

**Colonel William Wakefield's Journal**  
Archives NZ Reference AAYZ 8971 NZC 3/1/1 Folios 1-229 and 241

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*Despatch No.1 Folios 1-53***Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound, Cook's Strait, August 17<sup>th</sup> 1839**

Sir, My last letter to you, and the only one I have had an opportunity of sending since we left England, was dated June 3<sup>rd</sup>, and was shortly to inform you of the safe progress of the Expedition nearly to the Equator. The hope I expressed therein of reaching New Zealand within a hundred days from England, has been realised, and I have now the pleasure to (tear in page)... the you, for the information of the... made and Directors of the Company... in 26° first sighted the land near Cape... almost yesterday at noon, being the 96... Trade in from Plymouth, we anchored this evening in the harbour.

Our passage has been made without touching anywhere, and, indeed, if I except a very distant glimpse of the mountains in the Island of Palma, one of the Canaries, without our having seen land since the Lizard. Having had the benefit of the opinions and experience of an excellent navigator in Captain Chaffers, I venture in this place to offer briefly the result of my observation on the voyage, with the hope that, should the suggestions founded on it be thought likely to be useful to emigrants, the commanders of the Company's ships may be instructed to give their attention to them; and for so invading the province of the navigator I would plead that although the voyage... (corner of page torn away) the North Atlantic, nowadays, may... Humboldt observes, fewer dangers... passage of a Swiss lake, still it... doubted whether the published... have laid down the course best... to ensure the least delay in... it; - still more is it... to offer some practical remarks on the navigation of the South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, - for which no book of sailing directions, further than to the Cape of Good Hope, exists, - and on the best way of reaching New Zealand, hitherto but little known except to masters of whale ships, who seldom think of communicating the results of their experiences.

It is the custom of vessels bound round the Cape of Good Hope to cross the line in between 18° and 22° of West Longitude; by pursuing which track it is supposed that they are most likely to avoid, on one hand the calms which prevail near the coast of Africa, and on the other the currents which set towards the dangerous shores of South America near Cape San Rogue: and by this plan a passage to the line in 40 days is considered good for a merchant vessel. I would advise that, in running down the N. E. trade, more westing should be made, so that the line should be crossed in 26° or 27° W., by which means one is almost certain to find the South East Trade in 4° of 5° North, or almost as soon as North-East trade fails, and to ensure a favourable wind down the coast of America, should it be the intention to put in at Rio, from whence, during the greater part of the year, a westerly wind blows towards the Great Connecting Current and the Cape of Good Hope.

By pursuing this course we reached the line in 26 days, being but two days in the variables, and after quitting the S. E. trade in 20° S., might have been at Rio in a week, or in six weeks from England; - or had we been set to the westward near Penedo de San Pedro, we had an excellent harbour for refuge, provisions, &c., under our lee in Bahia. I conclude that every emigrant ship to New Zealand will put in at one port at least, on her way out. It is in my opinion absolutely necessary that the emigrants, in order to arrive out comfortably and satisfied, should, particularly where there are women and children, have a few days to procure fresh provisions, have their clothes washed, and break the monotony of so long a voyage; and I mention Rio as a desirable port for such purposes, as well as that by making it no time would be lost, as a vessel must go further south to be sure of finding a favourable wind to run down her easting to the Cape. It has also the advantages of being a cheap place, (whereas Cape Town, inaccessible by means of Table Bay during the winter months, is now one of the dearest places in the world) and of offering no temptation to the British emigrant to settle there instead of proceeding further. Much time would also be lost by refreshing at the Cape, from it being necessary to wait for a wind to get a good offing from Lagulhas Bank, when coming to the eastward.

After doubling the Cape, the usual course of the Indian ships, in the parallel of 40°, seems to be the best till reaching the meridian of the Islands of St Paul and Amsterdam, after which it is necessary, unless it is intended to go through Bass's Strait, to bear away gradually to the South. In this place I may remark that we sailed nearly over the spot where the Telemachus shoal is laid down in the charts, off Cape Lagulhas, and the existence of which has been considered extremely doubtful ever since Captain Hanmer, in H. M. ship 'Heron', sought in vain for it during some days. We kept a good lookout for it, but could find no signs of rock or shoal in the neighbourhood.

Vessels proceeding to the Northern parts of New Zealand may continue in the parallel of 40°, which runs through Bass's Straits, but the prevalence of strong S. W. and S. S. W. winds on the coast of Van Diemen's Land during more than nine months out of the twelve renders it advisable for such as would make Cook's Strait to run as far south as 45°, when after doubling the S. W. Cape of Van Dieman's Land they will bear up direct for Cape Farewell.

On making the land a little to the south of Cape Farewell, the chain of Alps running down the centre of the Southern Island, capped with snow, is the most prominent feature. The land, however, near the coast is very high, gradually lowering towards the strait; and about 40 miles S. W. of Cape Farewell is a most remarkable white cliff or oblique fissure, perhaps the opening of a harbour, which presented to us, at twenty miles' distance, the appearance of a huge tail of white smoke as left behind by a steam vessel under way.

Were the coast surveyed and mapped, ships might probably run up it and enter the strait between Cape Farewell and the dangerous shoal or sunken rocks laid down in the charts. As it is, we stood to the N. E., and hove to for the night in the middle of the strait opposite Blind Bay, where the soundings are excellent at 45, 49 and 52 fathoms, deepening from the land. At daybreak we made all sail and stood on down the strait, passing successively within 5 miles of D'Urville's Island, Stephens Isle, Admiralty Bay, Point Lambert, and Port Gore, bearing the appearance given in the accompanying sketches. The first appearance of the Southern Island is unpromising, - a succession of apparently barren mountains stretching away from the coast till they reach those covered with snow in the interior: - but on nearing the land, you find that the whole is covered to the very highest points with timber and brushwood, which not till then betray their perpetual verdure.

The strait is extremely open and easy of access. Entry Island and the highlands of Terrawitte, with a volcanic mountain emitting clouds of smoke, are plainly distinguished from Stephens Island; but Mount Egmont has not been seen by us.

Passing Port Gore, Point Jackson, which divides that harbour from Queen Charlotte's Sound, has a reef of rocks, partly out of water, partly sunken, running out from it two miles. Giving this a berth we entered between the headlands of the Sound, formed to the N. E. by Cape Koemaroo; but the wind failing suddenly, and the tide setting, at the rate of 5 miles an hour, towards the reef, we were for a short time in doubt whether we could make our port. Just as we had resolved to stand off, a breeze sprung up, with which we ran in, and, in half an hour after entering the Bay, anchored in the mouth of Ship Cove; nightfall, a calm, and the ebb-tide preventing our taking up a berth in the bottom of it.

We came up the Sound between Motuara and Long Island, the sunken rock which Cook discovered in his last voyage, in the passage between Motuara and the land to the N. W. not being precisely laid down.

As we entered the Sound we saw four canoes sailing from the N. W., as if with a view of coming up with us, and before we were at anchor, another, from one of the coves at the entrance, containing eight natives, came alongside us. It had, at some distance, the appearance of its owners hesitating to venture near us; but it turned out that they only stopped occasionally to bale out their canoe, which was very frail and shabby, consisting of a single tree hollowed out for the bottom, and a few rough planks, ill put together, for its sides.

As the canoe ran alongside the ship, then scarcely making way through the water, it was lashed to the main chains and the men from it were on our deck in an instant. As they were unarmed, no precaution had been used to prevent such an occurrence, and at first sight their savage appearance, wild expression of countenance, and energetic movements might have led us to believe that their intentions were anything but friendly. They quickly, however, shook hands with everyone coming in their way on the deck, and seemed to consider that their appearance on board in the way described was a matter of course, and that we were very glad to receive them. They all spoke more or less English, enquired where we were going to anchor, telling us that their cove was the best place, and assumed an air of authority such as a pilot does, who steps on board a vessel entering a strange port. They brought on board a small quantity of fish and potatoes, which were afterwards bought for a little tobacco.

These men are of the Ngatimatiu tribe, whose chief lives here, and is tributary to Raupero, the head of the Capiti Tribes, who lives at Capiti or Entry Island. This part of the Sound, however, is owned by Hiko, Raupero's nephew, who inherited it from Tepahi, and who will probably succeed Raupero as chief of the Capiti Tribes. One of them recognised Nayti, the interpreter, as an old acquaintance, and the latter was exceedingly alarmed at their appearance on board; - the aspect of affairs here having greatly changed since he was here three years ago and not indicating a very peaceable state. At that time, no pah or fort existed in the Sound; but as we sailed into it, the Island of Motuara and Long Island each presented signs of hasty but extensive fortification, if a rough enclosure by palings scarcely so strong as an English sheep-pen can be so called; and we found that a few months ago a quarrel had taken place, between the Capiti Tribe and that called Ngatziawa [sic], which resides further up the sound than where we are, respecting the right of proprietorship in Motuara and Long Island, when Raupero crossed the strait with his followers, and after a fight which ended in the slaughter of eight men, had been victorious, when peace was established: - and it still exists.

On the other hand, a schooner from the Bay of Islands had been here with an English and native - chief missionary, whether of the Church or Dissenting Society did not appear, and had transformed these fighting cannibals into Catechists or self-styled Missionaries. Our friends asked for Bibles, and talked of the morrow being Sunday with uplifted eyes; but begged hard for muskets and spoke of the recent fight and subsequent horrors with rapture. They are a fine race of men, infinitely superior in appearance to those of the northern part of the other island; very intelligent, and capable of being extremely useful to settlers, as labourers, fishermen and sailors. They behave with strict decency and propriety, but are half naked from want of clothes, for which they evince a decided preference to powder or ornaments. They have been much spoiled by their intercourse with the numerous Whale ships in the ports in the strait, and seemed surprised at my declining the offer of the sojowen of one of their daughters on board during my stay amongst them. With the acquisition of these bad habits they have not lost those of the savage, and of the savage of New Zealand in particular. They are suspicious and susceptible to the greatest degree, grasping and importunate, cunning, treacherous and revengeful.

The rising generation, however, promises much better things. The influence of the forms of worship, introduced by the Missionaries and scrupulously attended to by the whole community, although it has inculcated but a vague idea of the Christian religion, has been most powerful and morally useful. It has introduced a strong desire to acquire knowledge from books, and the love of a settled residence and of a quiet life, which routine always engenders.

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**Sunday August 18th**

At daylight this morning we weighed anchor, warped into the Cove, and moored the ship in eleven fathom water with muddy bottom within 300 yards of the shore, to a tree on which we carried out a hawser; - occupying nearly the same position as Captain Cook during his three visits to this harbour. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the situation. The water, tranquil as an inland lake, has ten fathoms' depth within a ship's length of the shore, which is covered to the water's edge with an evergreen forest, consisting of every variety of indigenous tree and shrub, so thick as to be scarcely penetrable, and presenting to the eye an undulating carpet of verdure reaching to the summit of the surrounding mountains, the highest of which is from 1200 to 1500 feet. The birds, as in the time of the immortal English navigator, fill the air with their notes, the mixture of which he has aptly likened to the tinkling of small bells; and the sea teems with fish, of which we caught enough with hooks and lines for the ship, before we dropt anchor. These consisted of hake, cole-fish, spotted dog-fish, gurnet, flounder, and joefish, all of which are eatable. Our friends the natives came on board early, and were followed by the four canoes we had seen yesterday coming from the westward.

The owners of these latter have their residence in Admiralty Bay, and were bound to Cloudy Bay with pigs and potatoes for sale, but, seeing the 'Tory' stand into the sound, had followed in the hope of doing better with us, and with the intention of pursuing their way by the passage through the Sound which opens into the strait near Cloudy Bay. This passage, which forms an island of the land to the S. E. of Cape Koemaroo, is mentioned by Cook, but is not laid down in any of the maps. It is the usual route to Cloudy Bay from the westward, being much shorter and safer than that by the strait. The natives from Admiralty Bay have not had the benefit of missionary visits, and exhibit, in nearly all its nakedness, the genuine savage character. They rubbed noses with Nayti instead of giving the shake of the hand, which characterises the disciples of Christianity throughout the islands. Their faces were painted like an European buffoon, and their bodies thickly anointed with whale-oil and ochre. They displayed more physical activity and energy than our neighbours here, and, in the opinion of all of us, would not scruple to commit any outrage on strangers who could not protect themselves.

It being Sunday, after the ship was moored and the decks cleared, I dismissed the natives with a request that they would come early tomorrow with what they had for sale, and went on shore with the naturalist and other gentlemen of the expedition. The little beach, with its springs and rivulets, retains, at the distance of nearly 70 years, vestiges of Cook's visits, in the timber cut down but not used by him, the wild radishes and cabbages, and the space cleared for his forge and workshop.

The wood is almost impenetrable on the sides of the hills, from the web of supplejacks and other creepers; but for a hundred yards from the beach there is a swampy flat, through which run three rivulets of delicious water, which flowing from the heights, here assumes a shape before mixing with that of the Bay.

The soil here and on the hills is very rich, being, in fact, the decayed vegetation of centuries, and in the flat producing a thick carpet of weeds and herbage; but even were the land cleared higher up, which would be a work of time, it is doubtful whether the great acclivity would not prevent cultivation for the purposes of husbandry, though there can be little doubt that the vine and Indian corn might be grown up to the summit.

No natives appeared on the shore, the cove being under taboo on account of it containing the burial place of a daughter of Te pahi, the late chief of the Capiti Tribes. I was unaware of this fact till we were at anchor, and find that, notwithstanding the missionary doctrines, an utu or compensation is expected from us for breaking the taboo by anchoring in the cove.

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**Monday August 19<sup>th</sup>**

Everything was in activity today for filling our water-casks and refitting the ship; the length of the voyage and the press of sail we had carried having considerably affected our rigging. The wood here comes most opportunely to replace our studding-sail booms, of which we had not one left when we arrived, all having been carried away, one after the other, in the various favourable gales we had run before.

The Store-keeper was busily employed in traffic all the morning, and soon laid in a stock of Pigs and Potatoes sufficient for all hands on board during six weeks. A basket of potatoes, weighing 20lbs, sold for a pipe; and a blanket, which cost 8 shillings in London, fetched 3 pigs weighing 80lbs each; and this was considered a liberal scale of barter on our part.

In the afternoon, having sent all the natives away with the exception of the chief Ngarewa, his wife and son (a very handsome, nice lad of 17), whom I retained to dinner, I went over to Motuara accompanied by Captain Chaffers and the cabin party. This is the island lying at the entrance of the Sound, where Cook had his observatory and garden, and commands a view of the whole northern part of the Sound, Entry Island and the highlands of Terrawitte. It is covered with wild shrubs, plants, and flowers, and even at this time, the depth of winter, looked as gay and thriving as an ornamental plantation in England, in summer. Hundreds of parrots, green and brown, wood pigeons, tuis, and singing birds crossed our steps, and all our guns contributed to the naturalist's collection. There are also many pigs turned loose here by the natives, to be caught as occasion requires; but no human inhabitants reside here.

There are about 200 natives living in the sound at about 3 hours' sail from Ship Cove. The settlement is called Teawaiti, on the island of Alapawa, formed by the southern channel before mentioned, and the natives are of the Ngatiawa tribe. The Ngatiinatui tribe consists of only 80 or 90 souls, living a mile and a half nearer the entrance of the Sound than Ship Cove. Their village bears the name of Anaho. Two of our party went to this village yesterday evening in a canoe with the natives. They were most kindly received, supper was prepared for them, and after prayers and singing in a meeting house, when every soul in the villages collected, they had mats for the night, of which, as a matter of course, two young girls were brought to them to partake.

The chief, his wife and son, behaved most respectably at table, ate of everything heartily, but drank sparingly, the father occasionally warning his son not to take too much wine. Nayti is delighted at the reception by us of his friends, who treat him with great respect, always addressing him by the title of Eriki or Chief. There was some doubt in England as to his caste, which, from all we see, stands as high as that of any one in the Strait. His dress and apparent wealth has some share also in procuring deference from his countrymen. A striking change has taken place in his demeanour since our arrival in harbour. During the voyage he was at first moody and regretted the life of visiting and amusement he had led in London. At another time he took affront at a Debating Club which we held in the cabin twice a week, at one of the meetings of which he supposed that he heard his own name mentioned, and he accordingly absented himself from the cabin for some days, and declared that he would leave the ship when she might arrive in port and would go back to England and get employment from another Company &c.

The same uniform kind treatment he had received from all of us, with a little firmness on my part in forbidding him to associate with the crew, quickly brought him round, however; and fear of his countrymen at the first sight of them made him cling still more to his English friends. When the first canoe came alongside us, he began to apologise to me for the naked state in which I should find the natives, in the manner that one might excuse the appearance of a poor relation, and was much relieved by our reception of them. The contrast between his own comfortable position and their wretched state seemed to strike him forcibly and made him sacrifice them to us. He interpreted faithfully their words and intentions, and repeatedly cautioned me against either their attempts to steal from the ship or to cheat us in our dealings. He has greatly gained also in our estimation by juxtaposition with his countrymen, amongst whom he assumes the bearing of a smart intelligent Englishman, so much so that in talking of him they commonly call him the white man. On the whole he promises to be much more useful to the expedition than I had anticipated; and decidedly has the interests of the Company and its object of settling his native country from Great Britain much at heart.

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**Tuesday August 20<sup>th</sup>**

The work on shore proceeds with vigour. I have settled the question of utu for anchorage, wood, and water, by a small present, and this even was unnecessary, the natives themselves breaking the taboo whenever convenient to themselves, and the custom having gone out of fashion where the missionaries, who strictly denounce it, have got any footing. In the afternoon I went to a small cove up the Sound and drew the seine, in which we caught an excellent dish of soles, flounders, and young herrings. In the evening many fish were caught from the ship with line and hook; one of them, a species of ground ling, very good for the table, weighing nearly twenty pounds.

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**Wednesday August 21<sup>st</sup>**

The bad weather prevented our leaving the ship, a violent S. E. gale, accompanied with heavy rain, continuing all the day. Some of the gentlemen, however, were out in a boat, and shot several shags and red-beaked cormorants. The former build in trees at the edge of the water, are easily shot, and are very good eating, resembling very much, in taste, fresh-killed beef.

Notwithstanding the rain, the watering proceeded rapidly; so that in two days and a half we have filled and stowed enough for a voyage back to England. The Chief Ngarewa continues our guest on board, and Nayti is paying a visit on shore at the village. The old Chief is most inoffensive and dignified; his pipe, and looking at pictures in books of travels, being his principal employments. He seems to possess but little influence amongst his people; or perhaps he has not yet seen an occasion worthy of his serious interference. He knows all this country well, and amongst other information, assures me that the coast of Taranake on the other side of the Strait is without any harbour and has very shoal water, which breaks a long way out to sea. He also knows a harbour about 20 miles to the S.W. of Cape Farewell, where abundance of coal is to be found, and whither he would undertake to pilot a vessel.

The longitude taken today by our Chronometers varies only  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile from that given by Captain Cook of this place.

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**Thursday August 22<sup>nd</sup>**

During the forenoon the gale broke and the rain ceased: so that I was able to take the Chief home to his village in the whale-boat. Before starting I gave him a gun and a few trifles, with which he was delighted. On landing at his pah, in the cove at the entrance of the Sound which I have before mentioned, we were received by many of the natives who had been on board and knew us; and as we advanced towards the meeting-house, which has been built at the expense of the missionaries, man, woman, and child came out from their huts to greet us with the external shake of the hand.

The bottom of the cove where these people reside is a most delightful place, with sufficient flat land for a considerable settlement, and a gentle slope for half a mile up the side of the mountain, which is, like the rest, covered with evergreen trees and shrubs of the most luxuriant growth. A stream of strength enough to turn a mill, runs through the centre of the basin formed by the rising ground. The village is a straggling collection of thatched huts of ten feet high each, the door of which barely admits a man creeping on his hands and knees, and altogether presents the most miserable specimen of human habitations I ever saw. The occupants of these sties are not less wretched than the appearance of their residences indicates:- they want energy and industry to make anything of the abundance which nature has placed around them: it may be said that, their wants being few, little exertion is required of them; but to me they seemed to want everything, with everything within their reach. They are almost naked, houseless, and potato-fed; with a country that would produce commodities exchangeable for every comfort of life. The meeting-house, which also forms the residence of an Englishman, I believe a runaway sailor, absent for a time at Cloudy Bay, serves, during the day, for a common habitation. In this they morning and evening prayers, and, at other times, teach each other to read the portions of Scripture translated and printed by the Missionaries in the Northern Island. The Chief presented us, on leaving him, with a fine specimen of the coal of which he had spoken before, and which I send you with the birds and drawings to form the foundation of the Company's Museum. I walked half-way back to the ship, over a mountain and through a forest which confirmed me in the opinion, that I have before expressed, of the capability of the soil hereabouts to yield almost every vegetable production, were the land cleared of the timber and rendered available by means of terraces and rendered available by means of terraces or in patches by spade husbandry. In the spaces we found cleared for potato-grounds, which the natives only use for one crop, we found deep loam and in some places clay perfectly adapted to brick-making.

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**Friday August 23<sup>rd</sup>**

I went at daylight to the village with our nanny goat and hens, which I left on a visit to a splendid he-goat and some Malay cocks I saw there yesterday, and which belong, it seems, to the English settler. On my return, several canoes arrived from Cloudy Bay, whence they had started two days ago, by the passage through the Sound. The Artist was on shore in the woods all the morning, and shot sixteen birds, parrots, pigeons, tuis, and the several strange singing-birds of which I send the drawings made by him. In the evening the seine was drawn in the little cove next to ours, which we have called Flatfish cove, and several bucketsful of soles and herrings were caught. The hooks and lines also, on board, had only to be let down to ensure cole and dog-fish. Eoro, the son of the Chief Ngarewa, came off with me in the morning and slept on board. He amused himself with pencil and paper, and learns with great facility. His observance of his newly acquired worship is most strict; no circumstances preventing his praying and singing most devoutly night and morning.

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**Saturday August 24<sup>th</sup>**

The Naturalist and Artist, with Eoro, started early this morning and ascended a hill to the S. E., from whence they had a view of the whole Sound, with a distant glimpse of Cloudy Bay. The accompanying sketch, made by the Artist on the spot, gives an accurate view of the entrance to the Sound and surrounding country. Their observations as to the character of the land and its productions do not add anything to what had been previously gathered respecting them. The rest of the cabin party were engaged in washing clothes ashore, in which they were eagerly assisted by the native women from the village, which had today been deserted by nearly all its inhabitants for our cove. There were nearly 100 persons busy abreast of the ship, and I do not doubt that the cove has not presented so lively an appearance since the time of Cook's visits. The most perfect harmony prevailed, and not the smallest attempt at pilfering by the natives was observed.

