cook prices; nothing to be had under half-a-crown, and most commodities required were sold by the pannikinful; a pannikinful of flour, half-a-crown; a pannikinful of tea, half-a-crown; sugar, half-a-crown; the reason for the high price was largely the cost of packing; there were no roads, or very bad ones, and the best gold was in the worst and most inaccessible places. It was good business for the banks, too, especially for those whose five-pound notes were used as pipe-lights by extravagantly ostentatious diggers. A thimbleful of gold-dust was a handy medium for payment—and some of the diggers had dust by the billyful! Gamblers here, too, had the means for payment at hand, and in wet weather, when reading palled, gambling was a relief.

Whilst it would be interesting to learn at what date coins of the various denominations came into the country, it seems impossible to discover such dates, but the approximate date may be learned. In the very early days—that is, in the 1820's—the Bay of Islands was a favourite resort for the whalers, for provisioning and for refreshment of various kinds. As many as sixty whalers have been seen at anchor at one time in that commodious harbour. These whalers brought coins with them, some of which passed to the Maoris, and the following story shows that the 'groat' was one of such coins. The chief, Kaiteke, who lived at various villages on Moturoa, and also at times at his place, Te Ti, at the mouth of the Waitangi—famous later on as the place of the signing of the Treaty—was a Ngapuhi and took a fancy to a young woman, Putea, belonging to a local tribe, the Ngare-raumati, who had been conquered by the Ngapuhi and now lived with them more or less contentedly. Putea was a lively but frivolously-inclined young woman, and when she learned that she was desired by Kaiteke she tried to persuade her cousin, Karara, to take her place. But this was overruled by one Korokoro, who had decided on Karara for himself, and he told her she should take no notice of Putea; she, Karara, was his 'popene' (four-penny). Putea he referred to as a 'kahawai kotiti' (skittish kahawai). This no doubt referred to the Maori proverb, 'A kahawai at sea, a woman on shore'—both, to the inexperienced, difficult to capture. There, from a Maori source, we get a note on the groat, showing that it circulated in New Zealand at least a hundred and ten years ago.

BARTER

(Delivered 24 June, 1940.)

I have only a few words to say on the subject of barter, based on recorded examples of it in our own country. The same system existed everywhere before money became the recognised medium of exchange. I will start with a few words from Melville's "Typee," which describes his experiences in the Marquesas, more particularly in the valley Taipi (which gives the title to his book), at a date about the same as that in which are laid the New Zealand scenes of which I shall speak. Melville writes: 'One peculiarity that fixed my admiration was the perpetual hilarity reigning through the whole extent of the vale. There seemed to be no cares, griefs, troubles, or vexations, in all Typee. The hours tripped along as gaily as the laughing couples down a country lane. There were none of those thousand sources of irritation that the ingenuity of civilized man has created to mar his own felicity. There were no forebodings of mortgages, no protested notes, no bills payable, no debts to honour in Typee, no unreasonable tailors and shoemakers, perversely bent on being paid; no duns of any description; no assault and battery attorneys to foment discord, backing their clients upto a quarrel, and then knocking their heads together; no poor relations everlastingly occupying the spare bed-chamber, and diminishing the family-room at the breakfast table; no destitute widows with their children starving on the cold charities of the world; no beggars; no debtors' prisons; no proud and hard-hearted nabobs in Typee; or, to sum up all on one word—no money! That 'root of all evil' was not to be found in the valley. There were some spots in that sunny vale where they would frequently resort to deck themselves with garlands of flowers. To have seen them reclining beneath the shadows of one of the beautiful groves; the ground about them strewn with freshly-gathered buds and blossoms, employed in weaving chaplets and necklaces, one would have thought that all the train of Flora had gathered together to keep a festival in honour of their mistress.

With the young men there seemed almost always some matter of diversion or business on hand that afforded a constant variety of enjoyment. But whether fishing, or carving canoes, or polishing their ornaments, never was there exhibited the least sign of strife or contention among them. As for the warriors they maintained a tranquil dignity of demeanour, journeying occasionally from house to house, where they were always sure to be received with the attention bestowed upon distinguished guests. The old men, of whom there were many in the vale, seldom stirred from their mats, where they would recline for hours, smoking and talking to one another with all the garrulity of age. And here I might remind you of the

garrulous old men of the Iliad, and how Homer makes them give you an impression of the great beauty of Helen without attempting himself to describe what was indescribable; he remarks that even those old men sitting in the sun were silenced by her appearance, their eyes watching her as she passed by.

Coming now to our own shores. Port Underwood, the northern extremity of Cloudy Bay, Marlborough, was a noted whaling centre a hundred years ago. One of the early colonising ships, the "Lord Auckland", was at Port Underwood in February, 1842, on the way to Nelson with settlers, and Barnicoat has this entry in his journal: 'After breakfast we saw two whaling boats coming from the port towards us, among others—English, West Indian, and Americans. There were some native men and fine native women, the wives of the English, etc. The women were dressed in English cotton gowns with a blanket and shawl. For ear-ornaments they wore half-crowns and dollars tied with black ribbon by a large hole in their ears and another in the coins. There is a schooner now being built here. She is being built by a carpenter who has been living here fourteen years. He has, like several others, married a native woman. She was dressed in a splendid plaid gown and looked very well with a French crown in one ear and an English half-crown in the other.'

Here in the next note is an example of a good Maori custom, the *paremata*, illustrated by the Rev. Ironside, who was stationed at Ngakuta, near Port Underwood, just before the time of the Wairau tragedy of 1843. His mission station, with its many branches, was in good working order as the account shows of which I am giving you only extracts. Testaments had been promised to the Maoris and were being eagerly looked for. Ironside writes: 'Early in January, 1842, the long-wished-for supply of native Testaments arrived. The "Triton" on her first visit to Cloudy Bay, brought the treasures, and I shall not forget the morning of their arrival. Soon after daylight we were aroused by natives knocking at the door, tapping at the windows, and shouting out, 'E! whakatika!—ko te kai-puke—Taraitona—ko nga pukapuka.' (Sir, get up—here is the ship, the 'Triton'—the books!) I looked out of the window; there was the little schooner at anchor, a quarter of a mile off. She never looked better to me than she did that morning.' Of the Testaments, 450 had been allotted to Ironside's district—not nearly enough to fill demands, and they had to be divided judiciously. He set out on a paper the list of the villages, with the names of the teachers in charge, apportioning to each as many as could be spared—10 here, 12 there, and so on throughout the district, till the whole number was exhausted. Now the Maori had a custom of giving as well as receiving; whoever received knew it was incumbent on him to give something in return. Ironside knew this, and wished to convey a hint as delicately as he could, that some return for the books was hoped for to defray cost of printing,

transport etc. There were 700 Maoris at the gathering, and, after the formal opening the Rev. Ironside addressed them in this way: 'Here is the great feast provided for us by our good fathers and friends in England—a feast of the Word of Life. You have a custom among yourselves called *paremata*. A chief who accepts an invitation to a feast from another chief, while he is partaking of it, is considering about making a *paremata*, a return feast; and so by-and-by there is provided in return, if possible, a larger and richer feast than the first. Shall we have a *paremata*?' The names of the teachers were then called out, village by village, and each received the portion for his people. I have often wished I could reproduce the scene in a picture—heaven smiling above, the valley and surrounding hills clothed in the richest verdure of early autumn, the crowd of Maoris, all with strained gaze looking at the distribution, the teacher, as his name was called out, springing up and rushing to the stand, leaping over the heads of those squatted in front of him, clutching the heap assigned to him, and away back to his place, hugging to his breast the coveted treasure. An angel in his flight might have been arrested by the scene. The suggestion thrown out about the *parematea* fell into good soil and soon began to germinate. In two or three weeks I noticed an unusual stir among the people of the village. All seemed to be full of repressed excitement; preparations for a great display were everywhere afoot. I concluded that the *paremata* was coming. From the front windows of the mission house could be seen several large canoes, fully manned, coming up the bay to station at racing speed, each frantically striving to be first. From the back part of the house was seen a long line of Maoris, in Indian file, coming over the saddle in the hills separating us from the sound, each one with a full heavy basket on his back, and some, in addition, with a pig on a string in his hand, guiding him along. My wife and I were delighting ourselves with the animated scene, listening to the eager shouting of each fresh arrival, when we were unceremoniously told to go inside the house and shut the door—we were not wanted yet. We submitted and waited patiently. When all was ready we were summoned. There, in front of us, was a long heap of baskets, about three feet high, stretching from one end of the yard to the other. I counted 600 baskets, full of potatoes, Indian corn, and pumpkins, etc. Each basket would weigh fully 56lbs. On the other side of the heap, tied by the leg to the fence behind, were seven good-sized pigs. On the heap of baskets at one end was a parcel tied up in an old handkerchief to which my attention was specially directed. All being ready, out sprang the master of ceremonies, Hoani Koinaki, chief of the Whekenui village in the sound—as fine a specimen of the Maori race as you would see from Te Reinga to Murihiku. With true native courtesy the place of honour had been ceded to him by the Ngatittoa chiefs of Cloudy Bay. Hoani, tucking up his blanket, with a long native spear in his hand, ran backward and forward from one