I went with my gun to the top of the first ridge of hills, accompanied by a native who answered the purpose of a good setter-dog, by finding abundance of birds sitting in the high trees. Upon each occasion of finding a bird worth shooting, he squatted himself in the peculiar position of which all his countrymen are so fond, and called to me to come up: after I had fired he resumed his course, to which the impediments of supple-jacks, fern, and underwood, which made by progress very slow, seemed to offer no opposition. The woods abound in parrots, wattle birds and innumerable small singing birds. The supply of potatoes exceeds our demand, more than 500 baskets full being ranged along the beach to attract our notice. I intend to lay in a stock of them here, on account of their cheapness, and to prevent loss of time in barter at other places; and should recommend any ship running through the Straits, in want of provisions of this nature, to look in here in preference to supplying itself at Cloudy Bay. Pigs, however, are scarce; the natives being unable to catch those that have been turned out on Motuara.

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### **Sunday August 25<sup>th</sup>**

We had no work on board today; it being the first Sunday the duties of the ship have allowed any relaxation since leaving England. After I had read prayers to all hands, including our guest, Ngarewa, I went with some of the gentlemen to climb a hill in the cove. We ascended the course of a rivulet, which occasionally fell in cascades over the slate-stone rocks forming the sub-stratum of these mountains. With some labour we reached the region where the highest timber grows. Here we found a species of elm, some of which were eighteen feet in girth, and other trees 70 or 80 feet high without a branch, which, if too heavy for masts, would make excellent planking for ship-building. As specimens of all these native trees have long since been taken to England by the 'Dromedary' and 'Buffalo', I do not send specimens of the woods; but, from my own experience and the information I have from the Captain and an excellent ship's carpenter, I feel confident that, although the timber here may not be so valuable as that found in some districts of the North Island, it is still sufficiently valuable to deserve future attention. The surveyor-general of the Navy of England might supply himself for some years' consumption amongst the trees we saw in our ramble this morning. I forgot to mention at the time that when entering the Sound we saw the New Zealand flag flying at the native village: this I presume has been established as a custom by the missionaries in the places they have visited. Having had the flag made during our voyage, I had it hoisted on the occasion and saluted it with eight guns. I have also had a morning and evening gun fired daily. These distinctions from the whale-ships frequenting this coast, together with the prohibition of all natives, except those invited, on board, encumbering our decks, have gained us respectful treatment and a superabundant supply of provisions, for which the natives feel sure of being liberally repaid, if we purchase them.

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### **Monday August 26<sup>th</sup>**

Nothing of importance occurred today. All hands were employed in examining and restowing the cargo and in washing ashore. The weather favoured the latter troublesome operation, in which the want of women accustomed to it was much felt. The linen had plenty of soap and water, but not applied with such effect as at home, and the sun quickly dried it. The climate of this place very much resembles the north of Portugal, the most lovely days bursting out in the middle of winter. The thermometer has ranged between 40° and 56° in the shade during our stay here.

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### **Tuesday August 27<sup>th</sup>**

This morning a noisy fellow, who it appears belonged to the dispersed Cafia tribe, and has married into that of the Ngatiinatui, reopened the question of the utu for wood and water, although he had received a small present for them before. Upon examination it was proved that some kind of promise had been made him by Nayti of a Keg of gunpowder. After a great deal of troublesome negotiation and some slight misunderstanding he was satisfied.

In the afternoon, on my coming on board from an excursion on shore, I found a Chief and his followers, or equals as they assured us, had arrived from Admiralty Bay on their way to Capiti with a present to Hiko. He insisted on the utu being his right, as he partly owned the cove, besides various other places in the neighbourhood. As the powder had not been given to the man in the morning, it was now delivered to the new comer, who appeared to be a person of consequence. He dined with us, and after various attempts at extortion of blankets &c, and threats to report our breaking the taboo to Raupero and Hiko, he took advantage of a calm night to pursue his voyage across the strait. It is impossible to describe the annoying and irritating manner of these people. They take possession of the deck or cabin, if allowed, and would extort the masts out of the ship if any yielding is shown.

In the evening the ship's company came aft and begged to know whether, in case of accident or wounds, the Company would compensate them; and whether, for fear the natives should make an attack on us, they might not have cutlasses at hand. These requests were induced by some of them having been armed today for the absolutely necessary protection of the ship. I assured them that I had taken every precaution to avoid the necessity of recourse to violent measures; but that, in case of a wanton outrage on the part of the natives, arms would be given to the crew to take care of themselves and of the Company's property: and that, in the event of any casualty happening to them, either in defence of the ship or by accident, he would be taken care of by the Company as amply as if he were in the Queen's service:- but warned them that, although we should always be prepared to resist attacks, the best means to avoid the necessity of using our weapons was the exercise of the utmost good temper and patience in our intercourse with the natives. They were perfectly satisfied with my explanation and assurance of vigilance for our mutual safety.

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### **Wednesday August 28<sup>th</sup>**

I had intended today to go up the sound to Teawaiti, and had started for that purpose; but, learning that the Admiralty Bay natives had not left the Sound on account of the wind having freshened, I thought it not prudent to leave the ship subject to a visit from them. In this opinion I was confirmed by Ngarewa and others, and therefore returned, after seeing their canoes on shore in a cove beyond Anaho. About an hour afterwards they arrived as I had anticipated. They were armed, and evidently came to reconnoitre our preparations, and tried hard to get on our deck, with the excuse that they wished to exchange the powder given them for tobacco. The same troublesome Cafia man led the party, and tried to excite them to take the ship if we would not comply with their demands. Upon this I mustered the ship's company and armed them, when after a little more vociferation the party shoved off their canoe and landed in the cove. Towards dinner time Ngarewa and the Admiralty Bay Chief, Wetu, came off in a peaceable way; the latter being without his usual tail. I received him on board and kept him to dinner. He was very quiet when alone, and it seemed that his party had abandoned any hostile intentions. A canoe came in the afternoon from up the Sound and brought us a large supply of fish, which we bought at the rate of a halfpenny for 20lbs. Dr Dieffenbach, the Naturalist, yesterday ascended the highest neighbouring hill. It is covered to the summit with fine trees and underwood, like all the rest on this part of the Southern Island, and, therefore, affords no view of the surrounding country or inland valleys. His observations by means of the temperature of the atmosphere made the hill 1544 feet high; this accords nearly with Captain Chaffers's measurement from the base. Nothing more than what we had already noticed was elicited from the excursion.

The old Chief told us that one of the objects of his visit to Capiti is to be present at a grant tangi or mourning, at which everyone cries to the utmost of his power, on the occasion of the death of a sister of Raupero.

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**Thursday August 29<sup>th</sup>**

A strong N. E. wind, blowing directly into the Sound, prevented us hauling out of the Cove, preparatory to leaving this place. Heavy rain, which is common in this latitude at this time of the year, accompanied it. Wetu became very friendly from the hospitable reception he received, and this morning prevented a canoe full of his people from coming on board; sending them away by saying that we did not want them and that he was very well on board by himself. He is, I should say, upwards of sixty years old, but very strong and wiry. He told us of his four wives besides one lately dead, and shook with laughter at a New Zealand gentleman being so much more amply provided than a King of England. He expressed himself very anxious for us to pay a visit to his place, Rangitoto, which he says abounds in pigs and potatoes. He could not point it out on a chart; but from his description I imagined that it must be in Admiralty Bay, and have since found that it is D'Urville's Island.

As I was prevented going to Teawaiti yesterday, I sent the storekeeper, and he returned this afternoon in a whale boat with two Englishmen, one of whom is carpenter at the whaling establishments at that place, where there are fifty or sixty Europeans and Americans. The other proved to be the Englishman, whom I had had misrepresented to me as a runaway sailor and who lived at Anaho. Oddly enough I found him to be Mr Arthur Elmslie, to whom I had a letter from his father in England, recommending him to take employment under me in case of his knowledge of New Zealand qualifying him to be useful to the Company's interests. He has given me much information respecting this immediate neighbourhood, where he has resided nearly two years. His present place of abode during the whaling season, which continues from May to September, Teawaiti, is in the channel which leads from Queen Charlotte's Sound into Cook's Strait, to the South East. Few ships, according to this account, have hitherto made the voyage through the sound by this passage, and no published account of it has been given; the 'Pelorus', a man of war brig, having only pursued it as far as the English settlement last year and then returned to the Strait by the North Western entrance. The river which that vessel explored, and of which an account reached England last May, instead of being at Cloudy Bay, as erroneously reported in the Oriental Herald, is in Admiralty Bay, and was named the Pelorus river by Lieutenant Chetwode, acting Commander during Captain Harding's illness.

The laws of property, as known to our visitors, are very undefined in this part of New Zealand. Neither Raupero nor Hiko possess the power of absolute disposal of any portion of land in the straight; nor can it be acquired by combining the consent of many claimants or part proprietors as in the Northern part of the North Island. An instance of this has lately occurred at Mana. This island has been sold absolutely to an English merchant at Sydney, and an agent has replaced the foreman of a Mr Bell, who acted for the same person on a part of it. Since the agent's residence on the island, the natives have enclosed the best land, planted it with potatoes, threaten to encroach on still more of the land, and have shot the cattle and goats which have strayed onto their plantations: but all this is nothing to the confusion existing on the main, on both sides of the straights, respecting vested rights. Many white men have established themselves amongst different tribes, and have occupied and cultivated land to any extent within their power without a question or exaction of any kind from the natives; and it is probable that such is the value set upon European commodities and industry by the natives, and so uncertain the right of ownership in land, which has been usurped by tribe after tribe during a series of wars, that a body of settlers might locate themselves, without purchase, in almost any part of the shores of the Strait, unmolested by anybody.

One of the principal means of safety, at present, to wandering Europeans taking up their abodes here, is a quasi-marriage with a native female. Our two guests brought their wives with them as a matter of course, and of safety amongst any natives they might meet. These are the natural consequences of irregular colonization, and would speedily give way to a better system, should this country be settled from Europe by associations of individuals, or occupied by a military force and apportioned as in our colonies.

The New Zealand flag, I learn, was set up at Anaho by Mr Elmslie, at Ngawera's request, to attract the attention of any vessel entering the Sound, with a view to monopolize any benefit likely to arise from the visit for his own village.

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**Friday August 30<sup>th</sup>**

During the morning, the weather being still tempestuous, we had the goats and hens fetched off, and completed our supply of potatoes, which now nearly supersede the use of flour on board. With the latter article vessels coming to New Zealand should be well supplied, as it is very uncertain whether it can be obtained here. Such was the failure of the wheat crop last year in New South Wales from long droughts, that no flour could be bought in Sydney lately wholesale; as it could be retailed at the rate of £80 per ton, whilst cabbages sold at 2s 6d a piece and carrots at 6d. We took on board also a quantity of cabbages and turnips which are always in season and plentiful here. Since our countrymen came on board, we have had no trouble from the natives, who receive but little kindness from the whalers, and therefore do not seek them. Wetu still continues with us; but has ceased all importunities for presents and compensation, from a conviction that our English visitors have confirmed us in our resistance to his attempts at extortion. He is, however, very well satisfied with the small gratuitous presents I have made him, and has kept his people at a distance till there shall be a fair trade wind for his passage. A native missionary was on board today at sunset, when he mustered all the natives on board, who have conformed to the new form of worship, and had prayers and a hymn on the deck. He seemed to possess complete control over the others in inducing them to join in the service; but old Wetu sat apart from the circle, saying that he was no missionary.

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**Saturday August 31<sup>st</sup> Teawaiti**

The weather having moderated, I determined to take advantage of the experience of our English visitors in the navigation of the Sound and Southern Channel to run through them in the ship. We accordingly weighed anchor at 10 a.m., and with a light wind left Ship Cove and stood up the Sound. After the anchor was up I sent Wetu and Ngarewa on shore. The latter parted with us with some little reluctance. The former, retaining all the strong characteristics of a New Zealand Chief, said on going away that he would tell Hiko that we were very bad for not paying the large utu he required, and seemed to have a grudge against us notwithstanding all the civility we had shewn him. He, however, hoped to see us at Rangitoto, and accepted some pipes and tobacco from me with an expression of countenance that might have been interpreted "I take thy groat in earnest of revenge"; not the only phrase Shakespeare's Pistol could furnish appropriate to the disposition and conduct of these people.

At 3 o'clock we entered the Channel, the entrance of which is about a mile wide. The Sound previously had presented a fine expanse of water of 30 or 40 fathoms' depth even close into the shore, and bounded on each side with bays and coves forming a collection of as fine harbours as any in the world. One of them, West Bay, is as large as Plymouth Sound; and all of them easy of access and safe in all winds. At the Southern end of the Sound, before entering the Channel, which turns sharply to the eastward and a few miles afterwards again to the Northward, is a large arm or long bay, at the bottom of which a river, a mile wide at the mouth, enters. Up this arm there is some fine land, and a grove of excellent trees for ship-building and other purposes. A cutter of 40 tons was built here two years ago by an Englishman resident in Teawaiti. Near this river a few hours' walk across the hills brings you to the Pelorus river in Admiralty Bay, the latter rising to the S. W. of its mouth.

The channel, as we proceeded farther, narrowed to little more than half a mile, and reminded me of the Rhone between Lyons and Avignon. The tide ran at the rate of 4 or 5 miles an hour, and formed eddies near each shore. We had no wind, but had nothing to do but to keep the ship in the middle of the passage. At 6 o'clock we anchored near Teawaiti, and Mr Barrett, who is at the head of a whaling establishment as agent for Mr Richard Jones, a merchant of Sydney, came off to us in his boat.

The mountains through which this channel runs are much less covered with timber than those at the Northern entrance of the Sound, and less fertile. The bays, however, offer spots capable of cultivation for any purposes. There are many native settlements, whose inhabitants bear an indifferent character for honesty. A small island about halfway through the channel has a fort on it, the inhabitants of which eyed us eagerly, and sent some canoes to us; but they are cautious of annoying Europeans since the visit of the 'Pelorus', whose commander was of essential service to the settlers in this part of the country, by examining into complaints and rendering justice to the injured party. The exercise of his 32 pound carronades had a most salutary effect of the natives, who had a short time previously decoyed a Master of a Whaler, named 'Cherry' into their hills and murdered them.

Mr Barrett, who has lived in New Zealand as a whale fisherman 10 or 12 years, and came from Cafia with the Ngatiawa tribe, when driven from thence by the Waikato people, knows the Strait and the Western coast thoroughly, and has great influence with that part of the Ngatiawa tribe living at Port Nicholson, having married the daughter of a Chief, and shared their hardships and dangers when attacked by the Cafia and Waikato tribes.

Upon one occasion he headed a party of 11 Europeans and 150 natives during a siege of nine weeks in a fort near Taranake, and principally contributed to a successful resistance against nearly two thousand enemies, some hundreds of whom fell from four field pieces, which he and his comrades manned. He afterwards migrated with the tribe to this Sound and Port Nicholson, where they are nearly a thousand strong. Raupero, who can, by dint of presents and his name, as a warrior, muster about 500 men, dares not attack these last; but occasionally gets up a fight with the weaker party on this side of the strait. I hope by means of Mr Barrett to open a negotiation with the Chiefs at Port Nicholson. His description of its value as a commercial port is quite equal to that given – by all voyagers who have visited it.

The Whalers here, however, are anxious to see an English settlement here, when the land which they have acquired in the manner I before related will, of course, be of great value. The works here for melting the blubber are considerable, but of late years few whales have been taken in the strait by shore parties, in consequence of the number of ships going to Cloudy Bay and on the eastern coast as far South as Port Cooper in Banks peninsula.

The South eastern entrance of the Sound is about two miles from this place and 17 from Cloudy Bay. Any sized vessel can enter it with the tide, there being no bar, and 20 to 25 fathoms' water between the headlands, which are a mile and a half apart. I consider the knowledge of this channel to be of great importance to vessels coming into Cook's Strait, particularly if they are bound to Port Nicholson or the eastern coast from the westward: for they would not only save time by passing through it; but may do so with perfect ease and safety when a South-east wind would prevent them running through the Strait between Capes Koemaroo and Tierawitte. The island formed by the channel bears the native name of Alapawa, unless re-named by Lieut. Chetwode, who, however, did not circumnavigate it by the distance of the two miles we are now lying from the entrance. Captain Chaffer's remarks and description sent herewith will furnish you with more detailed and valuable information than this general account.

Mr Barret has been in his cutter to Wanganui, the place near Cape Farewell I mentioned before where the coal is found. He brought away ten tons of it, which he dug up at high water mark on the beach. There is abundance of it to be had without sinking shafts, and it burns as well as any English coal.

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### **Sunday September 1<sup>st</sup>**

Another settler and whaler here is named Jackson, and owns a little bay and tryworks next to the large settlement. He has been here ten years, being one of the original visitors. He describes the Pelorus river as an excellent place for a settlement, and is to introduce me to a Cloudy Bay whaler, who acted as pilot to the 'Pelorus' Brig in her discoveries in the Strait, and by whose means I hope to open a negotiation with the Admiralty Bay chiefs.

I went today in a boat to the S. E. entrance of the Sound. It is open and easy of access or egress. Near it is a fine valley, occupied by the natives, covered with grass. The inhabitants received us with great civility, having had constant intercourse and trade with the English settlement.

On the whole, considering the position and capabilities of Queen Charlotte's Sound; whether with a view to its becoming a port for homeward-bound vessels to take in cargo and provisions, a safe channel of communication between the western parts of the Strait and, Port Nicholson and the eastern coast, or as a situation for docks and ship building, it is of the first importance and cannot be spoken of in too high terms.

I hope that the Directors will be satisfied with the enquiries I have made and the result of them, before commencing the more important part of my mission, and that in my next communication I shall have to announce the progress of negotiations for territory in this part of New Zealand.

Our quick passage out has given me a fortnight, to have the ship put in complete order and provisioned for four months, before the time it was expected we should arrive here, and to obtain the above information: and I have therefore nothing now to do but to pursue the object of our voyage.

The state of the natives having been so materially altered of late years by their contact with Europeans and by the precepts of the missionaries, offers facilities of communication with them beyond my anticipations; whilst, on the other hand, the rumours of the Government being about to colonize this country, and of various projects of settlements, have induced the Sydney and Hobart Town speculators to appropriate large tracts of country which might have been desirable for the Company. Two instances of purchases of this nature have come to my knowledge here: the first in which Mr Jones of Sydney, upon the reports above-named, bought for £10 forty miles on the Paterson River, to the southward of Otago; and the second of an equally extensive acquisition near Banks's Peninsula. I have the honor to be Sir, Your most obedient humble servant, W. Wakefield

*End of Despatch No. 1*

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*Despatch No.2 Folios 54-128*

**Teawaiti, September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1839**

Sir, I resume my journal, a copy of which up to the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant I sent you on that day. Whilst waiting for the arrival of Mr Guard, the pilot of the 'Pelorus' I have had an opportunity of learning generally the origin, progress, and present condition of this settlement. The first white man who established himself on the beach here is Mr Guard, who in 1827 was sailing master of a small vessel, and ran in at the south-eastern entrance of the channel in a gale of wind. He built a house, and with his companions carried on sealing and whaling with great annoyance and risk from the natives and but little profit to themselves.

At one time the natives were so ill provided with potatoes and other provisions that the white adventurers subsisted on whale's flesh and wild turnip-tops, and during many seasons such was the want of workmen and implements that the blubber of the whales caught was thrown away for want of casks to hold the oil; and the bone only was turned to account, when any market could be found for it.

At different periods natives from Otago and the neighbourhood invaded the Sound in hostility to the Ngatiawa tribe and indiscriminately burned and destroyed the houses and boats of all the residents. One Englishman, now here, who had lived occasionally apart from his countrymen, has had no less than four houses burnt at various times. Since 1831, however, when Cloudy Bay was first made use of as a port for whale-ships, both that place and the Sound have been worked by the agents of Sydney capitalists, and the shore-parties, notwithstanding the scarcity of whales in the Strait, procure annually 500 tons of oil. No seals are now found hereabouts, and but very few to the southward, where they were formerly in abundance.

The Sydney merchants supply casks and freight for the oil and bone, and nominally pay the fisherman £10 per ton for the former and £60 per ton for the latter. The wages of the working men are paid in slops, provisions, and spirits, which are valued at an exorbitant rate. A pound of tobacco, worth 1s in England or ½d in Port Jackson, is served out here at 5s and sometimes at 7s 6d, and everything else in the same proportion. The men, however, sign an agreement at the beginning of the season, in which the prices of all articles are stated; so that nothing but the difficulty of going elsewhere for work obliges them to submit to these terms. A good hand in a whale-boat can earn £35 during a fair season; but his profits depend on the success of his party, who have shares in all whales caught by them.

If the working-men are thus badly compensated for their labours, the agents suffer no less from the bad debts they are obliged to make in order to induce the former to pursue their occupation for a continuance, and by the high price set upon labor by artizans. A good carpenter or blacksmith earns 10s a day, and these insist upon payment in money. The Sydney merchants embark but little capital in this trade, and, as oil from the black whale sells in England for £30 and the bone for £150 per ton, their profits cannot be thought inadequate to the risk.

It is estimated that about 1200 tons of oil are produced annually by the shore-parties in Cook's Strait and the stations on Banks's Peninsula and further to the southward, and that the number of British in these parts is not less than 500. In the whole there cannot be less than 1000 British settlers in New Zealand. During the summer these men are employed in trading on the coast with the natives for pigs and potatoes, and those who have small vessels procure supplies which yield them large profits by sale to the different French, American and British whaling-ships frequenting the harbours in the strait for provisions before their season on the fishing ground or their voyage home.



The less thrifty pass their summers in small cultivation of spots they have taken possession of with the tacit consent of the natives; and the improvident boatmen await the renewal of their dangerous, and exciting occupation, depending on the families of the native women who live with them for fish and potatoes, and consuming a frightful quantity of gin so long as their credit is good with the agents.

The rivalry engendered by the nature of the whaler's occupation and the jealousy of the native tribes, fostered by the women whose cohabitation with the white men has been the principal source of safety to the settlers in this country, produce the worst blood and the most rancorous feelings amongst our countrymen here. Those resident in the Sound and Cloudy Bay, with the Ngatiawa tribe and Kafia tribe who have been long in deadly contention with each other, mutually disparage their rivals, and in each place separate bays contain varying interests and the same beach affords subsistence to individuals whom no love of gain or community of danger has, for years, been able to unite. There are, nevertheless, some respectable men, who are anxious for a better state of things to be brought about by the example of society regulated by a better law than that of might. Many of their native wives are also entitled to every praise for their fidelity, care of their children, and industry during many years of difficulty and dangers, and are fit to take a very respectable station amongst European matrons.

The half-caste race, of which there are about 25 at Teawaiti, is most promising. They are in general well-built and comely: none of them are darker than Italians; many have flaxen hair and rosy complexions; and all are as active and hardy as their mother's blood and naked sea-shore existence could lead you to expect. Our visit and the knowledge of the probability of the arrival of settlers during the ensuing summer has put several of the principal people here on the alert; so that no want of provisions, planking for houses and boats, or of other necessaries, will be experienced.

Already the natives are planting larger quantities of potatoes than usual, and the English are rearing pigs and poultry for the purpose of supplying the emigrant ships at Port Hardy or elsewhere.

Last week the shock of an earthquake was felt in Cloudy Bay. Such an occurrence is not rare; but no injury has been experienced of late years from convulsions, although the country bears evident marks of having been subject to their action heretofore.

Mr Guard having arrived and my arrangement with him being made, I started this morning accompanied by Mr Jerningham Wakefield and Mr Wynen, a settler in Cloudy Bay, to explore the Oyerrri or Pelorus River in Admiralty Bay in order to see whether the high praises of its banks as a place of settlement were justified by the reality. The Officers of the Brig had painted in such glowing colours the beauties and qualities of the spot, that many parties in Sydney have been contemplating purchases of land in it, but hitherto no-one has possessed himself of any portion of it.

Mr Wynen, who came from England a few months ago, being one of the many tired of waiting for the regular colonization of New Zealand, was equally anxious to visit the place, with a view to inform his friends at Sydney and in England of its capabilities.

We started in a strong boat with five hands, four of whom are natives of Cloudy Bay, and took also a young Chief of the Kafia tribe, to whom the natives living in Admiralty Bay would shew deference as one of the heads of the party who had conquered them and taken possession of their territory.

We retraced our voyage through the Channel and Sound, (the two being about 30 miles in length), and, rounding Point Jackson with the flood-tide, which flows in the Strait to the north-west, after 40 miles' sail from the ship slept the first night in a small bay called Ikoioia, on the main at the back of the Admiralty Isles.

The Bays and Coves of New Zealand are better than any others adapted to a boating expedition. They are in general completely sheltered by mountains and timber, and contain a sandy beach, on which is an unlimited provision of drift wood fit for a camp-fire, and abundance of shell and other fish, with a stream of water trickling from the background. A few blankets and baskets of potatoes, with a pig, are all that it is necessary to bring on these occasions.

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**Saturday September 7<sup>th</sup>**

Leaving our resting place at daylight, we entered by the boat-entrance at the back of Guard's Island, into the great estuary which is found at the bottom of Admiralty Bay, and into which, at the distance of 40 miles from the sea, the Oyerri empties itself. On one of the mountains on the main we observed five head of cattle, part of some imported from Mana, and originally sent there from Sydney by Mr Cooper. The estuary or river presents a much grander appearance than Queen Charlotte's Sound, and contains numerous fine bays, many of which are as spacious as Plymouth Sound and perfectly sheltered, except from the flurries of wind which come with great violence from the mountains and would render good ground-tackle and every precaution necessary for large ships.

It is impossible to see a more beautiful collection of mountains, wood, and water, than that which the passage from the headlands to the fresh-water affords. The heights are more considerable than where we have been, and bear timber of the finest growth, amongst which the pine is conspicuous. On either side, as far as the eye can reach whenever an opening in the hills presents itself, from the water's edge to the clouds for forty miles in length, nothing but a majestic forest of trees of every description, in comparison with which the woods of Blair Athol are insignificant, is to be seen.

The breadth of the estuary varies from two to four miles, except where different arms, which it would require months to explore, form at their base an expanse of water. Pursuing the channel, which would only be found by the inexperienced by watching the action of the tide, we reached a large bay at sunset, near to which the 'Pelorus' anchored, and where the mud-flats commence. An old pah and vestiges of former residence mark the place where the original tribe which owned all this part of the Strait had their head-quarters.

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**Sunday September 8<sup>th</sup>**

Soon after leaving our station for the night, we reached the fresh-water. As the channel becomes narrower, we found long flats, partly uncovered at low tide, and higher up, islands on which grows long grass. Immediately on entering the stream, as distinguished from the whole river by its confinement in narrow limits and its rapidity, we fell in with islands formed a long time ago by obstructions in its course caused by large trees which had been carried down by the occasional freshes and had collected around them shingle-stones, on which, ultimately, decayed vegetation had become a soil capable of yielding the same species of vegetable productions as that on its banks. On these islands flourish fine trees and an abundance of evergreen shrubs, but the rank under-crop of grass and weeds, as well as the marks left by the water, betray the occasional inundation of all the flat lands at this distance from the source of the river. If these islands were partially destroyed, the course of the river would be opened, and the shoals and falls that now entirely prevent navigation would in a short time be removed by the force of the water, which would then form a fine river.

The hills here are two or three miles apart, and the intermediate space might, with labour, be then reclaimed and cultivated. We were obliged in many places to have the boat tracked over the shallows. The natives are accustomed to this operation, and eagerly leap into the water up to their necks when it is necessary.

As we proceeded, we found a party of the original natives, the first people we had seen since leaving Queen Charlotte's Sound. They belong to the Rangitani tribe, and were made prisoners by Raupero and the Kafia people, after the latter were driven from Kafia. They have their residence at Titirangi at the entrance of Admiralty Bay, and are slaves of the Kafia chiefs. They were bound on an excursion to pick flax, which grows in abundance and of the best quality on the swampy ground up the river. These poor people received us in fear and trembling; holding their lives at the mercy of the chiefs, one of whom was with us. We encamped near them at night, and found them very different from the free people we had seen. They were scarcely allowed to possess anything beyond the bare means of existence, and pay heavy tribute yearly to their masters.

The river, at the place of our stay today, is 60 yards wide: it narrows higher up in places to 40, and is occasionally almost dry. The marks of floods reach 10 feet above its bed, and we were told of some people having been drowned at night by a sudden fresh. These inundations are not, however, of more frequent occurrence than in many rivers of Europe, and the mischief produced by them might be obviated by clearing and confining the stream. Wild ducks of various sorts and countless pigeons gave us ample sport and change of food.

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### **Monday September 9<sup>th</sup>**

Unable to proceed further in the boat, and yet desirous to know whether the land and river continued of the same description higher up; having been induced to believe, moreover, that as we ascended the stream we should find the mountains wider apart and fertile plains, we engaged a canoe from our neighbours, and, with three of them to assist in carrying it over the falls and steadying it in its descent down the rapids, again ascended the current. After ten miles, during which we met with many obstructions, and were often forced to walk through the flax grounds on account of the want of water to float the canoe, though here and there it ran very deep, we rounded a point in one of the mountains, and found that the country and bed of the river presents precisely the same appearance as lower down. The natives assured us that the source lay at two days' distance amongst the highest mountains, and that, in fact, the river is but a collection of mountain waters and melted snow, increased in its course by small tributary streams or rather tricklings from the side of each hill that bounds its banks. Having satisfied myself on this head, I determined to lose no more valuable time in an idle excursion. We returned to our former station at the rate of eight miles an hour, borne along by the rapidity of the stream, and steadied from time to time, at the falls, by the exertions of our valuable guides. Did this river flow, as I had been led to expect, through a plain agricultural district, or did its banks produce anything beyond a little flax more than is to be found lower down, within a few miles of the sea, it might be made valuable to settlers by reason of its power to turn wheels and to transport produce to the harbour; but I found nothing to warrant such an assumption. The beauty of its scenery is, however, indisputable, and reminded me of many parts of the Thames between Marlow and Henley.

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### **Tuesday September 10<sup>th</sup>**

We descended the river today at the same rapid rate as yesterday, and were accompanied by the natives in ten canoes. In these excursions they carry with them all their property; children, pigs, dogs, and cats took their stations amongst the flax and potatoe-baskets, and seemed as much at home as if in their huts on shore. The men halted the canoes at every fall, and carefully guided our boat 'till in safety. Much of this civility was given to the Chief, our companion; but not a little was rendered as a matter of course to strangers, in the avowed hope that we were coming to settle amongst them, and was unaccompanied by any demand for reward. The appearance of their party descending the rapids, amidst the wreck of immense trees lying in the middle of the river, between the banks covered with the most luxuriant evergreen shrubs, was most picturesque and original.

We found the fresh-water cease earlier than in our passage upwards, in consequence of the flood-tide making, and computed that we had gone up it twenty miles, which is ten miles further than the master of the 'Pelorus' and Mr Guard walked when the brig was here, and, as we are assured by the natives, much higher than any white man went before. The wind and tide being against us, we sought refuge for the night at the bottom of one of the numerous bays in the channel, and found the same bountiful provision of wood, water, and fish as usual.

We were here joined by one of the agents from Teawaiti; who, upon learning our expedition and its object, had felt anxious to judge for himself of the nature of the place about which so much had been said. He had missed his way amongst the many arms which penetrate into the hills from the main channel, and was returning when we brought him to by a signal. One of the arms of this estuary runs away to the eastward at about 30 miles from the Strait, and is divided from Queen Charlotte's Sound only by a narrow neck of land, over which the natives, formerly, sometimes dragged their canoes. Another one, still higher up near the fresh-water, leads near to Wairoa, which is a district in which flows a shallow river at the very bottom of Cloudy Bay, inaccessible in consequence of a bar, and to which the Oyerra in progress of time might become the harbour of export.

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### **Wednesday September 11<sup>th</sup>**

The wind having increased, we only reached the mouth of the estuary in the afternoon today, and disembarked at a native settlement on Guard's Island, named by the officers of the 'Pelorus' after their and our pilot. We found on this island a few of the Rangitani tribe, slaves; and on the side next the sea, from which there is a good view of the whole strait, a numerous body of the Kafia people. They have excellent houses and stores of pigs, potatoes, and flax. They cultivate large patches of the island, which at a short distance has the appearance of barrenness; and seem more independent, freer from alarm, and happier than any natives we have seen.

We found here the elder brother of the Chief we had taken with us. He is a tabooed or sacred personage, and cannot be touched: he is consequently not tattooed, and is not a little arrogant and scornful. As his tribe owns the Oyerra by right of conquest, he had followed us to know how I liked the place, which he and his brothers are anxious to sell to Europeans, in the hope of deriving benefits which they have learned to appreciate by their intercourse with whale ships in Cloudy Bay. The eldest brother's name is Enai, the second Eboa, and the third Charley; and they are all influential and well-disposed to Englishmen visiting Cloudy Bay.

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### **Thursday September 12<sup>th</sup>**

Still detained on Guard's island by a South-east gale. This wind is of frequent occurrence during the winter, and is not to be played with in Cook's Strait. Before leaving Teawaiti we experienced its violence, and were obliged to use every precaution to prevent the ship dragging ashore. Fortunately the harbours in the strait are so numerous and good that no vessel need remain out during a gale.

We had a strong instance of the strictness with which some of the natives observe the ceremony of the taboo, or as they call it tapu. An old chief here, the uncle of the three young chiefs I have mentioned, is also considered a sacred person, and endowed with the power of healing, consecrating, cursing &c. None of his people would drink out of any vessel which he had touched: one of them therefore gives him his liquids by pouring them over the palm of his hand into the old gentleman's mouth.

We had, on landing, made a fire on the beach as usual, and some of the party commenced cooking. The spot we had selected turned out to be tabooed, and if we had not been under the protection of some of the family we should doubtless have been required to pay for this breach of observances.

We were allowed, however, to occupy the place; but no one would touch anything cooked at our fire or in any of our utensils, or taste of anything out of our cups or mugs. By this self-denial they debarred themselves from dining after us, as they had been accustomed to do, but no temptation could induce them to break through the custom.

Seeing a painted burial-place in a corner of the beach, we naturally thought that some person of consequence had been interred there and that the place was therefore sacred; but on enquiry it proved that the old sorcerer had had his hair cut a short time ago, and that the locks were thus entombed and had consecrated the adjoining ground.

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### **Friday September 13<sup>th</sup>**

We sailed from Guard's island with a fair wind, and, leaving Admiralty Bay, stood for Point Jackson; but, meeting a sudden South-east breeze and our native crew being unable to pull against it, we were obliged to put into Port Gore, half way down which bay we took the beach. This harbour, of which you have a chart taken by the master of H.M.S. 'Alligator' in 1834, is an admirable port of refuge for ships caught by a gale in the strait, and affords perfect shelter and anchorage.

The place where we landed is a summer fishing-station, and well stocked with turnips. It also has a hut, which we found a luxury at night when it rained heavily. Enai joined us in his canoe, and caught fish and shot birds for our mess. He expresses himself very jealously of Nayti and tried to disparage him. Though of the same tribe, he cannot bear to hear of Nayti's adventures and reception in England. He even would not allow that his name is Nayti, and only knew him as Eriki Nono, which, being translated, is Leek-Bottom.

I was informed by Nayti that Eriki signified Chief, but he has since allowed that it is a nickname, corrupted from Dickey, which he acquired in youth. This assumption of rank which he thinks we value, is, however, to be greatly excused in Nayti; for in London he had every temptation to assume caste, both by people addressing him as Chief, Prince, &c., and by the free entry, it's supposed possession gave him to some society. His imperfect knowledge of the nature of relationship led him to mislead persons in England talking to him about his family. Instead of being one of a numerous family, of which he spoke, he has no brothers or sisters. These brothers turn out to be cousins, and no relation of his was married to Mr Bell of Mana, as related in his evidence.

I mention these discrepancies with no view of blaming Nayti, but for the purpose of showing how little reliance is to be placed on any information taken from the natives. We have had so many instances of misrepresentation and exaggeration, which upon examining did not appear to be wilful perversions of truth, but the effects of a habit of boasting and colouring, that we now never believe anything, coming from these people without due caution and allowance.

Enai's envy of Nayti's acquirement of European habits was strongly displayed, and is another proof, if such were wanting, of the anxiety of the natives to see and mix with foreigners.

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### **Sunday September 15<sup>th</sup>**

The South-east gale, which generally lasts three days in the strait, kept us yesterday confined to the port, and as we did not leave our cove, we were almost without resources to pass the time. Today, after walking as far as the limits of the bay permitted, Mr Wynen at the request of our native crew and of Enai's followers read prayers; at which, though they understand not a word of them, our friends seemed edified.

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**Monday September 16<sup>th</sup>**

We left Port Gore at 7 a.m., and, finding a fair wind as soon as we had rounded Point Jackson, arrived on board ship at Teawaiti at 3 p.m. The excursion, though disappointing as respects the Oyerri, has been valuable in making me acquainted with that place and Port Gore. The bivouacking in the end of winter during 11 nights had no bad effects on any of the party, and here I can corroborate all that has been said and written of the qualities of the climate of this country. The night air, however humid, has not the same effects on the lungs and limbs as in most parts of Europe; and the most genial days occur even at the worst season of the year, as was proved by our enjoying bathing in the sea and the fresh water river throughout our trip.

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**Tuesday September 17<sup>th</sup>**

I had intended immediately on my return to enter into negotiation with the heads of the Kafia tribe for the acquisition of the Oyerri as a fine harbour of refuge in the strait, and certainly possessing the best means of communication between it and the plains, if any such exist, of the Southern Island.

From information I received, however, this morning, that the missionary schooner which I have mentioned before had, on its visit to Port Nicholson, taken messages to the Chiefs there not to dispose of any land, and that Mr Williams was expected from the Bay of Islands shortly, I determined to hasten my departure from the Sound, and not to proceed to Cloudy Bay till I had crossed the strait. I was also urged to this resolution by witnessing the eagerness with which many of the settlers at Teawaiti watched my movements with a view of purchasing patches of land wherever it was likely the Company might be led to locate emigrants, and by finding in Mr Barrett a respectable man desirous to give me his valuable assistance with the natives of Port Nicholson. I waited, therefore, for nothing but a fair wind to get out of the Sound at the Southern entrance.

Mr Jerningham Wakefield completed here a sketch of the Oyerri from the strait to the islands in the fresh water I have mentioned; which, though made under disadvantageous circumstances, very faithfully represents the course of our voyage.

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**Wednesday September 18<sup>th</sup>**

This morning the slight shock of an earthquake was felt on shore here, but not on board the ship. A calm prevented us sailing as I had intended. News arrived from Pererua, which is a small river abreast of Mana, that the Boiling-water tribe, so called from inhabiting the neighbourhood of some hot springs, had killed six native missionaries who had wandered amongst them, and eaten their bodies, but offered their heads for sale to my informant. The Chief of the tribe, had declared that he would not be a Missionary, but would eat all he could find and make cartridges of their books.

The wife of the principal Chief, or rather his youngest and favourite wife, was taken seriously ill today at Teawaiti. She was removed from the house into an open shed near it and kept without food, according to the universal native custom upon such occasions. As her death was hourly expected by Tipi and his friends, an incessant groaning and weeping was kept up around her and discharges of muskets repeated at short intervals.

Our ship surgeon was sent for, and restored the patient for the time by means of a little wine and by removing her back to the warm hut. The usual panacea for native complaints, where there are Englishmen, is a dose of Epsom salts, which are highly esteemed.

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**Thursday September 19<sup>th</sup>**

Unable to leave the Channel, I once more ascended the hills, from whence I saw the boats of the station tow in a whale from the Strait. Some dispute, a thing of by no-means unfrequent occurrence, took place as to which party she belonged to, one boat having secured the mother, whilst the calf, which detained her near the spot, had been previously made fast by another.

The natives, who man one boat here, usually receive £20 for striking a whale, although they require the aid of an European crew to kill it. Upon this occasion they were urged by a rival agent to insist upon more. As no competent umpire was at hand, the affair seemed likely to cause much contention, and a forcible seizure was in preparation for tomorrow. The Whale measured sixty feet in length, and would produce about eight tons of oil.

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**Friday September 20<sup>th</sup> Port Nicholson**

We weighed anchor at daylight and left the Sound with the tide and a N.W. wind. The exit under these circumstances is extremely easy and perfectly safe. We have thus realized the passage round the island of Alapawa, which was surmised to exist by many in England. The Chart of the Channel and of the Sound combined by Captain Chaffers, the first from his own survey, the latter from Cook, will give you an accurate idea of this part of the coast of the Strait.

The width of the Strait from the Southern entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound to the headlands of Port Nicholson is about 30 miles. We had to beat into the harbour and came to an anchor at three in the afternoon. In one of our Charts this harbour is represented as having a bar at its entrance. In beating in we had an opportunity of sounding across it in every direction, and we nowhere found less than 8½ fathoms' water, but in most places from 9 to 15, from the heads to an anchorage behind the large island in the centre of the harbour.

A reef, as laid down in other charts, runs off from the western point of the harbour; but the outermost rock, as well as the others, is far out of water at high tide; and when a beacon shall be placed on the point of the reef and a light-house on the eastern head, no harbour in the world will be more easy to run or work into by day or night.

As it is, it seems astonishing that so few vessels come in here: for the navigation of the entrance could not perplex a novice in nautical matters, the harbour is most desirable, and the settlements in it supply a larger provision of the usual produce of the Strait than either Cloudy Bay or Queen Charlotte's Sound.

The reef, or rather the name of a reef, has, however, so kept ships away, that, with the exception of the missionary schooner from the Bay of Islands, no vessel has been here before for two years, although the numerous whalers frequenting the coast are frequently greatly inconvenienced by a want of fresh provisions.

On entering the harbour a fine expanse of water presents itself to the view. The distance from the reef and from the top of the harbour inside, to the beach at the bottom of it, is about six miles, and three or four in width, over the whole of which is found anchorage-ground; and in the deep bay which forms the real harbour, perfect shelter from all winds. In the whole space no inconvenience can arise to any vessel with the usual precautions, as none but the true wind is felt, instead of the flurries which are so troublesome in the other parts I have been in on the Southern side of the Strait.

An island, placed near midway down the harbour, is of considerable size, and offers itself as well adapted for a fort, which would command the entrance and the whole extent between the hills which inclose Port Nicholson to the East and West.

These hills are by no means of the formidable height of those in the Sound and in the Oyerri. They are covered with trees of a brighter foliage than those we had left in the morning, and present no obstacles to their cultivation. In the beauty of their appearance they reminded us of the woods of Mount Edgumbe, the last we saw in England.

We had not anchored when we received on board two canoes full of natives, who hailed Mr Barrett as an old friend and companion in danger. Epuni, an old Chief, eagerly enquired the motives of our visit, and betrayed the most lively satisfaction at being informed that we wished to buy the place and bring white men to it. He was followed by Warepori, his nephew, who is about 35 years old and has for some years superseded the older Chiefs in influence by his prowess in war and skill in the rude arts cultivated by these people. He also in few words expressed his desire to see white people here, and his willingness to sell the land, which was solemnly made over to him by the natives of this place five years ago, when the greater portion of them emigrated to one of the Chatham islands in an English vessel, whose master they partly obliged to carry them.

Warepori and the six tribes which now inhabit the whole district of Port Nicholson were a little before that time driven out of their own country in the neighbourhood of Mount Egmont by the tribes about the boiling springs, and have the same right to this place as Raupero has to Entry Island and as the Waikato people have to Kafia, from which they expelled the latter chief. This right is that of possession, sanctified in this case in the opinion of the natives of all these parts by the formal cession of the land by the natives who abandoned it, and constitutes the lawful power of use and disposal throughout these islands. Moreover, as regards this district, there is no one who disputes his claim; for the original possessors have made their homes at the Chathams, and, having greatly decreased since their departure, would be incapable if so disposed to regain their ceded territory.

The two Chiefs remained on board at night. They informed us that the Missionary schooner had left some native Missionaries here, who were instructed to have houses and chapels built by the time Mr Williams was expected, with which orders they had completed. In discussing the merits of the missionary labours as opposed to the former practices of the natives, viz: those of war and cannibalism, they deprecated the constant occupation of praying and singing, which took people off from their potato-grounds and canoes, the younger one declaring that the incessant worship had nearly driven him mad; whilst they at the same time warmly denounced any further fighting. "What we want", they said "is to live in peace and to have white people come amongst us. We are growing old," (alluding to the numerous aged Chiefs on shore) "and want our children to have protectors in Europeans: but we don't wish for the missionaries from the North; they are natives. We have been long told of vessels coming from Europe: one has at length arrived, and we will sell our land and harbour and live with the white people when they come to us."