end of the food-pile to the other, striking the baskets with his spear at intervals. 'Here is our feast' he cried; 'take it and give it to our loving fathers in England; it is all we can do to show our love to them for their great kindness in sending to us *te pukapuka tapu*.' In the little parcel at the end of the pile was a lot of silver dollars and crown pieces—English, French, Spanish, American. These had been in their possession for many years. Many of them had been bored through and worn as ear-ornaments by the women, but they were freely sacrificed on this occasion. They amounted to £9/17/6. The 600 baskets and the seven pigs I sold to one of the traders for £25. They were worth much more, but traders were few and I was at their mercy. The little parcel in the handkerchief would have made the eyes of numismatists sparkle. There would have been many good specimens to add to the collection of the polyglot coins circulating in New Zealand during that transition period between barter and banker, between no money and less than no money, for till man knew it he did not know he lacked it. It is a sad word that must be added to this. The Rev. Ironside had made a perfect success of his mission to the Maoris in the Cloudy Bay whaling district, which closely neighboured the Wairau Valley. In little more than a year was to occur that tragedy which ruined and broke up the mission and set back the settlement of New Zealand for many years.

It should be emphasized that, whilst there was coin included in the gift of the *paremata*, that did not make it a payment; it was a return gift; the Maoris themselves set the value of the Testaments. It was perhaps hardly barter—it was rather gift than barter or purchase.

The following is an example of true barter and it took place before the Pakeha was fully established in New Zealand with all his topsy-turvy financial manipulations and complications of interest and exchange and present value and discount and whatnot. It is recorded by Samuel Marsden, who on 18th January, 1815, was at the south end of the Hauraki Gulf. He writes: 'Several of the natives of the Bay of Islands had brought with them a little trade. Some a few nails, others small pieces of iron hoops, some a few feathers and a variety of articles of no value to Europeans but of much value to themselves. The village was all in motion; they crowded together like a fair from every quarter. Some of the inhabitants brought cloaks to sell and various other articles, so that the whole day exhibited a busy scene, and many things were bought and sold in their way. When the fair was over, the ladies entertained us with several dances and songs. One of them had on a fine upper garment which a chief from Rangihou, who had come with us, wanted to procure for his wife. He had brought a box of feathers neatly dressed, the pithy part of the quill having been all cut off and only the external part remaining, to which the feather was attached, made the feathers wave gracefully with the smallest breeze when placed in the hair. He opened it

in the presence of the ladies. Many of them wanted these feathers. He, on the other hand, required the fine garment. After placing very tastefully two or three feathers in several of the ladies' hair, she that had got this fine garment, when she beheld how elegant they appeared in the heads of those who had them, became extremely impatient to possess such an ornament. He asked her to sell her garment (he, of course, meant exchange); she stood hesitating for some time. At length he laid down a certain number at her feet. This temptation she could not resist, but instantly threw off the garment and delivered it to him for the feathers. The chief on our return presented this precious garment to his wife.'

The chief referred to was Te Uri-o-kanae. He was a witness to the deed of sale of the land for the mission which Marsden had just established at Rangihoua, his signature being a copy of his tattoo. Rangihoua is at the Bay of Islands, close to the place where Marsden Cross was later erected in commemoration of Marsden's opening of the mission in New Zealand. John L. Nicholas, who had accompanied Marsden from Port Jackson, was present on the occasion and he adds a little detail, so that his account makes a good supplement to Marsden's. He writes: 'We had here an opportunity of observing how the natives transact the affairs of trade among each other. The merchandise of Te Uri-o-kanae consisted of a number of white feathers of the gannet, which are universally worn by both sexes in this country, but prepared exclusively in the Bay of Islands, whence they are carried into the other districts and form a staple article of trade. These feathers are neatly dressed, and each of them has a small piece of wood tied round the quill end which serves to stick in the hair. Our humorous friend was now the magnet of attraction to all the ladies in the village in consequence of his valuable and ornamental wares, and, seating himself in the midst of the gay circle, he prepared to untie the box that contained the feathers to gratify their impatient eyes. The sight at once filled the whole group with rapture, and, taking some of the feathers out of the box in which he had laid them with as much dexterity as if they had been packed up by the most experienced man milliner in London, he stuck several of them in the heads of the surrounding ladies who, when thus decorated, congratulated each other with ecstatic transports, while they individually betrayed a ludicrous self-complacency. He then counted out twelve of the feathers and laid them down with much gallantry at the feet of the young damsel who had the cloak, giving her at the same time a large bunch of the down of the gannet, which is used as an ornament for the ear. Upon receiving these she immediately gave him the cloak in exchange, and Te Uri-o-kanae, carefully tying up his box again, walked off to supply more customers. The ladies now commenced dancing and singing, which they kept up for some time, much in the same style that we had witnessed in the Bay of Islands.'

The fair lasted for some time, while Te Uri, like another Autolykus, wheedled from impressionable maidens valuables more regarded in the Bay of Islands than the feathers he had for disposal. Savage writes of some of the articles for which Autolykus wheedled in vain. He says: 'Some of the most beautiful cloaks we had yet seen were exhibited for sale. Four of the ladies decorated with these, which were very large and richly ornamented, appeared to great advantage, being extremely handsome women and not disfigured by any extraneous devices. On these cloaks they set a very high price (he means value) and would take nothing for them but axes, of which we had none to barter (there he actually uses the word), so that our desire to obtain them could not be gratified. I offered them tokis, and large fish-hooks, but they declined the exchange; and even our friend To Uri-o-kanae's feathers were not of sufficient attraction. The common cloaks they parted with readily enough, but the dress ones were not to be bought, unless by articles they considered of equal intrinsic value.'

I ask you if this display of their cloaks by the four handsome young women was not an early mannequin parade? And can you tell me what sort of reception you would get if you went into Kirkcaldie's or the D.I.C. and offered a few axes in exchange for some of their fine evening cloaks? And as a matter of fact, those same evening cloaks, even the best of them would not, in open market, fetch one-tenth of the price of those four dress-cloaks, as Savage calls them, which their owners then were willing to part with for axes which now would not fetch a tenth of one of the Kirkcaldie's cloaks. What a topsy-turvey world, where so much depends upon the mere whims of men and women who are on the scene for so short a while.

One final picture from the far South of New Zealand. On 22nd April, 1850, Capt. Stokes was at the Neck, Stewart Island, and saw an old Maori woman with tattooing on arms, breast and back—but not Maori tattooing. 'To each of the pictures a history was attached, the separate groups being an abstract and chronicle of some event in her experience. There were Maori men engaged in mortal combat with their tomahawks, women as spectators, seemingly encouraging their husbands and brothers to lay on with right good will. The tattoo on the left arm was a man holding a gun perpendicularly with the muzzle to his head, the suicide of a relative in years past detected in improper intercourse with another chief's rib. Anticipating unpleasant results usual in such cases and exasperated at losing his paramour, he had 'jumped the life to come'. Half-crown pieces pierced for the purpose, and an old George IV coinage hung as pendants to her ears. They also wore shillings and sixpences as ear-rings. Northward their country women usually affected the brilliant white tooth of a species of ground shark, tipped with red sealing wax, which from its showy tint is extensively used for adornment. A single drop of semi-transparent

greenstone suspended in the ear by black ribbon, is also much worn—and many thrust into the enormous apertures slit in that delicate portion of their person any small articles of European workmanship they can lay hold of. Thus I have seen old brace-buckles, a piece of a gun-lock, soldiers' brass buttons, a brass-tipped cotton-reel, so applied.'

The Maoris in their generation were wiser than the children of light—they put the noble metals to their true use—ornament and adornment.

BRASS PATU USED FOR BARTER

The President, Mr. Johannes Andersen, gave a short address on Brass Patu, which are stated to have been used by Capt. Cook as an article of barter. The address was given as a result of an enquiry by Mr. A. F. M. Paterson, of Timaru, who stated that an American publication declared that Capt. Cook arranged for several brass mere to be cast in England, following his first voyage, and that subsequently he used these articles in bartering with natives in the Pacific area. One brass mere was found in America, and Mr. Peterson asked whether any had been found in New Zealand. Mr. Johannes Andersen said that on page 84, Vol. 36, Journal of the Polynesian Society, the following note appeared:

"The following extract from an account of Cook's third voyage seems to show that brass weapons of *mere* form had been made in England, doubtless for trade purposes, etc., in these parts: 'On the 23rd February, 1777, in the morning, the old Indian who had harangued the captains when they approached the shore, repaired on board the Discovery and made a present to her captain of a complete stand of their arms . . . and, in return, Capt. Clerke gave him a brass patoo-patoo, made exactly in their fashion and manner, on which were engraven His Majesty's name and arms, the name of the ships, and the date of their departure from England and the business they were upon.' Probably a number of these weapons were made and distributed, but we have not heard of any specimens thereof being preserved or found. Of the medals distributed by Capt. Cook, several have been found.

"The trouble with the quotation is that on looking up Cook's Voyages of that date the words do not appear, so that it seems as if the date is incorrect, nor has the correct date been ascertained. Perhaps some reader can supply correct reference. However, going on the words themselves, the late Harry G. Beasley, F.R.A.I., of London, sent the following note on this subject, published in Vol. 36 (1927) p. 297: 'My acquaintance with such, extending over a good many years, is that although they exist here

and there, but few have come down to the present day. At Oxford is a brass or gun-metal onewa-shaped example, formerly in the Sir Joseph Banks collection. Mr. Balfour has kindly sent me the following particulars—'This specimen was in the old Pitt-Rivers collection, 1874, and the entry in the old catalogue of the collection, as shown in the Bethnal Green museum, dated 1877, reads—455, Patoo-pattoo of the same shape (i.e. as basalt example) in gun-metal. Made by Sir Joseph Banks to take out to New Zealand, with his arms engraved upon it.—Among the Banks objects there is no onewa at all like the shape of the gun-metal one, which, however, may be amongst the Cook specimens found in Banks' house in 1887, and which were sent to Sydney by Sir Saul Samuel.' . . . It will be recalled that Banks went to New Zealand only once—that is, on the first voyage. It is obvious that meres were unknown at that time, and could have been cast in metal only subsequently to the Endeavour's return. It is recorded that Cook took some out as trade objects, and although Banks did not accompany him, it is probable that he was associated with the later voyage, and obtained one of these as a memento. The use of gun-metal, even to-day, is peculiar to the Royal Navy, and it is therefore probable that they were cast in the Royal dockyards for Cook's particular use. In 1907 I secured from a junk-shop three cast-iron meres; two are from the same mould, are $15\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, and weigh 5-lb. 5-oz. They are somewhat thin in the blade; a thong-hole is provided, and in powerful hands would prove a very dangerous weapon. The third is from a different mould, measures $14\frac{7}{8}$ in. in length and weighs $9\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. In section the blade is much thicker than the former two . . . In use it would be a most unserviceable weapon, the balance being bad, while the great weight would retard its utility. All three meres have at one time been painted green to imitate jade.

"References to the use of metal meres by previous writers are rare. Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, London, 1817, p. 134, speaks of seeing an iron mere at Whangaroa in the hands of Te Pai, who was brother to George, a chief frequently mentioned by early writers . . . Elsdon Best, *Dominion Museum Bulletin*, No. 4, p. 85, refers to the Tuhoe people grinding iron meres (patupora): Heke is also said to have possessed an iron mere beaten out of an iron bar."

"The shield upon which the Banks arms are engraved is a modification of the shield described as 'heater-shaped,' which is itself a modification of the narrow Norman shield; its shape is that of the modern electric iron; that is, in the sides curves begin immediately at the ends of the upper side, trend inward gradually for nearly half the depth of the shield, then increasing to meet at the point at the foot. In the drawing in the *Journal* the width at the top is two inches and the depth of the shield is two inches. The shield is divided into four quarters by a 'Cross Humette'—that is, a St. George Cross with its

limbs couped (ending just before they reach the edges of the shield, which means that the foot of the cross is pointed to correspond with the point of the shield. In each quarter is a fleur-de-lis. Above the top of the shield is printed 'Jos. Banks, Esqr,' and below the point, '1772.' The right-hand and lower lines and curves are thickened throughout the design as shading, each thickened line or curve having an inner light line or curve close to it."

DOUBLOONS USED BY THE MAORI

Mr. Andersen quoted the following extracts from Earle, in "Nine Months in New Zealand" (1827-28), indicating the coinage problems of the Maoris:

"It is rather a remarkable and novel circumstance that the natives, who have now been for fourteen or fifteen years in close intercourse and carrying on traffic with Europeans, should not, in the course of that period, understand the nature and value of money; a laughable instance of which occurred to us a few days since. A native came to our house with a serious countenance and businesslike manner, and said he wished to purchase a musket; we asked him what he had brought in exchange for one, when, with great ceremony, he produced a copper penny piece by way of payment. We, of course, refrained from laughter, but he was quite astonished and mortified when he was made to understand that we could not trade with him. He took a stroll round the beach, offering his penny, by way of barter, to every white man he met, but everywhere with equally bad success. The poor fellow had, doubtless, seen someone pass a doubloon, and had mistaken his penny for one, as a doubloon is about the price given for a musket in our regulated list of charges." (Pages 203-204).

CHANGES FROM BARTER TO MONEY PAYMENTS

Mr. Andersen then quoted from "An Account of the Settlements of the New Zealand Company" (1841), by H. W. Petre, pages 16-17:—

"We employed them (the Maoris) chiefly in shooting, fishing, hunting, cutting firewood, and, as I have said before, building houses. At first they were content to be paid with food only. By degrees their wants increased, and they required various goods, such as tobacco, clothing and hardware. All this took place at our first squatting settlement on the banks of the Hutt; latterly, after the bulk of the settlers were established at Wellington, the natives had begun to require money wages in return for their labour. A similar change took place with regard to trade. At first all our exchanges with the natives were made by barter only, but long before my departure they had begun to comprehend the use and value of money.

This knowledge at least extended in some cases to regular employment of our currency. One native resident at Wellington purchased a horse which had been imported from New South Wales, and used to let it out for hire; and another had an account with the bank. Great numbers were in possession of money, which they usually carried about with them in a handkerchief tied round the neck."