The old man was asked what the missionaries meant when they said that all who were not missionaries were devils, and said that they had told him that his father would come and see him again, "when everybody knew that his father had been dead and eaten these thirty years."

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### **Saturday September 21<sup>st</sup>**

This morning the two Chiefs renewed the conversation respecting the sale of the land, and begged me to go and look at the place and tell them what I thought of it. They did not wish to talk any more about disposing of it till I had seen it; and Warepori said that he should go and finish a large canoe he was working at, and that we should not see him for two or three days, by which time I could tell him whether the place suited me.

I accordingly went on shore at the bottom of the harbour, and, procuring a small canoe, proceeded with a Chief, who had been appointed to shew me everything, up the fresh-water river, which empties itself into the harbour at about a mile distant from our anchorage. This river is seven or eight feet deep at its mouth, where it spreads itself over a large extent, forming a lagoon influenced by the tide. It has also made for itself three other streams, which divide at a distance of many miles from its mouth and increase the extent of inundated land.

The valley in which it flows seems to be about 40 miles in length and is from three to four miles broad. On each side gently sloping hills, about 200 feet in height, covered with timber, bound it to the east and west, as far as a very high range of mountains, partially capped with snow.

At about three miles up the river commences a grove of fine trees, of the best description for ship and house building, intermixed with pine trees. One of these trees called the Kaikatea, measures 21 feet in circumference, and is nearly the same size upwards for 60 feet without a branch; and I did not select this one for its peculiarity. The pines would furnish masts and yards of all sizes.

A tree called by the English here the honey-suckle, furnishes excellent wood for boat-building. The only white man living in Port Nicholson showed me a boat of eight tons, which he had constructed of this wood, the planks of which he had bent himself in the sun. He had sawed the whole of it with a hand-saw and made the nails for it out of old hoops.

As I ascended the river, which in its main branch has 40 yards of breadth, I found its course obstructed by large trees carried down by the stream, but by no means to the same extent as in the Oyerri. The current also is much less rapid than that river, and the banks, present no indications of occasional inundations.

The land on both sides is a black soil, and in the patches the natives cultivate produces potatoes, Indian corn, and oats, which are carelessly thrown amidst the stumps of the half-destroyed trees and the most beautiful shrubs. I reached six or seven miles up the stream, which I there found of the same width and depth, but here and there more obstructed by fallen trees and collected stones. At length two immense trees lying across the stream from bank to bank formed a partial dam which prevented the further progress of the canoe.

The wood was here impenetrable, and precluded the idea of pursuing the course of the river on foot. I had seen, however, all that was necessary to confirm my opinion that the whole extent of the valley will be capable of cultivation, and will amply repay the labour of clearing by its extreme fertility when the river shall be confined and its streams united. This may easily be effected, and then the harbour of Port Nicholson will possess a river worthy of it.

What may be the termination of this valley I cannot surmise from the confused and varying accounts of the inhabitants, though it is not unlikely that it may communicate with the fertile plains between Mount Egmont and the East Cape. The natives assured me that they had been as high up the river as could be done in two days in a canoe; which, considering the obstacles in the opposing stream, and the easy manner in which these people like to travel, would not be more than 25 miles from where I was. I feel assured, however, that this is far short of the source of the stream, which cannot rise nearer than the high range of mountains which closes the valley to the Northward.

The idea of its running through a gorge to the left of the mountains is favoured by the fact of hostile tribes having occasionally descended the river to within a few miles of Port Nicholson to cut off any families they might find occupied in their potato grounds on its banks; but the valley requires exploring up to the mountains, for which purpose a strong expedition and a fortnight's leisure are necessary. Hereafter I promise myself the execution of such a project.

We found 50 or 60 people working up the river at their gardens, and a few higher up who had fled yesterday on hearing our guns, when the New Zealand flag was saluted. These were reassured by our guide and returned with us. Those we had passed in our ascent had prepared baskets of potatoes in their ovens for us on our return, and all eagerly greeted me as lately from Europe direct.

The white missionaries they consider as much natives as themselves. At one of their stations they enquired of my guide, as the canoe glided by down the current, whether the ship contained missionaries. "No," said he, "they are all devils," Their shouts of laughter betrayed their acquaintance with his allusion, and their opinion of the charitable tenet which had given rise to it.

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### **Sunday September 22<sup>nd</sup>**

An equinoctial N.W. gale blew today, but did not affect the ship or her anchors. Some canoes came off and a numerous native audience assisted at the Church service. One canoe in running for the ship struck her side, and upset. Those in her, including a woman, seemed to think but little of the accident, holding on to the bottom of the canoe till a boat picked them up.

In the evening a messenger arrived from abreast of Entry Island with tidings of the probability of a fight; the Boiling-water tribe having mustered in that neighbourhood in strength; and, being set on by Raupero, might, it was thought, invade this territory. All the natives hurried on shore at the risk of capsizing to talk over the matter and make preparations for war.

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### **Monday September 23<sup>rd</sup>**

This morning I went to visit all the settlements in the harbour. At one of the largest we found Warepori at work at a large canoe, the bottom of which consists of a single tree, sixty feet long, hollowed out with the adze. In the course of the forenoon two large canoes put into the cove where we were, at a signal from him. They were on their way to the principal village, near our anchorage, carrying the Chiefs of two tribes to a meeting at which the proposed sale of the land was to be discussed. When these had landed there were assembled about 60 men, and the affair which occupied all minds was brought on the carpet.

After an introduction of the matter by Warepori, the leader of the opposition, by name Buakawa, rose and addressed the assembly. He objected to the sale of the land on the score of the treatment to be expected by the natives from white settlers, and the inexpediency of parting with the homes which they had obtained after so much suffering, when driven from their native territory. He spoke for an hour and evinced considerable power. His diction and gesticulation were most vigorous, and the most ignorant of the language in which he spoke and the most inexperienced in physiognomy could not fail of taking the sense of his oration from his expression and action. Matangi, the oldest and formerly most influential Chief of these tribes, favoured the sale, and almost cried with joy when he spoke of the white people coming to protect the Port Nicholson people from their enemies and to put an end to war.

Warepori replied to his opponent and talked a good deal about himself. He said that he was known in Europe and that the ship had been sent out to him. Before he concluded, all but the leader of the opposition had moved off to another part of the ground, upon the appearance of a large mess of baked birds and potatoes, which had been cooked in honor of our visit; and the scene reminded me of the pertinacity of the leader of a party and the forced politeness of his opponent in a political arena at home.

I favoured these discussions from feeling assured that the more the affair was debated the more binding would be the bargain, should I succeed in concluding it; and in themselves they had nothing disagreeable, for in all seriousness I can assert that I never saw a deliberative assembly conduct its business in a more regular or decorous manner, and that the solemnity of the appeals of the speakers, and the encouraging applause or earnest dissent of the audience were becoming the importance of the transaction they were engaged in. At the close of the arguments, which ended in a decision in favor of the sale, most of the meeting went away in canoes to the chief village, where another debate was to take place. Indeed in every settlement this floating parliament assembled upon the occasion, and formally proceeded to take the sense of its inhabitants. It realized in a manner Mr Cresset Pelham's notion of an ambulant legislation.

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### **Tuesday September 24<sup>th</sup>**

I was on shore today at the principal village, when the debate was renewed. It ended as yesterday in a large majority deciding to sell me all their rights in this harbour and district. At its conclusion I formally asked the Chiefs, through Mr Barrett, whether they had made up their minds; and they asked me, "Have you seen the place?" and "How do you like it?" I replied that I had seen all I wanted and that it was good; upon which they told me that it was now for me to speak, for that they had decided to sell their land, upon their own judgment and by the advice of their friends in the neighbourhood, notwithstanding the dissent of some grumblers, who owned but little of it and whose only argument against the sale was that the white people would drive the natives away as in Port Jackson.

They had previously had fully explained to them that a reserve of land was to be made for them, and showed their knowledge of its meaning by now referring to it in answer to this argument, and by saying that they would live with the English as with each other. I begged the Chiefs to go on board the ship tomorrow, when I would let them see what I would give for the land.

Afterwards they spoke but little of the affair, and gave us some specimens of sham-fights, in which all the violent distortions of the countenance, putting out the tongue to the greatest extent &c., which you have heard of, took place. On arriving on board I decided upon the manner in which I would deal with these people, and upon the amount of property which I would give them in exchange for their land and harbour.

I found a territory of 40 or 50 miles in length by 25 or 30 in breadth, containing a noble harbour accessible at all times, and in the very highway between New Holland and the Western World, and land exceeding in fertility any I have seen in these islands and equalling that of an English garden. I found a race of people of warlike habits and but little used to intercourse with Europeans, just emerging from their barbarism and inclined to cultivate the arts and intimacy of Great Britain; appreciating the protection from their hostile and still savage neighbours that British settlers would afford, and anxiously desiring to assist them in their first labours in a new country. I found these people, mustering upon the slightest call 300 armed men, and quite capable, as they have repeatedly proved themselves to be of retaining their possessions, and never having parted with a single acre of land in their district by sale or otherwise, now for the first time disposed to make over their country to me as the representative of a body of my countrymen, in consideration of the promises of remuneration and advantage I had held out to them. Under these circumstances, and following out the spirit of my instructions, I determined to act in the most liberal manner in the transaction.

Moreover I was most anxious to distinguish this bargain from all others that have been made in New Zealand, and that none of the haggling and petty trading which usually take place between the Europeans and the natives of this country should enter into any operations between the latter and the Company's agents.

I, therefore, decided that I would lay before the Chiefs exactly the property I intended to give them in exchange for what they offered, and that I would acquaint them with my firm resolution not to exceed this amount at their customary solicitation; but that the value of this property should not be regulated by what has hitherto been considered the standard of exchange in similar transactions. Accordingly, on

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**Wednesday September 25<sup>th</sup>**

Everything was in activity on board at daylight, and the articles for barter were brought upon the upper deck. At least one hundred natives were present to witness this operation; and if I except a good deal of chattering, afforded no obstruction or inconvenience. It required much time to open the numerous bales and cases and to take a certain quantity from each, so that the day passed without my being able to specify the amount of barter to be received. In the evening I requested Warepori to acquaint his friends that it would be impossible to assort the various things they were to have with such a crowd on the decks; when he made them a speech from the poop and was the first to go on shore, whither all followed him with the promise of not coming off to the ship till I sent for them.

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**Thursday September 26<sup>th</sup>**

When the various articles had been selected, I sent on shore for Warepori and all the Chiefs. They came off with their sons, and, after a strict examination, approved of the quantity and quality of the things; but seemed embarrassed and anxious amongst themselves how the division among the six tribes which compose the population here, though they are all part of the Ngatiawa tribe, was to be effected with satisfaction to all parties.

I had been informed that by the usual manner of delivering everything to one chief to be landed at his settlement, and leaving him to share it as he thought fit, a scene of violence and probably of bloodshed would certainly occur. I therefore proposed that the lots should be made on our deck; and in doing so, though I incurred much trouble, I had no fear of any commotion, and was desirous that the affair should pass entirely free from the accustomed dissensions amongst these people, and that the remembrance of it should not be embittered by any unpleasant occurrence.

I sent also for the principal missionary to be a witness to the delivery of the goods; but found him afterwards so exceedingly importunate on his own account and held in such slight respect by the Chiefs; Afraid also of being a party to the transaction in case of future regrets on their parts; that I was not sorry when the plea of a sick child took him on shore again.

As of course the affair could not be concluded without more words, when everything was ready for distribution, a debate arose in due form respecting the reception of the goods by the people on shore, part of whom are slaves taken at Taranake.

Warepori commenced by entreating the Chiefs to use their influence to prevent a scramble when the boats should land the things at their respective settlements. He was followed by Buakawa, whose eloquence was of the same violent character as on shore, and is the result, I find, of a bad temper and love of contradiction. He spoke amidst the repeated cries of "korero! Korero!" or "speak! Speak!" which were sometimes used seriously, at others, when he rather exceeded the bounds of truth, sneeringly, in the same way that "hear!" is applied in England.

After enumerating generally the articles to be received, he described what he felt assured would be the conduct of the tribes when the goods were landed; namely, that everyone would rush for something, and when they found that there was not enough of each article to go round amongst them all, many would be dissatisfied.

He said that everyone had cleared a bit of ground, and that many would then find themselves without anything in exchange for it. "What then will you say", he exclaimed, "when you find that you have parted with all the land between Rimarap and Turakirai, and from the sea to the Tararua? What will you say when many many white men come here and drive you all away into the mountains? How will you like it when go to the white man's ship or house in expectation of hospitality and he tells you that you have been paid for the land and to be gone, with eyes turned up to Heaven and invocations on his knees to his God?"

To all this harangue he suited his action and wound up by declaring that there were about half the number of goods shewn as really were on the deck; upon which the hearers, who had examined them, shouted "No! No!" The debate closed at sunset: all but the elder Chiefs went on shore for the night, and Warepori promised that the affair should be settled tomorrow.

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### **Friday September 27<sup>th</sup>**

This morning some little delay took place in the division of the lots, by the Chiefs being unwilling to open the cases of muskets, which they wished to go ashore whole, to make as much show as possible and have the quantity of property they received for their place at least not diminished in the reports of any strangers who might see it and carry the news among the neighbouring tribes. I overcame this difficulty by presenting them with an additional case of 20 muskets, which, with five I had already given, enabled them to send one to each of the settlements entire. The division of the other goods then commenced, and was conducted by Warepori with great fairness. On every case of muskets he placed a nearly equal portion of goods till they were expended. He reserved, I believe, but little for himself beyond some powder and cartridges which he told me it was necessary he should keep in case of war. Some of the Chiefs shewed an equal disinterestness, declaring that all they wanted was the white people to come and live with them.

At 3 o'clock the distribution terminated. It had been repeatedly interrupted by speeches from different Chiefs; but the leader of the opposition, having once made up his mind that the sale was to take place, showed no further hostility. He represented one settlement at the mouth of the river, and received his share without speaking and expressed himself perfectly satisfied afterwards with his lot.

The deed, drawn on parchment, was then brought upon deck, and, after a full explanation to all present by Mr Barrett of its contents was signed by the Chiefs and their sons, whom they brought up to the capstan in order to assure me that they looked to the future, and to bind their children in the bargain made by themselves. Nayti, who had returned yesterday from a visit to his relatives, was a subscribing witness and occasionally explained the nature of the deed as relates to the reserve of land.

His want of weight with this people had prevented him in the morning from instancing his own treatment in England in contradiction to the anticipations of Buakawa. At least I am disposed to attribute his declining to take so good an opportunity of serving his employers and acquitting himself of a debt of gratitude, to this motive rather than to bad feeling.

After the execution of the deed the goods were placed in our boats and landed at the different settlements. Our people assured me that not the slightest tumult took place on these occasions, the Chief of each tribe taking upon himself the distribution of the goods amongst the families. Thus has terminated in the most satisfactory manner this first and important purchase for the Company.

Some years ago I was present at the execution of a deed at the office of the Company's Solicitors, by which a noble Lord, one of its Directors, disposed of a valuable estate to another large landed proprietor, since raised to the peerage; and, with the exception that the purchase money was transferred in the adjoining bank and that all the talk had taken place amongst the lawyers before the deeds were drawn, this transaction has been not less amicably and loyally carried on and agreeably concluded.

In the evening Warepori and Epuni dressed themselves in their newly acquired suits of clothes and made a very respectable appearance at table. The former retired early and came to my cabin to beg leave to undress, as he found the coat and shoes very uneasy on him, in comparison with his native mat, or the blanket which he usually wears, or the state of nature in which he works at his canoes.

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### **Saturday September 28<sup>th</sup>**

The weather was very bad today, and prevented communication with the shore by canoes. One of our boats was out fishing with the seine, but took very little. There are places in this port abounding in fish of the best quality; such as the snapper, sole, hake, habuka, and a species of salmon which we have found excellent eating. The natives are experienced in the seasons and times of day and weather in which to employ themselves in fishing; and hereafter I doubt not that the fishing-grounds here will afford occupation and profit to many English boats' crews.

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### **Sunday September 29<sup>th</sup>**

After service I went round the settlements in the harbour with Warepori, in order to see how the people were satisfied with their goods, and to invite them to a war dance at the principal village tomorrow. I wished to muster them in order to know their strength and to convince them that I placed entire confidence in them.

On landing at the Taranake or slave settlement, Warepori begged me to take a place in a canoe which was hauled up on the beach, and, seating himself, proceeded to address the occupants of this wretched village. He represented the value of English settlers coming to the place, and excused the smallness of the quantity of goods he had sent to them on the plea of the free settlements having required the greater share; "but", concluded he, "you have now arms, and should Raupero or the Boiling-water tribe attack us, you will be able to defend yourselves: if we go to war, and any of you fall, you have now the satisfaction of knowing that such will be buried with their muskets and cartouches-boxes, and that their friends will mourn over them as men who died with weapons in their hands."

By his tact in thus suiting his speech to the taste of his audience he soon conciliated them; and when one of the missionaries appeared and reproached him for not having kept one half of the land for them and the white men of his profession from the North, they applauded his rebuke of him, which was eloquently delivered, and contained matter which I little expected from him. He asked him how he, a child, dared to reprove him for anything he had done, and whether, when the land had been sold to the white missionaries, they might not have sold it again to Frenchmen or Americans "This Rangatira Noia", (i.e. gentleman soldier) he said, drawing attention to me, "will bring many people here from England; and how could they live in the same place with their enemies? They are not all Englishmen that come from Europe; I have been in Port Jackson and know the English, and none others shall come to interfere with those who are coming to live here. There is a man from Europe on board the ship who is not an Englishman; I know him by his tongue." This was in allusion to the German naturalist.

After re-entering the boat he said he wished to satisfy everybody, that he had reserved nothing for himself, that when he had learnt English he would go to England; and, laying his head on my knee, he added that, if the natives were dissatisfied with him he would live with the English and they should be his fathers. He then invited the young men to attend at the principal village tomorrow six miles off at a war-dance in honor of their visitors.

Before leaving the head of the harbour I proposed to buy the houses and chapels that the missionary delegates have built on a beautiful piece of flat land, already cleared, on which I propose to plant the first British settlement, but Warepori objected to my paying anything more, saying, "Have you not already paid for the land and everything on it?" I engaged, however, the natives to be active in collecting provisions, clearing the land, and bringing timber for houses to this spot.

At all the other settlements similar scenes took place, and I had the satisfaction to be received on all hands as a benefactor, and to hear the reiterated assurances of contentment with the purchase money and joy at the expected arrival of settlers.

I must not omit to do justice to the Chiefs who are parties to the Deed, by informing you that they were equally anxious that the sale should take place and that the purchase should be valid, and binding on themselves and heirs.

They repeatedly informed their people that the land would be gone from them for ever, with the exception of what the white people would allow them to live on and cultivate; that they would never receive any further payment for it, but would be paid for any labour they might perform for us, and that the contract would be held as sacred as similar ones, which are frequent, are amongst themselves.

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### **Monday September 30<sup>th</sup>**

In the course of the morning we observed the natives from all parts of the port mustering at the prescribed place for the appointed ceremony. Although the weather was bad, canoes full of armed men, and men, women and children on foot hastened to the rendezvous. Warepori and the Chiefs who had slept on board went on shore early to make preparations for our reception. In every direction on the beach the native ovens threw up clouds of smoke, and an immense flag-staff was reared with the assistance of our Carpenter, on which to hoist the colours of New Zealand, which I intend to leave here.

In the afternoon, at a signal from the shore, all the cabin party and those who could be spared forward landed, and were received by about 300 or more men, women and children. The former, amounting to 200, were well-armed; most of them with muskets or fowling-pieces; spears, tomahawks, axes of various sizes, pointed sticks and the dozen umbrellas which they had received from us, figured in the hands of the others.

They were divided into two parties, which occupied separate parts of the village and beach, and were led respectively by Warepori, who insisted upon wearing a large hussar-cloak of mine and was armed with a beautiful mere of green stone, and Kaihaya, an old Chief, known by the nickname of Dog's Ear, and for his warlike feats and his detestation of Raupero and his tribe.

Preparatory to the review, each party shook off their clothes and took to their arms; after which they went through the customary dance which excites them to vigor of action, to the cadence of harmonious recitativo breathed out deeply from the lungs. Leaving their clothes, as a regiment leaves its knapsacks prior to the execution of rapid manoeuvres, each party took its station on the beach at about 200 yards' distance from its opponent.

Immediately on landing, I had the New Zealand flag hoisted at the flag-staff, when the same was done at the main of the ship, which saluted it with 21 guns, greatly to the satisfaction of the assembly. Warepori then enquired whether we were ready, and apologized for the absence of many men either absent on an expedition to the westward, employed in their potato-grounds, or deterred by the lowering aspect of the weather.

When commenced the war-dance, which consists of salutatory movements, whilst one hand extended upwards grasps the weapon, and the other at each descent of the body slaps the thigh. The whole body of performers kept perfect time in these movements and in the deep guttural sounds which accompanied them. The two columns then passed each other at the utmost speed, and, wheeling about with great precision, took up a different ground nearer to each other.

After the dance had been repeated, and in this the women joined, making the most frightful distortions of countenance, and portraying the demons of discord by their appearance and action, a challenge was brought from one party to the other and delivered in pantomimic signs; and you may judge of our surprise when we found that the bearer of this gage, disguised in an easy undress and his head ornamented with a profusion of feathers of the *huia* gracefully arranged, was the catechist from the Bay of Islands, the saintly Richard Davis, so-named after his white god father and teacher. He was most expressive in his action, and throughout the scene and afterwards in bringing up a reinforcement from the next village with great rapidity, showed that his long sojourn amongst his reverend employers had not changed his inborn tastes or abated his skill in the sport.

As the day was closing and this was intended as a most amicable meeting of the tribes, no sham fight took place, but the Chiefs addressed the forces and assured each other of mutual good-will. One of the bodies then performed a war-song, in the execution of which great exertion of lungs and limbs and accuracy of time were displayed.

The native oven which contained our dinner was then opened, and we were invited to attend. After doing justice to the joints of a pig which had been killed for the occasion, and the whole of which we were bound in native politeness to take away with us, however little we might eat, we drank the health of the Chiefs and people of Port Nicholson in Champagne, and, christening the flag-staff, took formal possession of the harbour and district in the name of the Company, amidst the hearty cheers of our party and the assembled natives.