POVERTY BAY CURRENCY NOTES

In drawing attention to his discovery of a £5 denomination of currency notes issued by Captain G. E. Read (not Reid, as in No. 289, p. 125, Numismatic History of New Zealand), Mr. Andersen said:

"The captain was an old colonist in the days of the New Zealand Company, and was associated in business with the Hon. W. B. Rhodes, of Wellington. He was also engaged in trading on the East coast of the North Island, and resided at Te Mawhai, a whaling station near Tokomaru; but about 1840 he settled in Poverty Bay district, from which he kept up the coastal trade. It was, however, during later years, about 1865, that his name became most intimately connected with the district, where he was known as the 'King of Poverty Bay,' of which, indeed, he might justly be called the father. His exertions at the time of the Te Kooti raids, and through the subsequent hostilities, were of great assistance to the settlers. After that, too, he did noteworthy work in furthering the cause of European settlement in the district on conditions which were, on the whole, favourable to the colonists, which no doubt means that for the rest of it they were favourable to Captain G. E. Read. There were those who criticized his methods—as whose methods will not be criticized?—but, taking one consideration with another, Captain Read undoubtedly did much to promote the settlement of Poverty Bay. That he was shrewd and far-seeing goes without saying. He died suddenly, at the age of sixty-two, in February, 1878. Like many of these early traders, he was a man of substance in more ways than one—in fact, he was, like Falstaff, a gross, fat man. A picture of him, seated in a roomy chair, is shown in the New Zealand Biological Cyclopaedia for Auckland, p. 1002. There being a shortage of money in the district in the 'sixties, he issued notes for £1 and £5, the former pink, the latter buff in colour. They were issued in little books, the notes perforated on the left, like cheque-books. The £1 note is as follows:—

S.289A	ONE	(Royal Arms)	ONE
	No. 2830	— O * O —	No. 2830
	I promise to bear the Bearer on demand		
	the sum of ONE POUND sterling.		
	Poverty Bay day of 186...		
	£1.0.0		

.....

The £5 note is exactly the same, but for the colour, which is buff instead of pink, and the number; the one I have is No. 222. The notes were current at Poverty Bay and beyond that district. The Royal Arms being present shows that they were sanctioned by the Government, and, indeed, the soldiers in the district were paid in these notes."

RED FEATHER TREASURE

LECTURE I

(Delivered 30 November, 1942.)

The custom of barter is one known to every school-boy, and its pursuit in youth is not a bad training for the more serious engaging in business which sooner or later involves every schoolboy. Amongst the Polynesians of the Pacific barter was at first the only means of trade the Pakeha explorers and traders found it possible to indulge in; and among others Captain Cook found—I am sure much to his surprise—that the Polynesians set a great value on red feathers. They valued the red feathers partly for the sake of their colour, partly because they were able to use them in the making of ornamental articles of dress. When he was at the Marquesas in April, 1774, Captain Cook saw some gay head-dresses which impressed even him as ornamental and beautiful. He writes:

"At the Marquesas, April, 1774 Their principal head-dress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibres of the husk of coconuts. In the front is fixed a mother-of-pearl shell, wrought round to the size of a tea-saucer; before that, another, smaller, of very fine tortoise-shell, perforated into curious figures. Also before, and in the centre of that, is another round piece of mother-o-pearl, about the size of half-a-crown; and before this another piece of perforated tortoise-shell, the size of a shilling. Besides this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces; and all have fixed to them the tail-feathers of cocks or tropic-birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright; so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament. They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace, call it what you please, made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum" (Vol. 1, 461).

The feathers of the tropic-birds referred to are the long plumes, of which the birds have only two, springing from the outer sides of the tail and projecting out from the others. There is little of the plumage along the sides

of the feathers, only a little at the base, the rest being the red tapering quill only. The bird is an inhabitant of tropic seas, and it rarely came alive to New Zealand, but was blown here in storms, and the Maori valued the plumes very highly, almost as much as greenstone, and a chief might wear one fixed to his hair upright over the ear. Sir James Carroll used to wear one in his hat, and the plume always attracted attention, as with every movement of the head of the wearer it would wave back and forth so that you could not help looking at it. The Maori called the bird, *amokura*, but its name in the Pacific was *tavake*, and whilst that word is no longer used by the Maori, he has it in one of his old sayings: He huia rere uru. 'a hoka ki runga ra, he tawake maro, he kawau whakateka (A huia, flying to the west, soaring on high: a tawake, keeping steadily on its course; a kawau (shag) flying headlong). This saying, which seems to have reference to the charging of a warrior in battle, must be very old, seeing that it preserves the old name of the amokura.

The red head-dresses, or head-dresses with red feathers, were used in other parts of the Pacific. Cook was at the Friendly Islands on 29th May, 1777, when the chief Poulaho came on board early in the morning, and with him brought as a present to Cook one of these caps covered with red feathers. He writes: "These caps were much sought after by us, for we knew they would be highly valued at Otaheiti. But though very large prices were offered, not one was ever brought for sale, which showed that they were not less valuable in the estimation of the persons here; nor was there a person in either ship that could make himself the proprietor of one, except myself, Captain Clerk, and Omai. These caps, or rather bonnets, are composed of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (that is, the *tavake*, or *amokura*) with the red feathers of the parroquets wrought upon them, or jointly with them. They are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any crown, and have the form of a semicircle, whose radius is 18 to 20 inches." They got some of the parakeet feathers, however, and when they reached Tahiti in the following August, Cook writes: "The important news of red feathers being on board our ships, having been conveyed on shore by Omai's friends, day had no sooner begun to break next morning than we were surrounded by a multitude of canoes crowded with people, bringing hogs and fruit to market. At first, a quantity of feathers, not greater than what might be got from a tom-tit, purchased a hog of forty or fifty pounds weight. But as almost everybody on the ship was possessed of some of the precious article in trade, it fell in its value above five hundred per cent before night. However, even then the balance was much in our favour, and red feathers continued to preserve their superiority over every other commodity."

The natives seemed almost to have a reverence for the feathers, for every man, on obtaining a quantity, would

turn aside, hold up the feathers before him, and murmur a short address or karakia as if of praise or devotion; but everybody among the Pakehas was too busy with his trade to stop to learn what the karakia was or why it was murmured. Red was, however, a sacred colour with them, and ever since they have been known their admiration for red has been known; it was well exemplified in the magnificent red and yellow feather cloaks of Hawaii; and among the Maori the occasional red feathers of the kaka were highly valued for knotting into their superior flax cloaks.

As soon after the discovery of America, an El Dorado was discovered there and wealth began to pour into Europe, not always remaining in the pockets of those who discovered it or stole it, so the Polynesians of the Pacific had their El Dorado, though the treasure they searched for was not gold, but red feathers. Two names occur in their legends, Whenua-manu and Whenua-kura, names which mean Land of Birds, and Land of Treasure—kura being a word meaning not only treasure, but also red; and the treasure referred to was red feathers. S. Percy Smith considered that the place referred to as Whenua-manu was New Guinea, and I believe that to be true; but the word, manu, means not only bird, but also insect; and in Rarotonga, a Maori homeland, manu alone means insect; if a bird is intended, the word rere, to fly, is added—manu-rere. Whenua-manu, as land of insects, applies well to New Guinea, which has insects of all sorts in superb abundance. Whenua-kura was also supposed to apply to New Guinea, but I think it applied to only part of New Guinea, and a part separate from the Island itself—that is, an island off the coast of New Guinea, the island Waigiou, off the north-west corner of that great island. That island, and the small group, Aru, are the home of the bird-of-paradise. Let me describe the great bird-of-paradise, which is found in Aru. It is seventeen or eighteen inches from the beak to the tip of the tail. The body, wings, and tail are of a rich coffee-brown. The whole top of the head and neck is of an exceedingly delicate straw-yellow, the feathers being short and close-set, so as to resemble plush or velvet. The lower part of the throat up to the eye is clothed with scaly feathers of an emerald-green colour, and with a rich metallic gloss, and velvety plumes of a still deeper green extend in a band across the forehead and chin as far as the eye, which is bright yellow The two middle feathers of the tail have no webs, except a very small one at the base and at the extreme tip, forming wire-like cirrhi, which spread out in an elegant double-curve and vary from twenty-four to thirty-four inches long. From each side of the body, beneath the wings, springs a dense tuft of long and elegant plumes, sometimes two feet in length, of the most intense golden-orange colour and very glossy, but changing towards the tips into a pale brown. This tuft of plumage can be elevated and spread out at pleasure so as to almost conceal the body of the bird. Their cry