The whole scene passed in the greatest harmony, and with a display of good feeling towards us on the part of our new friends, hitherto, I imagine, never elicited by European treatment.

I have dwelt on the details with tiresomeness, I am afraid; lest the Company should fail to know the prospects of a good reception of emigrants on its possessions, and that families contemplating settling on them may at once relieve their minds of the impression, that has been made by many late works on this country, that the disposition and habits of the aborigines under a residence here unsafe.

The probable future importance, too, of this place cannot be too much impressed upon those emigrants disposed to turn their attention to commercial or maritime pursuits. The land contained in the district will amply supply provisions for the settlers and for exportation, and will probably be found connected by vallies with districts more suitable to British husbandry.

The harbour is the only one into which a vessel of more than 100 tons can enter with safety on a line of coast of 600 miles in extent, from Manukao to the Thames, and must become the depot of the interior of this line, to be supplied by a coasting trade, and of all the country on both sides of Cook's Straits, for the purposes of importation of foreign and exportation to other countries of native produce. It also presents the most desirable place in these islands for the fitting out of whale ships, not less than 400 of which annually procure cargoes of oil on the Banks to the eastward of the Southern Island; and for ship-building it offers timber in endless quantity, second only in quality to the cowdie; whilst for every other purpose wood of every description encumbers the land.

Captain Chaffers was away from the ship for five days last week, and thoroughly surveyed the entrance to this port, its headlands and bays. His chart, which accompanies this, will inform you that I have taken upon myself, subject to the approbation of the Directors, to give names to the most remarkable bays and points; preserving such European appellations as have been recognized and adopted in charts, and such native ones in the Company's possessions which are easy of pronunciation and describe their extent in the Deed of Conveyance. I send also herewith a Copy of that Document.

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**Tuesday October 1<sup>st</sup>**

It remained for me now only to leave a person to watch the interests of the Company and to make preparations for the arrival of settlers; and I had brought with me from Queen Charlotte's Sound a trustworthy man, well qualified by his knowledge of the language and habits of the people for the purpose. I left with him saws, tools, garden-seeds, and various articles of trade in which to pay for native labour and to supply himself with food.

Warepori undertook to put him up in a new house at his village and to render him every assistance. I had landed also a sow which had littered on our voyage from England and her progeny, the goats, and poultry. I left Mr Smith ample instructions to encourage the natives to build temporary houses at Thorndon, to plant potatoes, and to keep their pigs for their expected visitors, and supplied him with boards, to place on the most prominent spots, on which is painted "New Zealand Land Company."

The natives contemplated an almost immediate journey to Wainerap, or Palliser Bay, which they possess, for the purpose of planting a stock of potatoes and bringing back pigs which run wild there. Today Warepori tabooed that place for me, and swore by his head that no one should have any of it 'till I had time to go to see it.

It is a large bay to the Eastward of this port, and contains a river and a large district of flat and fertile land. In these respects it is like Wairoa near Cloudy Bay and the valley of the Hutt here, all of which require some labour to make the land available in consequence of the freshes inundating the flats at the mouths of the rivers.

On my return to the Strait, however, I shall see whether this tapued place is worth paying for. Warepori's sudden regard for me has also opened the way to acquiring a large district of fine flat land at Taranaki and Moturoa on the western coast in the neighbourhood of Mount Egmont. This land is not subject to the same inconvenience, having already produced to the Englishmen who abandoned it with these natives fine crops of wheat, Indian corn, garden vegetables, melons and peaches. Some of the wheat was sent to Sydney and England, and was highly approved of. Should I be able to obtain possession of this tract which is very extensive and perfectly level, through the means I have obtained here, I shall be less anxious about purchases in the North, where I hear that the missionaries and others have bought land at every place on the coast, including Kaipara and Manukoa, where they have established schools and Chapels.

The district in question is between Kafia and Mount Egmont, abreast of the Sugar-loaf Islands, and runs for 30 miles inland. The Chiefs here, who were all born on these plains, look back with great regret to the time when they were obliged to abandon them, and are very desirous that they should be again opened to them by means of European settlers. They have selected E Ware, the son of Epuni, and Tuarau, the grandson of the principal chief of the whole Ngatiawa tribes, to accompany me to Taranaki; where it is hoped they will be able to open a negotiation with the present possessors of the land, to whom they are both related.

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**Wednesday October 2<sup>nd</sup>**

I was this morning up another branch of the river, much smaller than the main one, and evidently only a back-water from it except when heavy rains fill the main channel high up the valley, and force their way through this and two other branches. The land on both sides of this branch is of the same black alluvial soil and covered with the most beautiful shrubs in blossom, like a rare English garden.

The grove through which runs the stream contains still finer trees than up the other branch, and teems with birds, which, with the ducks of all descriptions in the river, afford abundant sport. I am sorry that my time will not allow me to explore the source of the streams and of the river, but I feel persuaded that they will be found to unite higher up, and may with labour be continued as one river to the harbour.

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**Thursday October 3<sup>rd</sup>**

Having a day to spare whilst Mr Smith was establishing himself on shore, I again ascended all the branches of the river, accompanied by Captain Chaffers, who took their bearings. Our whale-boat was stopped in its progress about six miles up the river; and our trip led to no further result than confirming my opinion of the capabilities of the valley as before stated.

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**Friday October 4<sup>th</sup>; Cloudy Bay**

All my arrangements being completed on shore, we weighed anchor this morning, and taking with me Eware and Tuarau, we sailed for Cloudy Bay, in the mouth of which harbour we anchored this evening. The appearance of the Southern Island after that of Port Nicholson is most cheerless. The wind blew in violent flurries from the mountains, a chain of which inland covered with eternal snow added to the dreariness of the scene.

To the eastward of this harbour we saw the bay, at the bottom of which is Wairoa, of which district much has been said, and which was bought by a Mr Blenkinsopp some years ago for an old 6-pounder gun. The land about all this part of the coast is barren, and the only advantage which Cloudy Bay offers over the neighbouring harbours is its vicinity to the whaling ground for the shore-parties to run to. As regards its eligibility for Whale-ships to fit out and procure supplies it is much inferior to Port Nicholson, and has only been used by them by accident and because the other has been unknown.

We found here the 'Honduras' barque from London, taking in oil and bone from the shore-parties. This is the only vessel that has been here for some months, and I have had no opportunity of sending to you since the 2<sup>nd</sup> of last month. Very few English whalers come here at any time, but after the season many American and French ships put in for provisions, which they buy dearly of the English settlers.

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**Saturday October 5<sup>th</sup>**

We weighed anchor again this morning and worked higher up the harbour, in which we saw four or five whaling settlements. There are about 120 natives, of the Kafia tribe, at this place, and they exact payment for wood and water from ships. Ocean Bay is the only spot where there is any land worth cultivating, and that is of very small extent. It belonged to Mr Blenkinsopp, who is dead, and the deed of sale as well as that of Wairoa is in possession of a Captain Collins at Sydney.

Mr Guard came on board, as I had been too busy to go on shore, and informed me that he had done nothing towards the purchase of the Oyerrri, but that I could buy the place from the Kafia people here and at Entry Island. He questioned the validity of the title I had obtained for the Company to Port Nicholson, saying that Raupero had conquered it and only allowed the present possessors to cultivate it, and that no doubt there would be a fight about it.

Being perfectly satisfied with the title upon the grounds I have mentioned before the account of opening the negotiations, and, having seen a messenger of Raupero's to the Port Nicholson Chiefs to congratulate them upon the sale and with messages of peace, I attribute these doubts of the legality of the purchase to the jealousies I have alluded to between the two tribes with one of whom Mr Guard lives, whilst Mr Barrett, whom I have employed, has his residence with the other.

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**Sunday October 6<sup>th</sup>**

I find today that Mr Guard and Mr Wynen are in treaty with the family of the three chiefs I have mentioned as being of some consequence in this Bay, for the purchase of the Oyerrri for a party of speculators at Sydney, who deputed Mr Wynen to examine that place, upon the flattering representations of the officers of the 'Pelorus'.

Notwithstanding the double-dealing on the part of these Englishmen in pretending to point out the Oyerrri to me as a place fit for a location of emigrants by the Company, I have no reason to complain of their now trying to buy it for themselves; for I at once, on seeing it, expressed my opinion of its incapability of being for a length of time anything beyond a harbour of refuge, and of the land in the valley of the fresh-water stream, holding out no prospects to settlers except after infinite labour and outlay.

In all my conversations, therefore, on the subject, I rather disparaged the Oyerrri; and may have given them the idea that I was not desirous to acquire it; whilst in any praise I bestowed on it, however merited, I intended only to point attention to that place whilst I secured Port Nicholson, which is so much more valuable, and for a part of which these very parties were, just previous to my arrival, attempting to negotiate.

Should their employers, however, become owners of that district, (which is problematical, considering that Raupero, Hiko, Rangiaiaata, and other powerful Chiefs at Kapiti are the principal owners, and far more to be consulted on the subject than the petty chiefs here), and should they induce settlers in small numbers and with limited capital to go there, the scheme must end in disappointment.

Wherever the great settlement formed from Europe takes its station in this straight, there must concentrate European population and wealth; and there will assemble the natives of all these parts. There are places, however, on the South side of Cook's Strait, which offer immediate advantage to settlers, and which are to be procured.

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**Monday October 7<sup>th</sup>**

When on shore today I was attacked by all the natives in the most bitter manner respecting the purchase of Port Nicholson. Every one repeated the story of Raupero's rights, and of the certainty of a dispute about them. After a time they were quieted by my telling them that I should be happy to make a similarly extensive purchase from the Kafia tribe, and referring them for the payment of Port Nicholson to Warepori, whom they pretended to despise. They one and all then began to offer me land for sale, begging me to go and look at this place and the other, and were not over pleased when I told them that Captain Cook knew the value of their place when he called it Cloudy, and asked them who would live where he could not see the sun.

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**Tuesday October 8<sup>th</sup>**

In order not to part with the people here in unfriendly terms, I had all the Chiefs of the Bay on board during the afternoon. They came dressed out in all their finery, and at their head was Raupero's brother, called "Tom Street" after some Sydney merchant. He came to have a "talk" about the Port Nicholson affair. As I saw they were determined to have a "korero" on the subject I took my station on the deck, nominated Mr Wynen's soi-disant wife interpreter, and the debate began.

Tommy repeated his story, and gave us his own and Raupero's family history for the last twenty years. He also introduced Eboa's wife, daughter of the celebrated Te Pahi, who was in England. She spoke to the same effect and in a pleasing manner.

They afterwards called upon me; and I told them of Raupero's knowledge of the sale and of his messages, and that I should be glad to buy another fine place and to bring as many white people into the strait as would give all the natives employment. They said "very well, but we want the payment for Port Nicholson."

This was another affair in my opinion, and I again referred them to Warepori, and recommended them to make haste in going over to take it, otherwise all the tobacco would be expended and nothing would be left for them but the ball-cartridges. This banter had the effect of putting an end to the discussion. The old men were silent; and the young Chiefs eyed each other as if judging how each was disposed for the adventure.

In the evening an attempt was made to renew the topic when Mrs Wynen very innocently betrayed the secret, that there would have been nothing wrong in buying Port Nicholson, and no probability of a fight, if Jackey Guard and a Chief or two of the Kafia tribe had been employed in the matter instead of Mr Barrett and the Ngatiawa people.

To turn the subject, animal magnetism was introduced, and our draftsman and Mrs Wynen were successively thrown into a trance. During it the evening gun was fired; but produced no change in their fixed visage or stiffened limbs. The natives looked on with evident awe, and declared that the bad Atua had got into them. Mrs Wynen had, whilst watching the operation on Mr Heaphy, declared it was all "gammon"; but, after being roused from her trance, was much perplexed and declared she knew not what to make of it. All sore feeling had disappeared during the evening, and on their going ashore we were all very good friends.

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**Wednesday October 9<sup>th</sup>**

Having completed our letters and made our packages to go by the 'Honduras', I am now only awaiting the arrival of Mr Barrett from the Sound to take our departure for Taranaki and the West Coast of the Northern Island. Tuarau and E Ware will also return with him. They considered it unsafe or at least inconvenient to remain here, subject to the taunts, if not insults, of the Kafia people. I forgot to mention that, during our stay in Port Nicholson, these two men swam off from the ship, and saved the life of one of the Cabin-boys, who had fallen out of a boat at night. They spoke afterwards but little of the occurrence, and seemed to look upon it as a set-off against our boat having picked up their friends who were upset a few days before.

This afternoon I visited some of the bays in this harbour. In one of them we found a whaling establishment carried on by a Portugese for Messrs Willis of Sydney. He had obtained with four boats 65 tons of oil during this season and would have taken more, but had not received a supply of goods to carry on his business.

From the ridge above his house is a view of the whole of Cloudy Bay, which extends from a promontory called the White Bluff, in the direction of Cape Campbell, to Point Rununder, 5 miles to the eastward of the eastern head of the real harbour of the bay, in which we are at anchor, called in some Charts Underwood harbour, but commonly bearing the name of the whole bay. This want of distinction between the whole and a part leads to frequent mistakes; many vessels having run into shoal water at the bottom of the bay near Wairoa, whilst seeking the harbour which is twelve miles to the Northward.

*End of Despatch No.2*

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*Despatch No.3 Folios 129-213***Teawaiti, Tory Channel, October 13<sup>th</sup> 1839 [Sunday]**

Having waited since the 9<sup>th</sup> instant, the date of my last letter to you, in Cloudy Bay, for the arrival of Mr Barrett, who was to be our Pilot across the Strait and on the western coast of the north island, we came round to this place today in search of him. We entered the Channel from the South East with a favourable wind against a strong ebb tide; but it would be unadvisable to do so in a heavy-sailing ship. The 'Honduras', which takes my last letters and the specimens to Sydney had the tide in her favour in going in yesterday, but stuck on a rock at the northern head and narrowly escaped being totally wrecked. She is now in here, making eight inches of water an hour, but will proceed on her destination in a few days.

Before leaving Port Underwood I visited its principal bays and settlements; but saw nothing to induce me to change the unfavourable opinion I entertained of it as a harbour or a place of settlement for Europeans.

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**October 14<sup>th</sup> [Monday]**

Finding Mr Barrett's wife too ill to allow him to leave home, I made arrangements with him to pick him up at the northern entrance to Queen Charlotte's Sound, after I shall have been to Capiti; and made by preparations for a visit to Raupero and the heads of the Kafia tribe with no intermediate beyond an interpreter, whom I engaged in Cloudy Bay.

This visit, besides entering into my original plan, according to the suggestion contained in my instructions, is necessary for the ratification of the purchase of Port Nicholson; that no further question shall arise as the Company's right to that territory and to put an end to the opposition experienced from the subordinate Kafia Chiefs in all parts of Cook's Strait.

The history of Raupero is the most eventful and worthy of Record of any existing New Zealand Chief. His expulsion and that of all his numerous and powerful tribe from their native district Kafia, by the Waikato and Bay of Islands hosts is well known to you from the mention it has received in numerous works on this Country. Their forcible seizure and occupation, in their turn, of all the Coast land on both sides of this Strait has also been described, but the means he has employed for the aggrandizement of his people and the causes of his pre-eminence and influence amongst all classes and clans, extending also to the foreign residents and visitors, in the Southern parts of these islands, have not been dwelt on.

Raupero is at least 60 years old. When a young man he acquired a reputation for strength and courage, founded on his skill in native warfare, which his willness and success in all his undertakings have preserved for him in his old age. He came from Kafia as the fighting general of Ti Pahi and after the death of the latter at Otago by Tairoa and the Southern tribes, became Chief of the tribe.

To revenge Ti Pahi's death, which was accomplished by tying him up by the heels to a tree and cutting his throat, at which his enemies sucked his blood, Raupero engaged with a master of an English vessel, by name Stewart, to carry him and some of his people to Otago under pretence of a trading voyage, where the Master coaxed on board a leading Chief of the tribe and his family. Some of these were immediately killed, after which Raupero and Stewart with their Myrmidons? landed and laid waste the settlements, killing man, woman, and child that came in their way. The Chief who had been enticed on board was made fast in the cabin by a hook through his throat and in despair at seeing his daughter about to become the victim of these monsters, killed her with his own hands.

During the voyage back to Capiti the old man was dispatched and it is a fact that one of the ship's coppers was in use for cooking human flesh for his guests and that Stewart and his crew participated, if not in the feast, in the atrocious murder and revolting preparations for it.

By similar treachery has Raupero acquired his power in other parts and become the terror of all the neighbouring tribes. Unable to cope with the Ngatiawas, whom he was forced to allow to live on the lands in Queen Charlotte's Sound, Port Nicholson and on the main abreast of Capiti, when they were driven from Taranaki, he is occasionally in alliance with them and more than once has led them into an encounter with their mutual southern enemies for the purpose of deserting them with his people in the midst of the fight, by losses in which manner they have been much thinned. In all negotiations Raupero is considered skilful and is referred to upon many occasions.

In his dealings with Europeans and Americans he makes use of alternate begging and extorting measures, according to the power of resistance to his demands he may meet with, and might if he had been prudent, be now extremely rich by his trafficking for supplies for ships and the presents he has received.

He receives tribute from numerous petty tribes and slaves and the stronger tribes are occasionally constrained to purchase peace at his hands. On the whole he is disposed to encourage and protect European settlers and having been several times to Port Jackson knows how to appreciate the commodities of civilised life.

No longer since than last week, to afford a treat to the Chiefs of the Ngatirocowa or boiling-water tribe, who assembled at Mana upon the occasion of the mourning for his Sister's death, he sacrificed a slave of the Rhangatani who had come from Admiralty Bay with presents of dried fish, but my informant, an Englishman who saw the unfortunate man being dragged to his fate says that more disguise as to the disposal of the body was made use of than heretofore, in consequence of Raupero having of late possessed himself a missionary and that he intended to discourage cannibalism.

In resolving to visit and conciliate this old savage, however strong my repugnance to his character and practices, I am more led by the hope of acquiring his land on which to locate a Society which shall put an end to his reign, than by any good wishes to him, and to obtain influence with his presumptive successor, Hiko, who bears a much better character.

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**October 15<sup>th</sup>** [Tuesday]

This morning four of our crew left the ship at their own request with a view to settling at Cloudy Bay. As they were not the best of sailors and as our crew on leaving England was rather stronger than usual in similar vessels, I acceded to their request to leave us. In the evening two others deserted, to join their comrades; induced by the hopes held out to them by the English on shore, of enjoyment of all kinds. As the whaling season is now over, they will all probably be starving within a month and will then, if they can find a ship engage with it. This is the usual practice; but the scarcity of whale ships in the Strait now leaves many men without resources. The beaches in Cloudy Bay and at Teawaiti present the most miserable scenes of idleness drunkenness and recklessness amongst our Countrymen.

We left the Tory Channel with the ebb tide, which sweeps a ship outside of the heads at a rapid rate. The northern headland has long borne the name of "Wellington head" taken from the first vessel that entered the sound by this channel. On getting an offing a fine view of the Strait opens to the view. From Cape Campbell to Cape Koemarro on the south and from Cape Palliser to Entry Island on the northern side, every headland and Bay is visible. Baring and Sinclair heads, the outermost points of Port Nicholson are conspicuous objects.

As we beat up the Strait Mana or Table island and the land abreast of Capiti on the one side and Queen Charlotte's Sound and the coast as far as Stephens island on the other opened to us. Abreast of Mana is the small river and harbour of Perrua into which a vessel drawing seven feet can enter at high water. Next to that river, at about 12 miles distant, and exactly abreast of Capiti is Waikainai, a large settlement of the Ngatiawas.

Here commences a low sandy beach with shoal water a long way out and runs with little exception to Cape Egmont. In this space of coast, little known to Europeans and presenting on the charts since the time of Cook the wave line indicating that no survey has been made of it, there are as many as nine small rivers flowing from the highlands which belt the plains of Taranake and Kafia to the Southward. The most considerable of them is Wanganui, or Knowsley River. The coast is open to the swell occasioned by the prevalent winds and altogether unsuited to examination and survey by large craft. The people cut off from communication with strangers, carry on a perpetual war against each other.

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**October 16<sup>th</sup> [Wednesday]**

We came to anchor today off Capiti near to Evans's island, which is a low termination of a reef running off from the former, and the residence and whaling station of a large establishment carried on by Mr Evans for Mr Peterson of Sydney.

We arrived just at the close of a smart engagement which had taken place on the main at about two miles distant and within sight of our anchorage, between the Ngatirocawas and Ngatiawa's. The former mustered in great force from all parts of the Coast, I mentioned yesterday and stealing into the Pah or fortified village of the latter in the night, killed some of them as they left their huts at daylight.

In the course of the morning the fighting was carried on on the beach and ended in the Ngatirocawas being defeated with a loss of 45 left dead on the shore, whilst their enemy had but 14 killed. The quarrel, which is of long standing, was brought to a crisis by the former having killed some sheep at Mana during the late crying feast, which the latter had tried to protect, and by the irritation produced by contact in the passage of the Gnatiocawas in front of the settlements of the Gnatiawas in their journey to and from Mana.

Raupero with his usual caution had kept himself out of harms way, but had gone over late in the contest with a view as he told us afterwards of making peace, but as people here say, with that of encouraging his allies. Finding him absent and desirous to see at least one party of the belligerents, I mustered an Amateur Boats crew, our Surgeons taking their instruments with them, in case of being able to render assistance to the wounded, and was on the point of starting for Waikauai, the scene of bloodshed, when a boat arrived from Evans's island with a message from Raupero, expressing his wish to see me there.

It appeared that he had landed on the main, but finding his party defeated and unwilling to trust himself with their opponents had returned to Capiti. At the same time he had seen our ship anchor near his settlement and had betaken himself with all his valuables to the English whaling settlement for protection from some imaginary danger he anticipated from us. This must have arisen in his mind from knowing that he had been making very violent speeches as to his intentions respecting us for purchasing Port Nicholson without his sanction, and threats of snatching from the residents of that place the goods I had left in payment for it. He also expressed his anxiety, to the English whalers respecting the persons on board no doubt bearing in mind his own treacherous visit to Otago, for which reason he would not come on board.

On our leaping from the boat he arose from his seat on the beach and in evident fear and with the greatest servility sought our hands to give us the missionary greeting. It was some time before he was reassured as to our intentions toward him and during the whole interview betrayed a feeling of insecurity but little consistent with his customary vapouring and insolence. He made a pious speech about the mornings affair and declared that he would not interfere; being determined to discountenance further fighting. He accepted my invitation to come on board tomorrow and hurried away to the settlement of Rhangaihiro an influential but peaceable Chief of his tribe.