is a long wauk, wauk, wauk, wok, wok, wok, and the birds have regular aerial dancing-parties in certain trees in the forest which have an immense head of spreading branches and large but scattered leaves, giving the birds a clear space to play and exhibit their plumes. On one of these trees a dozen or twenty full-plumaged male birds assemble together, raise up their wings, stretch out their necks, and elevate their exquisite plumes, keeping them in continual vibration. Between whiles they fly across from branch to branch in great excitement, so that the whole tree is filled with waving plumes in every variety of attitude and motion. At the time of the excitement the wings are raised vertically over the back, the head is bent down and stretched out, and the long plumes are raised up and expanded till they form two magnificent golden fans striped with deep red at the base and fading off into the pale brown tinte of the finely-divided and softly-waving points. The whole bird is then overshadowed by them, the crouching body, the yellow head, and emerald-green throat forming but the foundation and setting of the golden glory which waves above. When seen in this attitude, the bird-of-paradise really deserves its name and must be ranked as one of the most beautiful and wonderful of living things. The description is by the great naturalist Wallace, who spent some time in those eastern islands studying the many forms of life so abundant there.

But beautiful as the birds described are, these were not the kura of the Polynesians, though they may have given the Hawaiians their fancy for yellow as well as red. The bird I take to be the kura is slightly smaller, being from thirteen to fourteen inches long, and differing in many particulars, and found only on the island of Waigiou already mentioned. The side-plumes, instead of being yellow, are rich crimson, and extend only about three or four inches beyond the end of the tail; they are somewhat rigid and the ends are curved downwards and inwards, and are tipped with white like the tail feathers of the huia. The two middle tail feathers, instead of being merely elongated and deprived of their webs, are transformed into stiff black ribands, a quarter of an inch wide, but curved like a split quill, and resembling thin half-cylinders of horn or whalebone; when during life they hang down they assume a spiral twist, forming an exceedingly graceful double curve. They are about twenty-two inches long and always attract attention as the most conspicuous and extraordinary feature of the species. The rich metallic green colour of the throat extends over the front half of the head to behind the eyes and on the forehead forms a little double crest which adds much to the vivacity of the bird's appearance.

The name given to the birds by the Malay traders is manuk dewat, birds of God; and it will be noted that the first word is the Polynesian word manu, bird, and the

second the Hindoo word, *deva*, with "t" added. Besides collecting birds, Wallace also collected words, and he has a list of 117 words in about 33 of the dialects spoken in the islands scattered in the neighbourhood of the island Waikiou. The list of words did not include land or country, so the Polynesian, *whenua*, could not be compared with these, but it did include bird and feather, and *manu* in one form or another occurs again and again, as does *huru*, the Polynesian for feather, but not quite so often. In Gilolo, an island 150 miles to the north-west of Waigiou, lived what Wallace called the Galela men, and he has this to say to them: "These are natives of a district in the extreme north of Gilolo, and are great wanderers over this part of the archipelago. They build large and rooms praus with outriggers, and settle on any coast or island they take a fancy for. They hunt deer and wild pig, drying the meat; they catch turtle and trepang; they cut down the forest and plant rice and maize, and are altogether remarkably energetic and industrious. They are very fine people, of light complexion, tall, with Papuan features, coming nearer to the drawings and descriptions of the true Polynesians of Tahiti and Hawaii than any I have seen." This is a true picture of the navigating, hunting, fishing, cultivating Polynesian, and the significant fact is that the channel between Gilolo and Waigiou of New Guinea is the channel the Polynesians took on their slow migration from somewhere in Asia through the East Indies and into the Pacific. Wherever the Polynesians went in their migrating, a few or more would stay behind and either colonize the spot or mingle with the inhabitants if they had anything in common with them. If they settled on an island and found the inhabitants in possession uncongenial, they would settle on the coast and drive the others inland so that they had to take to the hills, and had to stay there. That happened in all the islands where Polynesians got a footing; they took possession of the coasts, the Melanesians took refuge in the hills, and had to stay there. Wherever, too, the Polynesians left some of their numbers, they naturally left their language, and so traces of it are seen here in the neighbourhood of Waigiou. I have noted eighteen islands in the area where the word for bird is *manu* or a close form of it—*mano*, *manue*, *manuo*, *manok manuti*, *manumanu*. These are some of the reasons why I incline to identify Waigiou with *Whenua-kura*, the land of red treasure, and New Guinea as *Whenua-manu*, the land of insects.

It should be noted, too, that they treasured red feathers as the Peruvians treasured gold—for ornament rather than for utilitarianism. It is little wonder that Cook's people found the red head-dresses highly valued; it is little wonder that the loose feathers so readily commanded trade. The feathers were taken to be used as treasured ornaments; in little tufts, or even singly, they would be neatly bound to small stick-supporters for insertion in the hair. In the early days of their commerce with the Pakehas, too, coins would be used for the same

purpose—ornament; they would be perforated and hung in the ear or round the neck.

In Santa Cruz group, British Solomon Islands protectorate, red feathers are used as money; that is, red feathers made in long narrow stripes called tau. These are as much as 26 feet in length, and two inches or more in breadth. Across this band are fixed rows of feathers for the full length of the band. Each row is called a lendu, and a lendu is made by a base of pigeon feathers being knotted into the material of the band, and on each pigeon feather three of the red feathers are stuck with a vegetable gum so that they overlap like the scales of a fish. Each lendu when finished is about the size of the top of a safety-match box, and the lendu are added one after another to the band till the whole tau is covered except for the end which is finished off with a piece of pearl shell, beyond which the end tapers off to a point, the edge ornamented with small shells. The tau is rolled up in a coil, and if well cared for remains springy and resilient. A charm in the shape of an equal-armed cross of wood, often highly carved and ornamented, is laid on each coil before it is wrapped up in many leaves so as to be kept clean and fresh, also so as to protect it from evil spirits. The feathers are obtained from a small bird, the scarlet honey-eater, and each bird is able to supply enough feathers for two or three lendu; usually the feathers are plucked from the snared bird which is then released to produce a new crop. The feathers may be used for trading, and the maker of a tau usually is not the bird-catcher. For trade purposes the feathers of from 15 to 20 birds are placed in a half coconut-shell and covered with pandanus or other waterproof leaf. A coil of first quality may contain about 3000 lendu, or the feathers of approximately 1000 birds; and an idea of their value may be had when it is known that an ocean-going canoe 5 to 6 fathoms in length and capable of carrying three tons, would cost about four good tau. If the feathers were plentiful a skilled worker might make four or five tau in a year; that was so in 1935, when there were only ten people in the group able to finish a tau.

Very few coils were sold for Pakeha currency; £20 would hardly secure a first-class one. Mostly they were exchanged for food-products, canoes, turmeri tobacco; but their chief use was as a bride-price, the average price paid for a desirable wife being 10 tau. In this group shell money was current before the manufacture of tau started, which it did about the year 1860. What started the fashion, who can say?

When I was in London in September, 1936, I had to be vaccinated as I was going to South America, and the doctor I called on to commit the operation was something of a collector, and to my surprise he produced a coil of this red-feather money; but it was very inferior tau, most of the feathers having moulted and what was left being

dingy in colour; he also had a pukaea—a Maori war-trumpet about five feet long, and when he said he had never heard it blown I asked him if he would like to hear it; he handed it to me, and after dusting the ancient thing I put it to my lips and it emitted a blast that astonished both him and the spiders in it. The old thing could still roar out its challenge.

So here is a little mixture of numismatics and anthropology which I trust is not unacceptable.

RED FEATHER TREASURE

LECTURE II

(Delivered March, 1946)

The old-time Polynesian knew nothing about money, and had no need for it. Every man worked for his keep; food, his greatest necessity, was pooled; clothing he made for himself, nature providing the material, providing also his few luxuries in the way of colours and scents and feathers.