In person Raupero is not conspicuous amongst his countrymen his height being rather under the average. His years sit lightly on him. He his hale and stout and his hair but slightly touched with gray. His countenance expresses keenness and vivacity, whilst a receding forehead and deep eyelids, in raising which his eyebrows are elevated into the furrows of his brow, give a resemblance to the ape in the upper part of the face, which I have remarked in many of the natives. He was clearly dressed in the ordinary mat and outer blanket, worn as the toga, slow and dignified in his action and, had not his wandering and watchful looks betrayed his doubts as to his safety perfectly easy in his address.

The whaling establishment here is most complete and very superior to those of the poor shore parties we have seen. Their boats put off after a whale, which came in sight during our visit and showed a discipline and ensemble in their movements similar to those of a well-regulated man of war. The party has obtained 250 tons of oil during the season and the second in command told me he had realised £300 to his share.

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**October 17<sup>th</sup> [Thursday]**

This morning our three surgeons went to Waikanai, where they found plenty of work. The Ngatiawa people had 50 wounded in yesterday's engagement. Their opponents carried off as many on their side. Amongst the dead of the latter were two principal Chiefs. Several bullets were cut out and preparations made for an amputation tomorrow. Some of the wounds were very dangerous having been received at close quarters and the natives had set many limbs with ligatures of flax. The wounded were found each attended by a relation and were patient and cheerful under the operations. Several tomahawk and spear wounds evinced the deadly nature of the struggle.

In this instance the Ngatiawas were the aggressed. They have for some months complied with the forms of missionary worship and all abjure further wars except in self-defence. The native missionaries with them, one of whom we knew in Queen Charlotte's Sound, took arms in the late affair and were the foremost amongst the combatants. The tribe is about to muster from all parts and will then probably attack in their turn. The total number of combatants on both sides, after making every deduction for native miscalculation, could not have been less than 800.

The Kafia people here remained neutral, with few exceptions; but the sympathies of all seem on the side of the Ngatiawas, who by their mild conduct, since the introduction of missionary customs, have gained much in the opinion of foreign settlers and even of their more savage countrymen some idea may be formed of their present feelings and habits by a knowledge of the fact that, whilst we were at Port Nicholson, three hundred of these people fell in four deep and marched to the funeral of Mr Love, the oldest settler at Teawaiti, to whom they were attached; after which they enclosed a space around the grave and erected a monument to his memory, by setting up a canoe painted black and white and otherwise decorated.

Whilst the party was on shore, I received on board Raupero and the other Chiefs of the Kafia tribe with a salute to the New Zealand flag. They all came prejudiced against the sale of any land in consequence of the English from Cloudy Bay having told them that the white people intended to drive the natives away from any settlements they might form, and also betrayed great jealousy respecting the purchase of Port Nicholson.

After much discussion they appeared to be convinced of the sincerity of my assurances that the English settlers were coming amongst them as friends and would better their condition by employing and paying them, and ended by telling me to look at their lands and, if I found them good to take them. Raupero and his wife who is also his step-daughter, staid to dinner and the former sat for his portrait to Mr Heaphy. Some relations of his, belonging to the Gnatirocowa tribe, were also on board and offered me the land on which that restless tribe resides.

Hiko or Ehiko, the son of Ti Pihī is the most rising man in this part of the islands, inheriting from his father large possessions conquered by the Kafia tribe, and from his mother, a Gnatiawa woman of consequence, great influence with the latter, he combines the power of both tribes and although not yet allowed to take a lead in speaking in their councils, is acknowledged as the virtual Chief of the Kafia people. Rangaihiro his uncle, represents him in all public discussions.

These two were distant and shy in their intercourse with all on board, but listened to what I had to say and acknowledged the justice of my remarks on the benefit to be derived by them from the settlement of English in the Strait.

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**October 18<sup>th</sup> [Friday]**

Raupero was again on board accompanied by Tunia and other Chiefs. After a long conversation they agreed to sell me all the lands possessed by the Kafia tribe on both sides of the Strait. The negotiation was difficult and disagreeable none of the good feeling I had met with at Port Nicholson, being displayed. Their rights to large portions of territory are however indisputable and if ceded conjointly with those of the Ngatiawas will entitle the possessors to the commanding portions of the two islands in these latitudes.

Our surgeons were unable to persuade any of their patients to undergo amputation today at Waikainai. It appears that the slaughter of the Ngatiawas would have been more considerable, but for the alarm given by a boy of 10 years old, who was awake when one of their enemies presented himself at the door of a hut as a spy. He asked for a light, but being recognised by the boy was shot dead by him on the spot. Raupero had urged the Ngatirocawas to attack and promised assistance in two Canoes with ammunition, but failed in his engagement. He landed on the beach and was well-nigh taken by the Ngatiawas. Their opponents, however, covered his retreat to the waters edge, whence he swam off to his canoe and they were obliged to retire for want of ammunition.

In the evening after a strong wind from the north east during the day, a violent south east gale sprang up without a moments notice and blew with great fury. The sea rose in half an hour and it was with difficulty a party of us reached the ship from the shore. The roadstead is tolerably protected by a reef from Evans's islands and the holding-ground good, but of late years the whale ships have adopted a new anchorage abreast of the two small islands at the south end of Capiti; but it is not so good as the roadstead where we are in the respect of facility of going to sea, should the gale drive the ship.

The land at Waikanai is flat for five miles deep to the first ridge of hills which are not high and enclose fine valleys between them and the range of interior mountains. The shore is a collection of sand hummocks on which the natives have their villages, but beyond them there is alluvial soil and timber in the usual abundance. This flat belt runs, as I have said, to Cape Egmont. The beach is of hard sand and very broad, affording room for a fine road on its whole length.

The produce of this country, which widens to from 15 to 30 miles to the northward, and contains land fit for the plough, might also be transported to Port Nicholson or elsewhere in the Strait by means of small steam vessels, which could call off the rivers during a cessation of the northwest winds, but the nature of the Coast, as I have before said, totally prevents constant intercourse with ships.

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**October 19<sup>th</sup>** [Saturday]

The gale continued today with increasing strength and prevented communication with the shore. The wind in the Strait is seldom the same as at sea to either end of it. The southerly or Southwest wind outside, being drawn into the funnel formed by the high land on both islands, becomes abreast of Cape Terawiti and the "Brothers", which is the narrowest part of the Strait, Southeast, and the North wind between New Holland and these Coasts assumes an inclination from the northwest, when taken in under Cape Egmont. Navigators may, therefore, expect always to find the wind set through the Strait and must not be surprised to meet strong tide-rips, having the appearance of breakers even in the most open parts, occasioned by the flowing or receding waters striking off the various Capes and headlands and meeting the wind from whatever quarter it may come.

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**October 21<sup>st</sup>** [Monday]

It was only this morning that the weather permitted any boats to put off from the shore, when Raupero and some other chiefs came on board. Hiko and his Uncle Rangaihiro, who from being Ti Pahis brother is much considered amongst his tribe, came not however, with them.

To those assembled I made a proposal to buy all their possessions, rights and claims on both sides of the Strait, which after they had seen a great portion of the goods I intended to give in payment, was accepted by all. This repetition of the bargain was necessary from the presence of some who had not been at the previous interview and not thrown away upon those who had; for no native is even satisfied that a purchase can be effected, unless many discussions take place respecting the terms. The sight of the goods seem to decide their intentions, the quantity being far beyond what they had ever seen received for any sale of land in their country, and the reality of them convincing them that I had the means of performing my part of the treaty, which is not always the case with the white people, the natives have to deal with.

A full explanation took place as to the disposal of all their rights. A plan of those parts of the two islands in which they own land by right of conquest or inheritance was diligently examined by them. It was repeatedly told them, to their perfect comprehension, that no future sale of these rights or land was to be made by them and that no further payment was to be expected from the purchasing party. The reserve of a suitable portion of the land for the maintenance of the Chiefs, their families and successors for ever was also dwelt on and met with their highest approval.

They repeatedly declared that they desired more than anything else, the residence of Englishmen amongst them and that they would live with them as brothers, working for them and receiving from them payment, as the white men they have seen do, from their masters. With this clear understanding, they left the ship, promising to return tomorrow to sign the deed and receive the payment.

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**October 22<sup>nd</sup>** [Tuesday]

A succession of northwest gales and Hiko's sickness prevented the completion of the sale today. Raupero, constant in his attendance upon any ship where there is anything to be gained by fair or foul means, came to us in spite of the weather. He wished the transaction to be finished without Hiko, who, he said, was a boy and had nothing to do with the land.

He asked for more arms and powder and declined such articles as blankets, soap, ironware &c. "Of what use to us," he cried, "are such things when we are going to war? What does it matter to us whether we die clean or dirty, cold or warm, hungry or full? We must have two barrelled guns, plenty of muskets, ball cartridges powder, lead and cartridge paper."

A small vessel arrived today from Sydney. She brought news of the eagerness of the Sydney speculators to buy land in New Zealand upon hearing of the establishment of the Company and of the probability of the British Government paying attention to the colonization of these islands and had deeds on board from various merchants, to be filled up by the Chiefs names, for various plots of ground for which some trifling consideration might have been given or for the cession of which some promise has been made by Chiefs who have visited Port Jackson.

News also arrived of the arrival at Waikanai of Warepori and his fighting men from Port Nicholson to assist the Gnatiawas against the Gnatirowas. Also of the natives in the Bay of Plenty on the eastern coast being at war and lastly of the progress from the southward of Tairoa with his numerous followers, on a burning and pillaging excursion to Cloudy Bay and Queen Charlotte's Sound.

This Tairoa is represented as the most Europeanized Chief in New Zealand. He lives at Otago, where he has a large house, built after the fashion of those of English residents, numerous whale boats, which he employs in taking whales and an establishment conducted in a similar manner to those of foreign shore parties. He dresses like an Englishman and all his people are far more advanced in European habits than any of the natives of either island. His tribes number about 700 fighting men and, as I have before mentioned, have repeatedly ravaged the Settlements in Cook's Strait.

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**October 23<sup>rd</sup>** [Wednesday]

This morning finding that at the distance the ship was from the shore, little communication could take place during bad weather, we changed our anchorage and brought up nearer to Hika's island, but still, owing to a head wind and strong tide, at a considerable distance from land. Hiko, Raupero, Rangaihiro and all the Chiefs of the Kafia tribes excepting Rangaiata, who resides at Mana, were on board, however early and a third talk on the important matter on hand took place. The same full explanation and understanding took place in the presence of at least twenty witnesses and ended in the full cession to me, for the Company of all their rights and claims in both islands.

I was desirous that a perfect knowledge of what the Chiefs were doing should be spread amongst all their followers and encouraged the presence of all who wished to witness the proceedings. Our decks were, in consequence, thronged with natives, male and female. Every one expressed his consent to the sale and his desire to see the payment made.

The goods were accordingly got up and placed on deck. I had asked the principal people whether there was anything beyond the articles I had enumerated in the deed which they wished for, and had, at Hiko's request, given a bale of clothing, to enable the Chiefs to go on board the emigrant ships in a decent costume. He had also accepted the Blankets soap and dresses for the women and had put down the clamor for arms made by all the rest.

Nothing remained to be done but to distribute the fowling pieces, of which there were only a Dozen, amongst the leaders and for them to sign the deed of conveyance. The Guns were brought up and placed on the head of the companion ladder, upon which Raupero, Tunia, usually called the "Wild fellow" and other fighting Chiefs made a rush at them and each attempted to possess himself of a double barrelled piece.

Hiko, who was busy in arraying himself in a comfortable Coat at the time, no sooner saw that the Kafia people were likely to carry off the most valued property by their old habits of violence then calling Rangaihiro and his boats crew, he threw of his partly acquired clothes and left the ship in high displeasure of Raupero and his followers.

The negotiation was thus abruptly terminated. I sent the whole of the goods below and declared the bargain at an end, as I was determined not to proceed without Hiko and his Uncle being parties in the transaction. Then arose amongst these lawless and headless savages mutual reproaches and recriminations. Each accused the other of having prevented them acquiring what all so much wished for. The guilty, in order to exonerate themselves, threw the blame on me. They accused me of partiality to Hiko. "Who was he that he should be preferred to the old men? What had he to do with the land that he was to be so much considered?" They even proceeded to make their customary grimaces and the wild fellow jumped about the deck as if to commence the exciting dance previous to an attack. "We will sell our lands to the French and Americans"; they exclaimed, "We do not want your payment; presently there will be plenty of ships here from Port Jackson and to them we will give all we possess. We will go to fight at Port Nicholson and kill all your people there."

To these taunts I returned either laughter or indifference, which together with an occasional declaration that whether we dealt or not they must conduct themselves quietly or leave the ship, soon brought them to a calmer state. They then begged me to go on with the distribution of the things and they would sell all their land, leaving Hiko to arrange for his separately. To this request I refused to accede.

If I had been disposed to feel surprised at the sudden breaking off of negotiations so nearly brought to a conclusion or had not been prepared for worse contingencies in the course of my intercourse with these people, I should have felt mortified beyond measure at seeing the sudden and unexpected failure of my efforts to effect a purchase of their territory.

If I did not commiserate the mental condition of a wild race just commencing an interchange with civilised people and were not aware of the cruel delusions and dishonest practices of most of the foreigners they have seen, towards them, I should have been angry at their violent and perverse conduct; but I should have been ill fulfilling the task assigned me, if I had shown any want of command of temper or even of countenance, upon the occasion. In a short we were as good friends as ever and renewed our conversation respecting the qualities of situation and produce of their respective residences, with as much earnestness, on their part, as if the treaty were in full progress.

The wind again rising to a gale it was found advisable to again shift our anchorage to the shelter of the two small islands. By this time, most of the natives had gone on shore; but Raupero and Tunia remained with a vague hope of obtaining the two Guns they had chosen for themselves. Instead of getting immediately to our new birth, near the islands, it was necessary to tack several times and at one time we were three miles off Capiti.

The sea ran high and the gale, meeting the flood tide, caused a ripple in which a small vessel would not live. The spanker book was also broken short in two by a violent flurry. On wearing the ship, to regain the islands, it lay in the trough of the sea and several waves broke over it. At this moment poor Mr Raupero, the King of New Zealand, as he calls himself, was in a piteous fright, declaring that the vessel would capsize and, as Naye assured me, muttering prayers most earnestly some jokes, also, as to taking him and the wild fellow to Port Nicholson, gave him an ill-disguised uneasiness.

On our anchoring, in the evening, he resumed his usual boasting manner and did more than usual execution upon our fare at table. He left us as if all negotiations were at an end and without a promise of returning tomorrow.

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**October 24<sup>th</sup>** [Thursday]

I went on shore early to Hiko's island. I found him glad to see me. He showed me round the wretched rock on which he lives and a Canoe he is building and talked to me a great deal about his father, Ti Pahi had brought with him and remembers the last instructions he received from him before the expedition to the south, in which he lost his life. These were, shortly, to cultivate the friendship of the English, to keep no slaves and to be honest in his dealings with all. His conduct proves that he has profited by these injunctions; for he is most friendly with our countrymen and has made many friends at Sydney – he pays the natives for labor, contrary to the practice of Raupero and the other Chiefs who own slaves, and never asks to be paid twice for anything he may sell.

He is well aware of the nature of a bargain and asks a larger price for his pigs, cattle and wood than those, who, by force of threats or importunity, obtain repeated payments for the same object. His person is tall and distinguished and his countenance and manner extremely winning. The influenza, which has prevailed lately here, has affected his health and physical weakness adds to his natural quiet and unassuming demeanor.

After our conversation, which we managed to carry on without an interpreter, he and Raupero came on board with me, unattended by any followers. I also took with me Captain Lewis, a respectable American, resident, as a whaler, on Hiko's island. When on board alone, the two Chiefs seemed to agree to lay aside their mutual jealousies. They looked over the plates in Cooks travels and talked of the English having been the first to come to see their country.

They then begged to have the deed of conveyance read to them. This was done in the presence of Captain Lewis and all our party, and translated in all its important parts to their perfect understanding. The map of the territory to be ceded was also again shown to them and they pointed to what places they had claim and told me that no one lived on most parts of it and that a great deal of it was of no use to any one and least of all to them.

They then executed the deed and taking their double barrelled guns said they would send the other Chiefs to sign, when the remainder of the goods should be delivered, and went on shore.

On looking at the accompanying map of those parts of the two islands bordering on Cook's Strait, in which I have thus acquired possession for the Company and extending from the 38<sup>th</sup> to the 43<sup>rd</sup> degree of latitude on the western Coast and from the 41<sup>st</sup> to the 43<sup>rd</sup> on the Eastern, you will readily conceive that I have not obtained a title to all the land included within those parallels.

It is necessary in order properly to appreciate the extent and value of the purchase, to know the different possessors and claimants of the above territory. The whole extent is owned by the Kafia the Ngatiawa the Ngatirocowa and the Wanganui tribes. An immense portion on the Southern is uninhabited; but having been conquered by the Kafia people is acknowledged to be theirs. Queen Charlotte's Sound and Wanganui, near Cape Farewell, are occupied by the Ngatiawas. On the Northern island within the above named boundaries, the Kafia tribe has but few possessions, whilst the Ngatiawas possess and inhabit Port Nicholson, Waikainai, and other small portions. The Ngatirocowas occupy the district of Otaki, between Waikainai and Wanganui and the last mentioned district is occupied by a numerous tribe of the same name.

In order, therefore, to complete the rights of the Company to all the land, unsold to foreigners, in the above extensive district, it remains for me to secure the cession of their rights in it from the Gnatiawas and in a proportionally small tract from the Ngatirocowa and Wanganui people.

Before leaving the Strait, I have sanguine hopes of being able to effect this object with the first tribe and have already opened a negotiation, by means of one of the principal Chiefs of Queen Charlotte's Sound, who has been living on board during our visit here.

As to Ngatirocowa's district, time will not allow me to treat with its actual possessors, even of the war, in which they are engaged and their unsettled state permitted them to pay attention to the subject.

The Kafia tribe has the same claim to that part of the country, which it had to Port Nicholson and Queen Charlotte's Sound and this claim I have by today's purchase acquired. I do not, however, lay much stress on the possession of claims on land, which a numerous tribe holds by the strong title of occupancy.

As regards the purchases made previous to this day's date in the neighbourhood of the Strait by foreigners, they are I feel assured, too insignificant to interfere with the views of the Company. Here and there a small bay may have been purchased and settled on by whalers in Cloudy Bay and the Sound; but no extensive district has been acquired from either the Kafia or Ngatiawa tribes and, in my belief, no regular document has been made upon any occasion and in most cases of occupation of this kind no consideration has been given for the land.

Mr Wynen, whom I have mentioned, pretends to have bought a tract of land up the Oyerr or Pelorus River; but the Chiefs here who claim all that district, have repeatedly declared to me that they do not recognise the bargain, as he gave them no payment, but has promised to have a Ship from Sydney with goods for that purpose. In many other instances within my knowledge the Chiefs do not recognise the rights of British Claimants from want of a consideration having been received; whilst in others, where payment was made, no document recording the transaction, exists.

In all the vessels now arriving from Sydney deeds are brought to be filled up and signed, in consequence of the land having lately acquired a marketable value; but whenever the time may come when a commission shall examine the titles to land in these islands, it will be found that, but very few written records of purchases prior to this day's date of any portion of land within the boundaries of my purchase can be produced.

Be this as it may, I have by today's deed acquired the land in possession and claimed at this time by the Kafia Chiefs and the clearly acknowledged rights of Hiko as connected with that and the Ngatiawa tribe; have overcome the most difficult step towards the exclusive possession of the rights of these tribes, and have received a solemn ratification of my previous purchase of the district of Port Nicholson, which was only questioned by the parties to the late sale.

In purchasing on the large scale I have done in this transaction; in marking the boundaries of territory acquired, upon the fullest and most satisfactory explanation and examinations by parallels of latitude, I conceive that I have obtained as safe and binding a title as if the subject of negotiation had been but a single acre and defined by a Creek or a notched tree; and it must be remembered that nine tenths of the land is without an inhabitant to dispute possession and that the payment I have made to the owners is large when valued by the standard of exchange known amongst them and perfectly satisfactory to the sellers.

Respecting the value of the land to the Company, I do not pretend to give a decided opinion. My remarks on the mountainous nature of the Northern end of the Southern island will produce an unfavourable impression as to its eligibility for a place of settlement for the British emigrant, which my testimony to the good qualities of its soil and climate will scarcely remove.

The numerous excellent harbours in the Strait must not be forgotten in the enumeration of its advantages and in these there are many districts of flat land available with little labour and outlay.

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**October 25<sup>th</sup> [Friday]**

At daylight this morning the whole of the Chiefs and numerous members of their families came on board, anxious to complete the sale. The deed was again produced and thoroughly explained to all. It was executed by all the Chiefs present. Raupero and Charley signed it by proxy for some relations at Cloudy Bay, who are not of consequence in the disposal of the land, but who will receive part of the payment by their names being recorded. The signature of Rangaiata is to be obtained at Mana and his portion was left on board to ensure it. The affair was concluded most amicably and without further discussion or dissension amongst the Chiefs.

They begged me to distribute the fowling-pieces as I thought fit and it happened that my selection was satisfactory to all. The remainder of the goods were taken on shore in our boats and placed in order on the beach, where we saw a very peaceable distribution take place in the course of the day.

Various rumours reached me of the opinion of the natives as to the sale and payment. Some said that they had sold land which did not belong to them, alluding to the districts occupied by the Ngatiawas, which I have yet to purchase of that tribe; whilst others betrayed a notion that the sale would not affect their interests, from an insufficiency of emigrants arriving to occupy so vast a place, to prevent them retaining possession of any parts they chose or of even reselling them at the expiration of a reasonable period.

No one was so rejoiced at the termination of this noisy and troublesome bargain as myself, and, after the natives had left the ship, a party of us landed on Kapiti and enjoyed an excursion to its summit, the more from having been so long confined by bad weather and the late negotiations.

This island from the excessive steepness of the hills which form it, can never become of great value to the Agriculturalist. Its shores are nearly perpendicular and of great height. On the top are occasional table lands on which the timber has been burned and where a good pasturage grows. The valleys are narrow and afford no temptation to the settler. The island is about 15 miles in circumference.