Among feathers, red ones were particularly prized, and he would go to great trouble to secure them. The place-names Whenua-manu (bird-land) and Whenua-kura (land of red treasure) were well known in older Polynesia, but, like the equally well-known Western name El Dorado, it was not known where they were; it had been forgotten, except that they were somewhere in the West. Far back they were spoken of by people who had been there, but the adventurers were few, for the way was long and beset with difficulties and with dangers—just like El Dorado. S. Percy Smith supposed them to be in Indonesia, through which the Polynesians passed long ago, and though they probably referred to New Guinea. I suggest Whenua-manu may refer to New Guinea, and Whenua-kura to Waigiou, the most south-easterly island of the Moluccas, lying 50 miles W.N.W. of the northern extremity of New Guinea, from which it is separated by Dampier Strait, leading from the confined seas lying among the islands Waigiou, Gilolo, Ceram, and others of that team-in-garchipelago, and the open sea of the Polynesian Pacific.

The birds referred to in the name Whenua-manu, Percy Smith thinks, may be the birds-of-paradise as these occur plentifully in the great island of New Guinea itself, and in various islands off its shores, some of the species being confined to different islands, the red or ruby bird-of-paradise being confined to the island of Waigiou.

[**Editor's Note:** Some parts of this paper were fully covered in its predecessor and therefore omitted here.]

New Guinea, together with the small islands adjacent to it, lie in a shallow sea of under 100 fathoms, so that it forms part of the Australian continental area. The groups of Aru and Waigiou adjacent to it lie in a shallow sea of under 100 fathoms, forming the Austro-Malay area. The other islands to north and north-west are separated from these by a deep but narrow channel, and form the Indo-Malay area.

The flora and fauna of these two great areas are quite different and the birds-of-paradise are confined to the northern part of the Austro-Malay area. When the earliest European voyagers came to the Moluccas in search of cloves and nutmegs and other rare and precious spices they had discovered were produced in those then unknown parts, they were occasionally presented with dried skins of birds so strange and beautiful as to excite the admiration even of the spice-seeking rovers. The Malay traders gave them the name 'manuk dewata' (bird of God); and the Portuguese traders, finding that the birds had no feet or wings (being deceived by the way in which the natives had preserved them), and not being able to learn anything definite about them, called them *passarosedo sol* (birds of the sun). The learned Dutchmen, into whose possession they finally came, wrote about them in Latin so that everyone who could read might understand them, and called them 'avis paradiseus' (birds-of-paradise). Jan van Linschoten, one of these learned savants, gives them this name in the year 1568, and says that no man has seen these birds alive, for they live in the air, always turning towards the sun, and never alighting on the earth till they die; for they have neither feet nor wings, as, he adds, may be seen in the birds carried to India, and sometimes to Holland; but being very costly they are rarely seen in Europe. Down to 1760, when the great naturalist, Linnaeus, named the largest specimen *paradisea apoda* (footless bird-of-paradise) no perfect specimen had been seen in Europe, and absolutely nothing was known about them.

It will have been remarked that already as far back as the middle fifteen hundreds the birds, when dead, had become an article of trade, and when Wallace was in the islands they became even more so, for, not content with observing their beauty and describing their evolutions, he must put an end to both by securing them as specimens; the trade of the spice-hunters he augmented by the trade of the specimen-hunters. But Wallace collected more than birds; he collected words. He secured vocabularies from many of the islands in this area, and from these vocabularies it is possible to see that the Polynesian 'character' remained here after the Polynesians had passed through on the way to the wide Pacific. Naturally, they lingered on the way, sometimes for years or a generation, married or associated with the non-Polynesian women, and left fragments of their language and fragments of themselves. From nineteen of the islands the

Polynesian word for 'bird' (*manu*) is found, sometimes the very word, sometimes modified—*mano*, *manue*, *manuti*, *manok*, etc. I noted above that the Malay traders' name for the birds-of-paradise was *manuk-dewata* (bird of God—'dewata' being no doubt related to the Hindu 'deva', a deity); and in eight of the islands the Polynesian word for feather '*huru*' appears in that or a modified form.

In his *Hawaiki*, Percy Smith writes of these same people; he thinks they are of the Polynesian stock, and he surmises that the period when the Polynesians were partly compelled by the incoming Malays to move on to other parts, partly incorporated, may have been about the year 390, their course to the Pacific being down the archipelago past both sides of New Guinea, the northern migration (*heke*) being through Dampier Strait referred to earlier, lying between the head of New Guinea and Waigiou. He writes: 'In more than one Rarotonga legend an island or country is mentioned, named *Enua-kura* (Maori, *Whenua-kura*), or 'the land of red feathers,' which is possibly New Guinea, so called by the Rarotongans after the bird-of-paradise, the beautiful feathers of which would be to them treasures of the highest value—or such treasures as Europeans who do not know the race can hardly believe in; they were their jewels.' And this scrap of history brings me to that part of my subject that is of more direct interest to my fellow-numismatists.

A paper on red-feather money was read to the Society on 30th November, 1942, in which was quoted an extract from Captain Cook's Journal for April, 1774. The following extracts from the same Journal bear on the same subject and show the high estimation in which red feathers were held by the polynesians:

'At Amsterdam (now *Tonga-tabu*), October, 1773: They have a curious apron made of the outside fibres of the coconut shell, and composed of a number of small pieces sewed together in such a manner as to form stars, half-moons, little squares, etc. It is studded with beads of shells, and covered with red feathers, so as to have a pleasing effect. (Second voy., 1-427.2).

'At Tahiti, April, 1774: . . . when we were at the island of Amsterdam we had collected among other curiosities some red parrot feathers. When this was known here, all the principal people of both sexes endeavoured to ingratiate themselves into our favour by bringing us hogs, fruit and every other thing the island afforded in order to obtain those valuable jewels. Our having these feathers was a fortunate circumstance; for as they were valuable to the natives, they became so to us; . . . if it had not been for the feathers, I should have found it difficult to supply the ship with the necessary refreshments. (1-464.3).

'At Tahiti, May, 1774: I have occasionally mentioned the extraordinary fondness for the people of Otaheite

for red feathers. These they called Oora, and they are as valuable here as jewels are in Europe, especially those which they call Oravine, and grow on the head of the green parroquet; all red feathers are, indeed, esteemed, but not equally with these; and they are such good judges as to know very well how to distinguish one sort from another. Many of our people attempted to deceive them by dyeing other feathers, but I never heard that anyone succeeded. These feathers they make up in little bunches, consisting of eight or ten, and fix them to the end of a small cord of about three or four inches long, which is made of the strong outside fibres of the coconut, twisted so hard that it is like a wire, and serves as a handle to the bunch. Thus prepared, they are used as symbols of the Eatuas, or divinities, in all their religious ceremonies. I have often seen them hold one of these bunches, and sometimes only two or three feathers, between the forefinger and thumb, and say a prayer, not one word of which I could ever understand. Whoever comes to this island will do well to provide himself with red feathers, the finest and smallest that are to be got. (—477.2).

'Next chapter to above: At Huaheine: Next morning, the natives began to bring us fruit. I returned Oree's visit, and made my present to him, one article of which was red feathers. Two or three of these the chief took in his right hand, holding them between the finger and thumb, and said a prayer, as I understood, which was little noticed by any present. (—477 foot).'

In the third quotation appears the word 'oora'; this is the Maori **kura**, a word with many meanings, as an adjective, red, glowing, precious; as a noun, red feathers used as a chaplet, ear-ornament, or other adornment, a taiaha adorned with red feathers; a treasure, valued possessions, a darling; knowledge of karakia (incantations) and other valuable lore; also many other meanings, but the above are applicable in the present instance. A whare-kura was hence a house in which sacred lore, including karakia, was taught, and one of the chief of such whare-kura was the one in the twelfth Maori heaven. This whare-kura was named Rangiatea—the meaning of the word rangiatea being a clear sky absolutely bare of clouds. It was so named because the most sacred whare-kura in the Pacific was on the island of that name, spelt Raiatea in some places. When the famous carved and decorated church was built by the Maoris at Otaki, on a name for it being required, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata chose this famous old name. How many people know this when they stand and admire the beautiful Maori art there displayed—and the reverence implied in the name? In Vol. 3, p. 81 of **The Lore of the Whare-wananga**, occur the following remarks about these kuras:

'Plumes of these red feathers were worn by the whatukuras, the murei-kuras, and other apas (different classes of deities). The plumes were obtained from the following

birds: hakuai, tapu-turangi, koreke-rangi, tahaki-kare, kaukau-rangi, kura-a-rangi, and rakorakoa (or amakura, called taveke in many parts of the Pacific). All these birds were very tapu; it was their tail-feathers that were used as plumes for the deities above mentioned. There are three birds whose plumes were used not included in the list given; they were the kotuku (white crane or heron), the huia, and the koekoea (long-tailed cuckoo). These three birds were brought to this world by Tawhaki, in order to produce plumes for his wife Maikuku-makaka; their feathers were not red, but, as most people know, the kotuku plumes were snowy-white and delicate as those of the egret; those of the huia were black, tipped with white; those of the koekoea, brown spotted with black—all graceful plumes. Most of the birds in the first list are not known now; the hakuai is said to be a very large and fierce bird that is never seen but very high up in the heavens; the rakorakoa, or amokura, is the red-tailed tropic bird, which occasionally visited the north of New Zealand, but is more often blown here on storms and found dead on the beach; the two long red tail-feathers were highly prized; Timi Kara usually wore one in his hatband, its wiry nature keeping it in constant motion as the head was moved, so drawing attention to the wearer. It is a bird of the tropics, where it is called tavake. There is a fascinating tale from Rotuma about Lilitavake and Lalatavake, two young women who were able to assume the forms of the two species, white tropic-bird and red tropic-bird. When coming from Panama in 1936 one of these birds, a white one, came on board, and as it cannot rise from the deck it was found in the morning, and was brought to me for identification. I was asked what was likely to be wrong with it. I said there was probably nothing wrong; it could not rise off the flat deck, and if they threw it overboard they would probably find it was all right. They threw it accordingly; the bird gave a harsh cry, it might have been one of thanks, it might have been of derision, and flew off and joined its mate which had been keeping up with the ship during the night, evidently knowing what had happened to its mate, and waiting for it to rejoin it.'

One word more about these kuras. When the Maori came to New Zealand away back in the year 1350 or thereabouts, some of the people on board the various vessels were wearing these kura of red feathers. One of the men on the Tainui had such a kura; his name was Taininihi, and when they saw the red bloom of the rata Taininihi exclaimed; 'What a waste of care on my part to bring the kura which I have brought from Hawaiki, as there is so much red here in this island.' Then he threw his kura into the sea. The land first touched by this vessel was Whangaparaoa, near East Cape. The kura of Taininihi floated ashore, and was found by Mahina, from which has come the proverb, 'The kura which drifted ashore and was found by Mahina.' This is for anything which has been

lost, and when found is not given back to the owner; this was later a custom on the islands.

When the people landed, Taininihi went to gather some rata-bloom for a wreath, the kura he had brought from Hawaiki being intended to be so worn. He put on the rata wreath, but he had not worn it long before it faded. Then his thoughts went back to the kura he had thrown into the sea. He searched for it, but found it in the possession of Mahina. Mahina refused to give it up, saying: "I will not give your kura to you; it is the stranded kura found by Mahina." Even though a valued greenstone treasure might be lost, it will not be given up by the finder. No, it is like the kura stranded and found by Mahina. Mahina was one of the men from the other vessels which had landed long before the Tainui.

There has perhaps been little said about money in the foregoing and not very much about barter; but even in the bartering the Polynesians had very different thoughts from the sailors, as is suggested in the words about the little prayer addressed to the prized bunch of feathers. The Polynesians thought of these rather as the Peruvians thought of gold—something beautiful and precious for the adornment of their temples and their deities; and we can think of what wonder, and admiration, and reverence, suffused the thoughts and feelings of the Polynesians when they hear the word Whenua-kura."

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Andersen for his most interesting and informative paper, which was enjoyed by all present. Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Allan Sutherland stated that the instructive and original material would be enjoyed by all when circulated in the Bulletin. The Society was fortunate in having for its President a man of such diversified interests and literary distinction. He was able to present a broad canvas and to fit numismatics into the pattern in a most attractive manner.

THE OXFORD CROWN AND ITS TIMES

(Delivered 24 September, 1945)

Very different opinions are expressed about our King Charles the First; some think of him as the martyr King, others think that he richly deserved what he got. The world no longer believes in the divine right of kings, though there is one lingering exception. There seems to be no doubt that Charles I had a genuine love for the fine arts. It has been said that his mind was moulded by the Graces, and that Buckingham was the favourite because he, too, was a lover of the fine arts. He excelled in staging

masques, ballets, theatricals, and musical entertainments, with which he indulged his fancies while at the same time he delighted his royal patron. Buckingham very well knew the style of entertainment wanted, and secured his effects by employing the best to carry out his ideas; the charms of the verse of Jonson, famed for his masques, and for such lyrics as "Drink to me only with thine Eyes"; the scenic machinery of Inigo Jones, architect and also a contriver of masques, and the variety of fanciful devices of Gerbier. The third name is not so well known. Gerbier was the architect employed by the Duke of Buckingham, and was a close friend of Rubens, the artist. He was in Antwerp when Rubens died, in 1640, and he sent to London an inventory of Rubens' pictures and effects, in case the King should wish to obtain some of them. Earlier, in 1629, Rubens visited London, and when there he was Knighted by Charles for services in Spain on behalf of the King. There are 30 of Rubens' pictures in the National Gallery.

One of the entertainments put on by Buckingham is estimated to have cost him from £5,000 to £6,000, but if this extravagance is censured, it must be remembered that entertainments of the kind were then common. It is recorded by the literary Duchess of Newcastle that an entertainment of this sort, which cost her husband £4,000 to £5,000 was put on for the gratification of Charles the First.

Comus was a masque of the kind referred to. This masque was written by Milton, for presentation at Ludlow Castle, in 1634, before John, Earl of Bridgewater. The music was written by H. Lawes, who was so besieged with requests for copies of the lyrical text that he said his hand ached from the making of the copies—there are 1,023 lines in it—so that in self-defence he had the words printed. This was in 1637, three years after the production of the masque. Lawes writes a short preface, but he does not say that Milton was the composer of the words, and it was not till the publication of a collected edition of the poems of Milton in 1645, that Comus appeared as the work—or rather the pleasure—of Milton. This cast a backward light of fame on the small paper-covered volume of 1637, which is the best edition of the Comus. Few copies were printed and fewer survived, so that the little volume is a rarity, worth before the war £5,000 and upward, as much as the production of the masque for Buckingham. Comus is a masque in praise of virtue; and it concludes:

Mortals, that would follow me,
Love, virtue; she alone is free;
She can teach you how to climb
Higher than the sphery chime;
Or, if virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her.

Dryden had this in mind, possibly, when he wrote Alexander's Feast where the following lines occur:

Let old Timotheus yield the prize
Or both divide the crown;
He rais'd a mortal to the skies,
She drew an angel down.

This is good; so good that Pope, a great admirer of Dryden, must attempt to better it in his Ode on St. Cecilia's Day, which he concludes:

Of Orpheus now no more let poets toll,
To bright Cecilia greater pow'r is gi'n:
His numbers rais'd a shade from hell,
Hers lift the soul to heav'n.

In the reign of Charles I began a remarkable improvement in the art of die-engraving, of which the celebrated Oxford crown is a good example. On the obverse is depicted the King on horseback, with a view of the city of Oxford in the distance. There is good reason to believe that Charles had some influence in bringing about the change for the better, and in helping in the establishment of the engraver Nicholas Briot in the Tower at the mint there. He certainly took an interest in the coinage, and was a numismatist. His approval of new designs was necessary (see note to this effect in Mr. W. D. Ferguson's paper, Vol III, p. 71, lines 6 and 5 from foot).