On the side towards the main, which is distant about 5 miles, there is a long point of flat land on which is a lagoon. On this part as well as on another point at the east end are some 20 or 30 head of cattle, owned by Hiko and Raupero, but claimed by Mr Cooper of Sydney, who sent down the original stock to be placed under the charge of the former Chief. From the heights is a fine view of the Waikanae country with many of its small rivers debouching in the Strait and of Mana, distant 16 miles. The latter island is not half the size of Kapiti, but is perfectly level on its wedge-like summit. There are many cattle and more than 500 sheep on it, which thrive well.

Both these places are excluded from my purchase and will be the subject of many disputes plots of them having been sold over and over again to different parties. The Northwest eminence of Kapiti is well adapted for a lighthouse; from which vessels entering the Strait from the westward could take a departure and which in conjunction with one on Baring head would be of the greatest value to navigators.

The steepness of Kapiti renders the roadstead subject to violent flurries of wind which are dangerous to shipping. Yesterday our Cutter was capsized on coming from shore and Mr Heaphy and Mr Robinson narrowly escaped drowning. A Canoe brought off the former from the boat, which we saved, as it floated down near the ship, bottom upwards. The others with difficulty reached the shore by swimming on the oars. Since we have been here it has never ceased blowing hard.

This afternoon a Brig from Sydney, which has been drifting about in the Strait for five days, contrived to anchor in the roadstead. No-one in her knew the Coast and being as badly found as most Sydney trading vessels usually are, there positively being no binnacle and only a small boat compass on board and no chronometer it was miraculous that she was not lost, as many others we have heard of have been on these Coasts within these few years. But with the best ships the Strait is not to be played with. Even in our own well equipped ship, the skill and vigor of her commander, which are of no ordinary character, have been often taxed during our short visit.

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**October 26<sup>th</sup> [Saturday]**

I visited today the small island on which Raupero lives. It partly belongs to Captain Mayhew, an American who has a store on it. The habits of the Old Chief are conspicuous in this place. A miserable house, tabooed for himself and wife, with one end parted off for his son, offers no temptation to his enemies nor calls for the envy of his rival allies.

Near it are piled up cases of Tobacco, of cotton goods and of the various objects which he has begged or extorted from the masters of vessels anchoring here. These are covered with dead brushwood and are narrowly watched by his slaves. He seldom stays long in any place but goes from settlement to settlement, often in the night, to avoid any design against his life from his foes on the main.

He came on board in the afternoon on one of his pillaging visits and after talking largely dropped into his begging tone. Finding me proof against threats and entreaties, as a last resource to obtain a present, he proposed to me to go on shore to see a young girl who would be at my service at night. Notwithstanding the many bad qualities of this old man, his blustering, meanness, and unscrupulous treachery, he possesses some points of character worthy of a Chief amongst savages. He is full of resources in emergencies, hardy in his enterprises and indefatigable in the execution of them. He has tried to coax Nayti to give him everything he brought from England and even seized a gun I had given the former and would have carried it off, had I not accidentally met him on the deck and shamed him into restoring it.

When our boat was upset it was supposed that Nayti was in it, upon which he with momentary readiness claimed his chest and all belongings to him and was, I feel sure, chagrined at hearing that his kinsman was safe.

Making every allowance for his condition, and knowing how his intercourse with the refuse of European society has affected him, it is impossible for the most charitable to have any feelings towards this old fellow but those of aversion. It will be a most fortunate thing for any settlement formed hereabouts when he dies, for with his life only will end his mischievous scheming and insatiable cupidity.

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**October 27<sup>th</sup> [Sunday]**

The weather for the first time during ten days allowed a boat to cross over to the main. I went to Waikanai, taking with me Ebatu, the son of Toaroa, the two principal Chiefs of that place and of Queen Charlotte's Sound. On landing we were greeted by the acclamations of the numbers assembled at the place in expectation of a second attack from the Gnatirocawas.

As soon as it was known that I had come to talk about the land, a rush was made for the usual place of meeting on public occasions, and in a few minutes a large arena was entirely covered with people, seated in their peculiar posture, in perfect silence, anxious to hear the speeches of the Elders. A place was made for me on the side of a canoe and during the discussion all eyes were fixed on me, as if to read in my countenance the effect of the eloquence of the orators. Ebatu introduced me as a good man, who liked the natives and who would bring a great many white people to live amongst his tribe and an English missionary to teach them. A low murmur of approbation ran through the assembly at the conclusion of his speech. Some of the elder Chiefs then addressed us and coincided in granting me all their lands upon condition of receiving arms and ammunition, to enable them to defend themselves and people from their enemies. They declined blankets, clothing and tobacco. Nothing was wanted but implements of war.

Through an interpreter I asked them how they professing peace and missionary customs thought of nothing but fighting and they answered that though they would not allow their potatoes to be peeled on a Sunday and prayed in the Chapel three times a day they were now obliged to be armed and to fight in defence of their houses and children and persisted in their demand of arms.

After visiting their village which is the largest we have seen and tolerably fortified and seen their wounded I persuaded three of the Chiefs to accompany me on board to see Raupero with a view of putting an end to their quarrel with the Gnatirowas. On approaching the ship they evinced the greatest fear, declaring that Raupero would take their heads. Soon after being on board I sent for Raupero and his fighting general Rangaiata who had arrived from Mana.

When these came on deck and saw the three Ngatiawa Chiefs sitting down with their faces half hidden in their mats they betrayed great surprise and made their customary warlike grimaces. Then from, I conclude, remembering that the ship was no place to show any hostile demonstration, they advanced to them and rubbed noses with them in succession. A few other mournful salutations followed, when Raupero made them a long speech, asking them "Why they hid their faces? Was he not their friend and glad to see them?" Many speeches on both sides succeeded all in the spirit of peace.

In those of the Gnatiawas was introduced an improvised recitative, harmoniously and gracefully uttered, and expressive of feelings of goodwill and friendship, one of these finished with a satirical allusion to the habits of the Kafia residents at Kapiti to the effect that, if left to themselves, the Gnatiawas would stand and look on at the former drinking their strong waters.

On the whole, the meeting had the effect intended; many disputes amongst the natives originating in misrepresentations of third parties and ceasing so soon as they have spoken of their grievances face to face, and but for my knowledge of Raupero's duplicity, I should think that he would use his influence to put a stop to further hostilities.

After the reconciliation came lengthy details of the late fight, in which the most trivial incidents were mentioned, and lasted till sunset. In all descriptions by the natives these petty details are introduced particularly in their accounts of journeys, in which they will relate with great earnestness where they halted to cook or on what tree they killed a bird.

Nayti came to me in the afternoon and begged permission to visit his father at Mana, our voyage to that place having been rendered unnecessary by the arrival of Rangaiata. He proposes to stay with his relations till the emigrant ships arrive when he will join his friends who may settle at Port Nicholson. I had little to oppose to his request.

Of late he has been worse than useless as an interpreter, having led me into error several times; but I requested him to stay on board as a friend of the party with whom he had made the voyage from England and represented to him the unhappiness he would undergo when stripped of his clothes by his friends and deprived of the comforts to which he has been of late accustomed. He assured me that he was very happy on board but that he wished to see his friends that his cousins had come for him in a large canoe and that he would look out for the emigrant ships.

He has been induced to this step, partly by his fear of Raupero and his people, who have threatened him and partly by fear of going to the Waikato country, and Kaipara where the natives might revenge themselves upon him for some injury done to one of their tribes long ago. The expedition will rather benefit by his absence during these visits; for as a general rule it is inadvisable to have a native on board a ship bound to the port of a tribe unfriendly to his own.

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**October 28<sup>th</sup>** [Monday]

Rangiaiaata the Chief of Mana and the land on the main abreast of it executed the deed of conveyance this morning. His signature completes the document as regards the Kafia tribe. The three Chiefs of the Ngatiawas whom I had brought from Waikainai declined proceeding with me to Queen Charlotte's Sound where I wished them to combine with the heads of the tribe resident there in conveying their rights to me. They pleaded with justice the danger to their families, during their absence, from their neighbouring enemies: but deputed one of their sons to accompany me, who is empowered to act for them. In the mean time they have promised me that they will part with no land till my return.

If time had permitted I could have concluded the bargain for their lands, although I should have had some difficulty in satisfying them in respect to arms, with which I am ill provided. No scruples would have deterred me from putting ever so large quantity in their possession, as I feel sure that not only will they, in this case, prevent a war of aggression on the part of their enemies, but that they will be readily supplied by some party from Sydney desiring the land, in case the owners determine to become the attacking force.

The three Chiefs, notwithstanding their fears of Raupero and though saying that they intended to take refuge with Hiko till the wind was fair for their return to Waikanai, on leaving the ship, landed at Raupero's island and were received by him on the beach. I hope that this confidence in him, which I had advised, was the effect of their meeting on board and will be the means of a permanent reconciliation.

Nayti left us this evening in spite of my advice to him to remain on board. He was very frank and well behaved on taking leave of us and assured us that he should be very comfortable on shore till our return. He took with him a supply of what he considered requisite and all his clothes and presents received in England left to him by his rapacious friends. Notwithstanding his assurances, I am disposed to think that his more of departure, though partaking of the polite habits acquired amongst Englishmen, was one of those artful deceits commonly practised by all savages resuming their original station after an intercourse with civilisation.

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**October 29<sup>th</sup>** [Tuesday]

We weighed anchor at daylight hoping to be in Queen Charlotte's Sound in the afternoon. We had nearly entered between its headlands, when a terrific northwest gale caught us and with the strong ebb tide nearly drove us on the "Two Brothers." In wearing, to stand off the shore, our foreyard was carried away and it was a question for a time whether the ship, excellent as are her sailing qualities, would weather the dangerous rocks off these islands.

After getting clear of them, we hove to till the rain and mist dispersed and, finally, were obliged to run for Mana, where we brought up in the evening; not sorry to be at anchor even in this bad roadstead till the gale subsides.

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**October 30<sup>th</sup> [Wednesday]**

On the side of Mana facing the main is a small amphitheatre formed by the hills which slope up to the wedge-shaped summit I have spoken of and which to the seaface are precipitous. We landed and walked over the whole island. It is in most parts a good sheep walk, but in its small valleys there is good feeding for cattle, of which there are thirty head. There are also two draft horses belonging to the owner of the island.

The settlement is abreast of our anchorage at the foot of the slope and consists of the owner's house a small whaling station and the huts of Rangiaiaata and 40 or 50 resident natives. Mana, however, often serves as a rendezvous for the Kafia tribe and the Gnatiawas when on friendly terms, where they meet on neutral ground. At the late crying feast, as many as 3000 people met here, and during their visit were very annoying to the English settlers by killing 50 sheep and committing other depredations.

We found here the last purchaser of the island, between whom and the late proprietor, a dispute as to their rights had arisen, in consequence of our expedition having so much enhanced the value of the place as to induce the latter to wish to call off from the bargain. A resort to New Zealand law is talked of to obtain possession, and all arbitration was refused.

Several other Sydney people were also here, anxious to buy land in the Strait and were not a little discountenanced by learning that the Chiefs had made over all their rights on both sides of Cook's Strait to the Company. One of them told me that we were just in time as deeds and property for payment may be expected in every vessel from Sydney. They all, however, expressed satisfaction at the probability of a settlement being formed at Port Nicholson where some law and order will exist, and regretted having neglected buying land in that harbour. Every day brings fresh proof of the speed of our outward voyage having frustrated the intentions formed by the New Holland speculators on receiving the news of our departure and destination, as regards this part of the islands.

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**October 31<sup>st</sup> East Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound [Thursday]**

The weather having changed and our repairs effected, we crossed the Strait this morning and anchored in this bay instead of Ship Cove, for the convenience of being nearer to the grove at the head of the sound, whither it was necessary to send to procure a spar for a foreyard. I was also desirous to be near the principal Settlement in the Sound, in order to conclude my treaty with the Gnatiawas for the sale of their rights in the neighbourhood of the Strait.

As soon as we entered the bay, many natives came off, who had heard of the object of our visit. I landed in grass cove, where Captain Ferneaux's boats crew was murdered and walked over the island of Alapawa to Ocacurri from where I got a Canoe to Teawaiti. The hills are extremely difficult of ascent and incapable of other cultivation than for the growth of the vine and indian corn. On coming in sight of Ocacurri, the Chief, who accompanied us, requested us to fire off our guns, the report from which brought in answer a continued discharge of muskets until we reached the village.

Here we found assembled about 200 men in a state of great excitement and preparing to start in their canoes for Waikainai to carry on the war against the Gnatirowas. My company and myself with the Waikanae Chief had to go through the ceremony of shaking hands with everyone in the Settlement ranged round the place of public meeting.

After this Operation a tangi commenced in honor of the Chief's arrival and to the memory of their friends fallen in the late fight. So soon as we could escape, we left the village, where E Witi remained to talk about the land.

At Teawaiti we found the same warlike preparations and heard of a general muster of the tribes desirous to attack their enemies and of the determination of one of the Chiefs to land with sixty picked men on Raupero's island for the purpose of carrying off that old Chief, who had killed his father some years ago. A violent outcry for arms prevailed and any quantity of pigs offered in exchange.

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**November 1<sup>st</sup>** [Friday]

I visited Ocaurri again this morning in company with Mr Barrett and prevailed on the Chiefs to postpone their hostile voyage, until the negotiations for the sale of their land should be completed. They promised to meet me in East bay and to bring with them all the principal owners of the Gnatiawas, after which I returned to the Ship in a whale boat pulled by a native crew. During the whole distance of 25 miles, most part of the way against a strong wind, they pulled with unceasing vigor and equalled an European crew.

We found lying in the bay a Danish whale ship which on its way to Cloudy Bay in search of seamen had followed us into the Sound. It is the first vessel of its nation which has made the voyage to the South sea. The master, an intelligent man, has undertaken the voyage in the hope of finding a profitable employment for ships from Bremen.

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**November 2<sup>nd</sup>** [Saturday]

The Chiefs owning land in the Sound came on board accompanied by a great crowd of inferiors. After some discussion the meeting was adjourned and a small beach abreast of the ship appointed as the place of future assembly on the subject. Thither Mr Barrett and myself accompanied the Chiefs, when an earnest debate arose as to the disposal of their rights. It appeared that but few of those present claimed land anywhere but hereabouts; but all were willing to cede all their rights to territory wherever situated and by their cession, a title would be acquired to the whole of the Sound and to those places which the Kafias and Gnatiawas claim jointly, by reason of joint conquest from the original tribe.

Two places would then remain to be purchased from other Gnatiawa people resident on them, the first Waikainai and its neighbourhood and the second Taitap including Wanganui, to the Southward of Cape Farewell, to secure a complete title to the territory mentioned as comprised within the 38<sup>th</sup> and 43<sup>rd</sup> degrees of latitude.

These two spots must be left for a more leisure time, but are not likely to attract the attention of others the first being now the seat of war and the other lying in an out the way corner; besides belonging to the relations of my friends here, who will advise its being kept for the same purchasers as of this place.

From the want of a single leader as in Port Nicholson, much idle talking took place today and the meeting broke up without any decision. Tomorrow two other Chiefs will be summoned from higher up the sound, to a last consultation. In the meantime, however anxious I am to go Northwards the necessity of replacing our foreyard at present prevents the ships departure.

The natives here, some of the ancient possessors of Taranaki, are very desirous that I should become the purchaser of that district in order that they may return to their native place without fear of the Waikato tribes. They will yield all their claims on the district to the Company, but stipulate for the same reservation of land for Mr Barrett and the children of the late Mr Love as for the native chiefs.

These two Englishmen having lived for so many years amongst the Taranaki people during their wars and having had children born of native wives on the spot, have been long considered as belonging to the tribe. Mrs Barrett and her children are on board and will, it is thought be very conducive; amongst the resident natives, to an acquisition of the territory.

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**November 3<sup>rd</sup>** [Sunday]

I went round East Bay and landed at all the Settlement with a view to see the nature of the land in any of the spots suited for the location of immigrants. I found many delightful bays eligible for small settlement. A considerable space of open flat land, of excellent quality, with a gradual slope up the hillsides spreads itself out at the bottom of these bays in which is a safe anchorage in all weathers. Large potato grounds and plots of wheat and Tarra, a sort of yam, are cultivated in these places.

The native settlements are very small and the few residents enjoy great abundance. The water literally swarms with fish. The sort in season during the summer is the Baracouta and is taken by the natives with a rod and line of a few feet in length at the end of which is a small thick piece of wood with a crooked nail in it. The fish do not take an ordinary bait, but with this peculiar implement the natives will take many hundreds in a day and often have many ton's weight of them dried for sale. It is the best fish we have yet eaten of in this country.

I found all the settlements nearly deserted; the inhabitants having removed to an island near our Ship for the convenience of assisting at the conferences respecting the land. The people from the southern entrance to the Tory Channel were assembled in one bay, occupied in prayers and singing and talking over the transaction. In their visits upon similar occasions the natives always put up in some cove apart from other tribes with which they may be ever so closely allied and bring with them their stock of provisions for the period of their absence from home. Thus in every small bay near the ship are assembled in different parties nearly all the people of the sound, waiting the result of the negotiations, to the number of nearly 300, but the respective tribes, five in number, included in the collective appellation of Gnatiawas, remain separate except for the object of their meeting.

East Bay is nearly six miles in length and almost as large as Port Nicholson. Cook's chart of the Strait lays it down with his usual accuracy. Our time has not allowed Captain Chaffers to survey the sound or to put Cook's chart of it on the same scale as his own of the Tory Channel sent to you with my last packet, but the two can be easily combined, so as to complete a correct chart of the whole extent.

On returning to the ship, in the evening, I found a deputation from all the tribes, which announced that they had finally determined to sell to me all their possessions and claims in both islands in the same manner that the Kafia Chiefs had done. They requested that the payment might be divided for them by me, as the want of a prominent leader amongst them might otherwise occasion disputes.

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**November 4<sup>th</sup>** [Monday]

A few of the Chiefs were on board to describe the place owned by them and to see the goods offered in payment. The deed was drawn from their description and was satisfactory to all; but owing to its length, the affair could not be concluded today. News arrived that a vessel had arrived at Capiti with agents from Messrs Cooper and Levi, of Sydney, instructed to take possession of that island. It is not probable that the Kafia Chiefs will allow them to perform this task, even if the many white men who have long bought portions of land on it lately offered no resistance. The vessel is to proceed to the South with Cattle, to be placed on land claimed by the same parties.

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**November 5<sup>th</sup>** [Tuesday]

Bad weather prevented the natives coming on board today to complete the sale. Many points respecting European purchases of land also required to be understood. No delay occurred, however, as the foreyard was not finished. The spar out of which the yard is made was 80 feet in height of an equal girth. It is of the tree called the Towa, the wood of which is very tough and durable. West Bay in this sound abounds in this timber.

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**November 6<sup>th</sup>** [Wednesday]

The rain had driven home many of the Chiefs who did not return today. No temptation will induce a New Zealander to make a journey or go in a canoe in bad weather and I have heard a Chief say he would walk over such a hill the next day, if the wind were fair.

We buried today a seaman a native of the Marquesa islands. He had been long in a consumption. The ceremony was attended by many natives, who expressed their satisfaction with its solemnity. The Gnatiawas now bury their dead in coffins and read prayers over the grave.

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**November 7<sup>th</sup>** [Thursday]

Torrents of rain kept everybody on board below and prevented the arrival of the natives. We had news of Mr Smith at Port Nicholson. He is on excellent terms with the natives, who are building seven large houses and making other preparations for the reception of the expected settlers.

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**November 8<sup>th</sup>** [Friday]

Soon after daylight the natives began to come on board and by 12 o'clock more than 200 had assembled on the deck, including all the Chiefs in the Sound. A good deal of speaking took place and the principal man, E Hawe, enumerated the places which the residents here possess or claim. With so many to satisfy I found myself called upon to give them a second tierce of Tobacco, which produced a sensation of satisfaction, after which the Chiefs and Elders sent some of the canoes on shore and the business of allotment and distribution began.

Many white people having been in the habit of cutting timber on an extensive scale, it was necessary to have an understanding on the subject for the future; and one and all of the Chiefs assured me that the place was now sacred for me and that no-one should establish sawpits in the grove at the head of the Sound or otherwise use the land or its produce except for the purpose of planting potatoes for their own consumption.

Although it was satisfactory to have so numerous a meeting and to witness the unanimity that prevailed in it respecting the disposal of the land, the scene was by no means so gratifying as that of the conclusion of the Purchase of Port Nicholson. In the latter, the people were under the perfect control of one man and were sincere in giving their land for the sake of having white people come to live amongst them. They consequently looked upon the consideration as a secondary object and relied on their Chief for a fair distribution.

In this instance no one of the paramount influence was present to give the people confidence and ensure satisfaction; moreover they were not assured that an immediate location of settlers would take place here and having but little to look forward to, turned all their attention to obtaining the greatest amount of payment possible and being much in the habit of dealing with white people who have abused their ignorance, looked suspiciously at the transaction, as if they imagined that an advantage was intended to be taken of them.

When the allotments to the different tribes had proceeded some time, a violent dispute amongst one tribe, the Pukatap, which threatened to put an end to the purchase and it was not till I had persuaded the Chief of it to send away some of his people under a threat of putting all the things below and going to sea that anything like peace was restored.

More than 100 men still remained on the deck, and as the goods might now be considered delivered to them, although I allowed the distribution of them to be made on board, I took advantage of the momentary calm to secure the signatures of the Chiefs to the number of thirty.

No sooner had the distribution recommenced than a more violent altercation took place amongst the individuals of the tribe which had quarrelled with another tribe in the morning. Half of the goods had been sent on shore for some of the tribes and the Pukatap Chief was proceeding with the distribution to his followers when someone called out to make a rush for the remainder.

In a moment the most tumultuous scene we have ever witnessed took place and a general scramble, in which many blows were exchanged and in which the more violent, throwing off their clothes, evinced a disposition to proceed to a serious fight. No intercession was of the least avail. The only answer received by those, who attempted it, was that it was a native quarrel and that no harm would happen to us. This scene of violence only ceased when all the goods had been appropriated and then the principal performers in it expressed themselves much ashamed of their conduct.

I understand that the tribes which had taken their goods on shore, after mustering all their friends and followers to the number of nearly 300, had a similar, if not more unfriendly distribution and that the men loaded their arms and were, at one time, on the point of recurring to them for a decision of the dispute E Hawe was slightly cut in the arm in the affray.