In her "Portraiture of our Stewart Monarchs", Helen Farquhar writes: ". . . in the 16th century, portraiture on our currency was in its infancy, whereas under Charles I it almost attained its zenith. He had such excellent judgment in drawing and painting, that, to quote one of his most severe critics, he might have got a livelihood by them . . ." p. 170 (See excellent paper by Mr. W. D. Ferguson, on English Silver Crowns Vol II, p. 147).

On the coins of the Commonwealth the inscriptions are in English, instead of in Latin; and Cromwell's portraits, by the famous engraver, Thomas Simon, rank high in excellence. To the series of Charles II belongs the beautiful Petition crown also designed and engraved by Simon. This coin takes its name from Simon's petition to be reinstated as engraver to the mint. The petition is inscribed on the edge: 'Thomas Simon most humbly prays your majesty to compare this, his tryal piece, with the Dutch, and if more truly drawn and embossed more gracefully ordered, and more accurately engraven, to relieve him.' This coin was an improvement on the ordinary Charles II crown by Jan Roettier, with the head after a drawing by Samuel Cooper to make the Petition Crown, though the coin thus taken as a model had itself great merit. In the reign of Charles II the first guineas were struck, from gold brought from the Guinea coast.

Charles the First was a good critic of art too, and had collected from all parts of Europe; it may be that be-

cause he had collected that he became a good critic. Phillip the Fourth of Spain was a rival collector, and because of the emulation between these two, art-prices in Europe had doubled.

When finally the unfortunate King went, his treasures went too; those who immediately succeeded him had no patience with such vanities, no soul for their appreciation. In March, 1648, the Parliament ordered commissioners to be appointed to inventory the goods and personal estate of the late King, Queen and Prince, and appraise them for disposal to the public. The inventory forms a volume, folio size, of near a thousand pages, bound in crimson velvet, and richly gilt, the writing being in a 'fair large hand', but showing that the writer had little knowledge of the objects which he describes. It is entitled "An Inventory of the Goods, Jewels, Plate &c., belonging to King Charles the First, sold by order of the Council of State, from the year 1649 to 1652." So that from the beheading of the King, a year was allowed for the drawing up of the inventory, and the sale proceeded during three years, an indication of the quantity of goods accumulated.

A few of the items disposed of may be mentioned. Disraeli the elder, from whose "Curiosities I of Literature" much of this detail is taken, writes,—"The King's curiosities in the Tower Jewel-house generally fetched above the prices fixed; the toys of art could please the unlettered minds that had no conception of its works."

The Temple of Jerusalem, made of ebony and amber, fetched £25. A fountain of silver, for perfumed waters, artificially made to play of itself, fetched £30.

A chess-board, said to be Queen Elizabeth's, inlaid with gold, silver and pearls, £23.

A Saxon king's mace, used in war, with a ball of spikes, and the handle covered with gold plates, and enamelled, £37-8-0.

A gorget of massy gold, chased with the manner of a battle, weighing 31 ounces, was sent to the mint. (And so with other articles of gold and silver; if the price fixed was not realised, the article was sent to the mint: beautiful works of art were valued by the ounce, silver selling at 4/11 per ounce, and gold at £3 10 0.)

The pictures, taken from Whitehall, Windsor, etc., exhibited, in number an unparalleled collection. By what standard they were valued it would be difficult to conjecture; from £50 to £100 seems to have been the limit of the appraiser's taste and imagination. Two, however, did realise something like the value of a picture—a Sleeping Venus, by Correggio, £1,000, and a Maddona by Raphael, £2,000. Others, too, brought a certain value which would perhaps be regarded as ridiculous now—the great Piece of the Nativity by Julio Romano, £500; the Little Madonna and Christ, by Raphael, £800. The great Venus and Padre,

by Titian, £600. Rubens' *Woman Taken in Adultery*, described as a large picture, sold for £20, and his *Peace and Plenty*, with figures of life size, £100; *Venus Dressed by the Graces*, by Guido, £200. Titian's pictures seemed generally valued at £100.

The following full-lengths of celebrated personages were rated at the whimsical prices stated:

Queen Elizabeth in her Parliament robes £1.
The Queen-mother in mourning-habit, £3.
The King, when a youth in coats, £2.

King Charles on horseback, by Sir Anthony Vandyke, was sold at the appraised price, £200.

The highest prices were brought by tapestry and arras hangings, which were chiefly purchased for the service of the Protector, the amount exceeding £30,000, including the following among others:—

At Hampton Court, ten pieces of arras hangings of Abraham, containing 826 at £10 a yard, £8,260.

Ten pieces of Julius Caesar, 717 ells at £7, £5,109. (This would appear to be copies of Andrea Mantegna's "Triumphs of Julius Caesar," the cartoons of which are still at Hampton Court).

One rich cloth of estate of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, having the arms of England with a Garter, with all the furniture suitable thereunto. The state containing these stone following: two cameos or agates, twelve chrysolites, twelve ballases or garnets, one sapphire seated in chases of gold, one long pearl pendant, and many large and small pearls, valued at £500 and sold for £602 10s. to Mr. Oliver, 4 February, 1649.

Disraeli asks, "Was plain Mr. Oliver, in 1649, who we see was one of the earlier purchasers, shortly after the 'Lord Protector'?"

The following item may be of more interest to numismatists:—

"The coins or medals were thrown promiscuously into drawers; one drawer having twenty-four medals, was valued at £2 10s.; another of twenty, at £1; another of twenty-four, at £1; and one drawer, containing forty-six silver coins with the box, was sold for £5."

On the whole the medals seem not to have been valued at more than a shilling apiece. The appraiser was certainly no antiquary. No, and he was no numismatist, or we should at any rate have known what they were, and should have been in a position to judge of the prices which seem so ridiculous.

Disraeli has other chapters about King Charles I and they certainly give another side to the character of this unhappy king—unhappy in his fate, that is, if happy in his accomplishments.

Perhaps a few words by Disraeli, father of our famous and extraordinary politician, "Dizzy" would not be out of place here. He writes:—

"The king is accused of the most spiritless uxoriousness, and the chaste fondness of a husband is placed among his political errors. Even Hume conceives that his Queen 'precipitated him into hasty and imprudent counsels,' and Bishop Kennet has alluded to 'the influence of a stately queen over an affectionate husband.' The uxoriousness of Charles is re-echoed by all the writers of a certain party. This is an odium which the king's enemies first threw out to make his contemptible; while his apologists imagined that in perpetuating this accusation they had discovered in a weakness which had at least something amiable, some palliation for his own political misconduct. The factious, too, by this aspersion, promoted the alarm they spread in the nation, of the king's inclination to popery; yet, on the contrary, Charles was then making a determined stand, and at length triumphed over a . . . faction which was ruling his queen, and this at the risk and menace of a war with France. Yet this firmness has been denied him, even by his apologist Hume . . . (who) imagined that every act of Charles originated in the Duke of Buckingham . . ." In this instance, on the contrary, he was going directly against the advice and the wishes of Buckingham.

Charles I was a king by nature, perhaps because he believed he was one by divine right, and he loved virtue, as recommended by Milton in "Comus," perhaps for the same kingly reason—how different from his unkingly and voluptuous successor, who came a poor second.

Andrew Marvell has these two quiet stanzas on the calmness and dignity of Charles during the last moments at the block:

He nothing common did or mean
 Upon that memorable scene,
 But with his keener eye
 The axe's edge did try;
 Nor call'd the Gods, with vulgar spite
 To vindicate his helpless right;
 But bow'd his comely head
 Down, as upon a bed.

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RANGER, Mrs. E., 58 Majoribanks St., Wellington.

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RUTHERFORD, Master R., 11 Princess Street, Newtown, Wellington.

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