These scenes are, I am assured, mild in comparison with those that have taken place on much smaller distributions of property and need cause no alarm to any one witnessing them. Such a rapid change has taken place, however, in the habits of these people within these few years that one may expect the total cessation of dissensions amongst them soon; and it must be recollected that the transaction I have had with them has been dissimilar to any in which they have been engaged. In all their small sales to white people, a Chief or two has taken the payment for the small plot of ground sold and used it as he pleased.

In this purchase I have united the consent of various small tribes and numerous Chiefs and proprietors, have assembled as many natives as possible, in order to give publicity to the affair and have attempted to satisfy not only the Chiefs but each individual of the tribes amongst whom I hope to see settlers located.

The affair was concluded before dusk and quietness restored in the ship. Never did Ship witness such a scene of violence without bloodshed. If anyone should wish to take a lesson of patience and control of temper, let him have a few dealings with a numerous collective New Zealand tribe, and he will find himself proof against any annoying occurrences which he may meet with in the transactions of business in civilised communities.

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### **November 9<sup>th</sup> [Saturday]**

I landed this morning and took possession of the land in the name of the Company. The wind prevented our leaving the Bay, as I had intended. I send copies of the two deeds, which make the title to all the late possessions and claims of the Kafia and Gnatiawa tribes, with a Chart of the district.

To distinguish the possessions of the Company which so greatly predominate in this extensive territory, I have called it North and South Durham and I hope that "the day will come", when a British population, availing itself of the natural advantages of these two Provinces, will render them worthy of their name.

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**November 10<sup>th</sup>** [Sunday]

A northwest gale still retained us here, but with every prospect of being able to sail tomorrow. I expect to be a week at Taranake and to acquire the large district I have spoken of; after which we shall proceed to Kiapara. I have no letters from England, but understand that some have gone to the Bay of Islands for me, in which case it will be some time before I receive them, as the vessel conveying them was to proceed to Cloudy Bay.

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**November 11<sup>th</sup> Kapiti** [Monday]

Being under a promise to take back the Chief E Witi and the missionary who had been a witness to the late sale, to Waikanai, we sailed for this place yesterday, but owing to a strong northwest wind, only reached it today. We found all the natives in great commotion on account of the preparations making for war on the main. The Ngatiawas muster 800 fighting men and can be reinforced to the number of 600 more, of occasion requires. Their adversaries are not so numerous, but living all on the same spot, can easily be collected for an assault, which the former are prevented from making whilst assembled, by the missionaries, who will only fight in self-defence. Warepori and many of his people are at Waikainai, which circumstance is retarding the preparations making at Port Nicholson for the settlers.

A Barque has been here from Sydney to purchase land for Messrs Cooper and Levi. The Master and Agent has once more bought this island as well as some land at Waimea, on the main. Probably exceeding his instructions, he professed himself ready to buy any land to prevent the "Tory" from obtaining it and in this spirit has contracted for the Oyerriver under a promise of giving a small schooner for it; although everyone here informed him that the Chiefs had made over all their rights to me a few days before. The vessel is gone to the South on a similar errand.

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**November 12<sup>th</sup>** [Tuesday]

A calm prevented our sailing, Warepori paid us a visit. He is extremely unsettled by the warlike state of things and could scarcely talk of the prospect of the arrival of settlers at Port Nicholson; saying that he should probably be killed at the approaching fight.

The Revd Mr Williams of the Bay of Islands is on his way here to form an establishment on the main. His horses have arrived and some people hope that his presence may prevent the encounter amongst the natives; but from what I have seen of these people and know of their revengeful feelings I have no idea that anything but a great slaughter on one side or the other will satisfy them. For some years it will be necessary for any settlers in Cook's Straits, to be in numbers sufficient to protect themselves, and to form a militia, to avoid the outrages to which the caprice or anger of a few Chiefs might subject them.

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**November 13<sup>th</sup>** [Wednesday]

The unusual calm continued and kept us here. Warepori had an interview with Raupero. The two Chiefs met in their Canoes near Kapiti. The former inquired whether the Ngatirowas, from a visit to whom at Otaki Raupero was returning, intended to pursue the war and Raupero with his usual cunning, replied that he had persuaded them from so doing, that he was tired of wars, meant to go to live at Wairoa out of the way of them and made Warepori a present of Kapiti. Considering how many times he has sold all his interests in the island, the gift cannot be considered worth much.

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**November 16<sup>th</sup>** [Saturday]

Notwithstanding my anxiety to leave this place, no chance has offered of effecting my object. We have repeatedly hove short and made ready for sea and as often have been disappointed by the wind failing.

Not to be entirely idle, I got off from Waikanai three Chiefs of Wanganui or Knowsley river, who are here with about 200 men to assist the Ngatiawas, with whom they are in alliance in their war. With these Chiefs I negotiated the purchase of all their district from Manawatu to Patea. It is impossible to complete the bargain except on the spot with the numerous tribe living there; but having obtained the signatures of two Chiefs to a deed, a third, who is supposed to be the most influential man in the tribe was deputed to accompany me and to receive the remainder of the payment amongst their people.

The Knowsley River has been repeatedly spoken of in England as a place likely to become of great importance from its being a river harbour communicating with the fertile plains in the interior of the North island and although pressed for time, I resolved to devote a day or two to ascertain its value and that of the neighbouring country. In the evidence taken by the association in 1837, the river is stated to have a dangerous entrance and its navigation prevented by a fall near its mouth. The natives are also stated to be very savage and to speak an almost different language from that of the other tribes.

From the most correct information I can obtain I have ascertained that canoes have been 10 days voyage up the river without its being necessary to track them over any falls, which is however an uncertain mode of calculation of distances that it runs from the volcanic mountain Ruapeha, passing another high mountain Tongarido, which is proved by the vast quantity of pumice stone which comes down its course and being washed into the strait is found on every beach and that its source is separated by this range of mountains and at no great distance from the Waikato river and district. No vessel has ever been known to enter it.

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**November 18<sup>th</sup>** [Monday]

At length a light southerly wind enabled us to leave Kapiti and running along the coast to the northward we passed successively Waimea, which is the next district to Waikanai, the stream at which place is nearly dried up, its main branch having diverted itself into the Waikanai river, which, however scarcely admits a boat at high water, Otaki and Manawatu, both rivers also incapable of access to any craft.

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**November 19<sup>th</sup>** [Tuesday]

At daylight this morning we found ourselves considerably to the northward of Wanganui, having stood off shore during the night, but the weather being fine and a northeast wind blowing off the land rendering the approach safe, we stood in down the land in search of the river. The natives on board never having seen the land from a ship or at a greater distance than the edge of the surf in their canoes, continually misled us as to its situation; so that it was not till near night that we arrived off its mouth. We stood off again for the night under easy sail and on, the [20<sup>th</sup>],

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**November 20<sup>th</sup>** [Wednesday]

... found ourselves abreast of the object of our search. Yesterday in standing down the coast, we found the water suddenly shoal at a mile distant from a point of land to four fathoms. As the ship draws 15 feet, it was, therefore, advisable to keep an offing. We stood off and on at two miles from the shore in ten and sometimes seven fathom's water and Mr Barrett proceeded in a boat to sound at the entrance of the river, whilst we took a view of the neighbouring country from the masthead.

The mouth of the river lies in latitude 40° 7' or thereabouts and is open to the southwest. Its low headlands are about half a mile apart; but from the southern point a spit runs out above water, forming a breakwater nearly half a cross the distance. The channel is consequently under the northern bank and a bar, on which at low tide the water breaks, continues across it from the spit. Inside the bar the river opens and presents behind the spit a considerable space of smooth water, which continues for about two miles, where the course turns to the eastward and was lost to our view.

Mr Barrett, who is an old sailor, found 2½ fathoms on the bar as he went in and three, four and five fathoms inside. He went up the river about a mile and landed the Chief I had brought with me amongst some of his people, who had come from their pah, which is situated six miles higher up the banks.

The natives, who have never been on board a ship, were much alarmed at our appearance, conceiving that we might be bound on a similar visit to that of the 'Alligator' in 1835. Indications of a gale appearing, our pilot returned to the ship immediately and only just in time. On re-crossing the bar he found only two fathoms water, which was beginning to break. The tide was then at half ebb and had fallen about five feet perpendicular. The soundings on the bar at high water may be taken at near three fathoms. Some appearance of occasional heavy freshes presented themselves near the heads in drift timber &c. By the time our pilot arrived on board it was blowing hard and in less than ten minutes afterwards, we were glad to beat off the coast, under close reefed topsails, in a fiery northwest gale.

The principal object of my visit was thus frustrated for the moment and time will not allow me now to return to Wanganui, which I consider a place of great importance. It is certainly capable of admitting good sized craft with the flood tide and may hereafter by means of steamboats become the outlet of the produce of an immense district, if not of the whole extent of the northern island. The inhabitants are not less civilised than the other tribes in these parts and lately having received native missionaries amongst them from Kafia and Waikato are decidedly more advanced than their neighbours to the southward, the Ngatirocawas, who refuse all missionary interference. The dialect of Wanganui is peculiar and is the subject of merriment to the Ngatiawas, as that of a Yorkshireman is to a Londoner.

Yesterday in our search for Wanganui we passed off the mouths of two other small rivers to the northward of it, viz, Waitotera and Patea, both of which will admit boats at high water. Thus I am able to speak, from my own knowledge, of this coast to within 30 miles of Waimate, where the 'Alligator' landed a party of marines for the rescue of Mrs Guard in 1835. Part of the journal of an officer on board that ship, quoted in the "Present state of New Zealand", furnishes a description of the remainder of the coast from Waimate, round Cape Egmont, to the Sugar loaf islands, our present destination.

There is no appearance of the horse-shoe-shaped bay laid down in some of the charts at Taranake bay and from the information of Mr Barrett and the natives, who walked the whole length of this coast in their migration from Taranake, the land forms a semi-circular bay from Otaki, which is fifteen miles to the northward of Kapiti, to Cape Egmont. This lee-shore, from the prevalence and violence of the southwest and northwest winds, is dangerous ground. A vessel embayed during one of these gales would have difficulty to get off the coast and as the sea breaks at two miles off the shore, anchoring is nearly out of the question.

The soundings are very shallow along the whole coast. At nearly twenty miles at sea we found only seventeen fathoms off Cape Egmont. Several small vessels have been driven ashore in the bight and knocked to pieces.

The land near the sea continues low from Waikanai to Wanganui, after which a cliff, which gradually heightens as you approach the Cape, but on the top of which the land is perfectly level over an immense district, bounds the beach. The face of this flat land presents a pleasing prospect after the long continued sight of the mountains in all the other parts of the Strait and the soil, according to all accounts is fertile.

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**November 21<sup>st</sup>** [Thursday]

In twenty-four hours the gale abated and we found ourselves in the middle of the Strait, with the prospect of a long passage round Cape Egmont. Vessels are sometimes weeks before they can leave the Strait during northwest winds.

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**November 22<sup>nd</sup>** [Friday]

This morning found us within sight of and at a distance of 50 miles from Mount Egmont which presented a grand and venerable appearance. The perpetual snow commences at about two thirds up the mountain, which would give its height 9000 feet. It is called in the Charts 14,000 feet high, but a trigonometrical measurement by a german professor, who was here in a Russian Man of War, makes it 7000 feet.

No appearance of volcanic action in the Mountains has of late been noticed or is remembered by the natives. Tongarido also became visible in the course of the day. It seems at 70 miles distant equal in size and height to Mount Egmont. A native tradition describes these mountains and Ruaphea as once close together, but that a quarrel taking place amongst them, the two sisters, Tongarido and Ruapeho, in a pet, removed themselves to a distance.

Having now traversed Cook's Strait in every direction and seen its coasts from Cape Farewell to Cape Campbell on one side and from Cape Palliser to Cape Egmont on the other and visited its principal harbours, besides learning the qualities of all, I shall conclude my observations on this part of the country with a table of population, in the two provinces, which I have drawn out from evidence collected on the spot and upon which I can rely. It is the only attempt at an estimate of the population of these parts which I know of.

Going about as I have done amongst the different tribes on equally friendly terms with all and exciting no jealousies by exclusive communication with any particular one, I have been able to learn more and more exactly than those who have resided under the protection of one tribe.

I have refrained hitherto, however, from stating any result of my observations on the customs and habits of the inhabitants of these islands from a feeling that conclusions on the subject arrived at hastily and with the few opportunities our party, ignorant of the language, has had in our hurried visits to different ports in a ship always under sailing orders, must be liable to error from a deficiency of premises, particularly when we consider that the native informants vary from each other and in their own statements and that it is only by dint of reiterated comparisons that the truth on any subject can be gained from them. Moreover, any information I could now give on the meagre subject of the mode of life of these people would add but little to the science of Ethnography and would be a mere repetition of the substance of many published works, which has been admirably collated in the volume of Entertaining Knowledge "The New Zealanders" and the "Present state of New Zealand" published by the Association in 1837.

I promised myself however, to give you the amount of my observation in greater maturity at a future time, than I could now do, on the peculiarities of these people.

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**November 27<sup>th</sup> Sugar Loaf Islands [Wednesday]**

At length after a tedious voyage of nine days from Kapiti, being only 130 miles off; having experienced much bad weather and three gales of wind, we anchored this morning in nine fathoms water at two miles from the land to the north of these islands.

The gale had left a heavy swell, which caused a great surf on the beach so as to prevent a boat landing. Mr Barrett with Tuarao and Ewarre, whom you will recollect I brought from Port Nicholson, went near the land in a boat and succeeded after some time in making themselves recognised by the inhabitants. Two Chiefs swam off to the boat through the surf and came on board the ship. This specimen of communication with the shore will give a bad opinion of the place as regards its roadstead, and I can say nothing to remove or palliate it. It is completely open to the northwest and never accessible but after a long calm or southeast wind, both of which are rare events. Ships, moreover, would have difficulty in going to sea if a gale came on suddenly.

No talking on the part of the natives took place in the boat, surprise at seeing their old friends and the national custom preventing any demonstrations of feeling; but after coming on board, an affecting scene took place, in which one of the new comers described the wretched existence that he and his companions had led since the mass of their tribes had migrated to Cook's Strait, six years ago. Continual wars had been carried on against them by the Waikato people and nothing but the refuge afforded by the sugar loaf peaks had preserved the small remnant, not amounting to more than 50, who still held their ground with occasional assistance from their southern neighbours. They expressed great anxiety respecting their future fate, hoped their enemies being now missionaries, would not any longer persecute them; but declared their determination not to remove from, but to die on, the land of their grand sires.

Mr Williams had been here a fortnight ago and had left at Otamatua, where the original Taranaki people live, many missionary books and some instructions. The country to the south of Mount Egmont, after doubling the Cape, appears extremely valuable. An immense table land extends as far as the eye can reach, no part of which is free from vegetation. The finest flax grows nearly to the sea side.

Immediately at the base of the mountains towards the sea, many volcanic appearances present themselves in the confused assemblage of hillocks, the nature of the rocks and the black sand surrounding them. The mountain commences at about 20 miles from the coast and slopes down gradually to the north for at least 40 miles. Within this slope and the sea is a fertile undulating plain covered with small timber and abundant vegetation. It is belted by a narrow ridge of sand hummocks and in its fertility and general appearance strongly reminds one of French Flanders, to which its dangerous and inconvenient coast further assimilates it.

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**November 28<sup>th</sup> [Thursday]**

It being impossible to collect the Chiefs, whose consent is requisite for the transfer of the land from Manawatu to Mokou, under at least a week and having been detained so much by baffling winds, I determined not to remain longer here, but to leave Mr Barrett, who would be an efficient agent in the transaction from his intimate knowledge of the territory. I am desirous to acquire, from his personal influence with the Chiefs and from the acknowledged claims he has by his marriage and the birth of his children on the land.

He accordingly landed this morning with his wife and children with instructions to assemble the numerous Chiefs resident on a coast line of 150 miles, in a month's time, when I am to return to make the payment for the different districts and receive the written assent of the Chiefs to the sale.

Notwithstanding the qualities of the soil of the Taranake district, which are allowed to be superior to those of any land in these islands, such is the difficulty of communicating with it by water that I do not see any probability of settlers being placed there for some years.

Looking, however, to the future and to the interests of the Company, future representations and hoping that by the unconquerable energies of British inhabitants this country will shortly assume a different aspect as it regards its interior communications; sanguinely hoping even to see commenced such an undertaking as the construction of a road from this district and that of all the valuable land to the northward, to Port Nicholson, a distance of not more than 150 miles, in which, however, many obstacles in the mountain ranges occur.

I cannot but be anxious to secure this fine territory. The many conflicting interests and division of the occupants, whose numbers and places of residence you will find in the "Table", would render it almost impossible for any individual without shipping and large means at his disposal, to acquire this portion of country and the Agent I have employed is, from his connexion with the natives, perhaps, the only man who could negotiate the bargain. I have every hope that on my return here the completion of it will be effected.

Dr Deiffenbach, the naturalist, also remained on shore here with a view of ascending Mount Egmont and of examining the country in the neighbourhood. As it could seldom happen that a man of science should have the opportunity of being put down here, with a family who could protect him, in what has hitherto been considered with reason, the wildest part of New Zealand, with time to examine the most important district as regards geology and mineralogy in these islands and to be taken off again when he had achieved his object, I strongly recommended him to stay here in preference to proceeding to Kiapara, which has been visited by many naturalists and presents nothing so worthy of the examination of the learned.

We got under weigh so soon as the party had landed and with a fair wind stood to the Northward.

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**December 2<sup>nd</sup> Hokianga [Monday]**

Contrary winds which seemed to persue us since quitting Kapiti kept us at sea till today. Finding on looking over Mr Macdonnell's memoranda that all the Chiefs, parties to the treaty respecting the land at Kaiapara reside in the Hokianga or the Bay of islands and that nothing could be done without them in enforcing the claim, I decided on going first to Hokianga.

We found the bar by no means so formidable as usually represented and the pilot arrangements as described in the books. The least water we found on the bar at high water was  $3\frac{3}{4}$  fathoms and there was no break when we crossed it. It must, however, not be disguised that vessels have been detained at the heads for a fortnight without being able to pass the bar outwards and that many are obliged to keep to sea during days before they can enter the river. The largest vessel ever in here drew 19 feet water.

We ran up the river, which is easy of navigation, twenty six miles and anchored in the usual place for ships that come here to take in timber. On our way up we passed Heard's point which is a small tract of land on the left bank of the river and well suited for the site of a town. Behind it is a district of five or six miles reaching up to a ridge of mountains. Exactly opposite to the point is the Motukroka estate and river belonging to the Company and having a frontage by five miles in depth and a valuable plain agricultural district on the top of some gently sloping hills.

At the Hourake is Mr Macdonnells establishment on which a great outlay has been made. It presents a most cheering sight after the whaling stations to the southward. The cowrie spars and logs lie about here in profusion. They are the staple produce of the place and nothing in the way of timber can exceed their beauty. Many of them are 100 feet long and 30 inches square of equal size the whole length.

The Wesleyan Missionary station at Mungungu has a small establishment containing some poor farm buildings and a printing office. The missionaries possess but little land here, and unlike the church Missionaries are not anxious to extend their possessions. Mr White the late principal of the Wesleyans here, is the largest proprietor of land in the Hokianga and perhaps in New Zealand. Since arriving here last year he has been constantly purchasing land here, at Kaipara and at Manakau. At the last place Captain Symonds, son of Sir W. Symonds, has acquired through Mr White's agency a large territory lately the property of a Mrs Mitchell of Sydney who received £500, a year ago, for her rights. Everybody here possessed of any means has purchased plots of land with a view to reselling them to the Company.

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**December 3<sup>rd</sup>** [Tuesday]

Whilst visiting parts of the river today, the Baron de Thierry called on board. His claim hereabouts are very extensive and from all I can collect not without foundation. He commissioned Mr Kendall of the church Mission, some years ago, to purchase land for him here and gave him £700 for the purpose of paying for it. Mr Kendall acquired an immense district between this place and the bay of islands but only paid the natives thirty six axes for it. The deeds however, were regularly executed by the Chiefs, who were at that time satisfied with the consideration received. As land, however, became of value they have been induced to resell portions to other Europeans and now say that the axes were only a present made to them by Mr Kendall. The Baron is consequently in dispute with all the proprietors on this district and waits the arrival of a French man of war to eject the trespassers!

A French Bishop has purchased land and formed an establishment halfway up the river. He has a few proselytes, who prefer his form of worship to that of the Wesleyans, because they receive some small present for attendance at the Catholic Chapel and because the service is much shorter. A Belgian naturalist has also an extensive property near the heads of the river.

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**December 4<sup>th</sup>** [Wednesday]

Our party dined today at the Missionary Station. The principal, Mr Bumby, a liberal minded, sensible and legitimate missionary receives his countrymen visiting the river with great hospitality. He is desirous to plant Missionaries in various places on the west coast which the Church Mission have yielded to the Wesleyans, whilst they take the eastern shores of these islands.

With this view Mr Bumby has lately made an excursion over all his district with the exception of Taranake and Wanganui and has visited the interior of the Country at Kafia where he has left a Missionary establishment. He also visited Port Nicholson just before I was there and conceived that he had secured the land at Thorndon, till I informed him that the Chiefs had disregarded the verbal taboo he had made and sold the entire place to the Company.

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**December 5<sup>th</sup>** [Thursday]

Great pains are requisite to ascertain the real proprietors or claimants of land hereabouts. After ascertaining those who formerly claimed and sold Heard's point and the parties to the Kaipara treaty, I despatched messengers today to the Bay of islands, to bring over some of the Napuhi Chiefs.

The journey to the Bay of Islands is performed in two days on foot and a good road might be made across the island here without much trouble. Nearly the whole district, which is very valuable in an agricultural view, is owned by members of the Church Mission, which has a large farming establishment at Waimate, halfway across the island. They own also immense districts in the Thames and two members of the Mission, and Captain Symonds, claim nearly all the land at Mamikou and between that harbour and the Thames.

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**December 6<sup>th</sup> [Friday]**

The contrast between the natives here and those in Cook's Strait is most striking. In person our friends to the south are far superior as to height and appearance. Unaccustomed to the luxuries introduced here by the European ships and the traders of the Bay of islands, the tribes to the southward eagerly bring the produce of their labour to strangers visiting them and are satisfied with small profits. The natives here never come on board a ship to trade and will not, without great persuasion and high prices, supply those who send to them for provisions.

Independently of this acquired indifference to trade on the part of those who possess anything, there is a great scarcity of all commodities for the table, in consequence of the neglect of cultivation of land by the natives, who acquire larger profits by cutting down and dragging timber and of the white people who own land having turned away the original possessors from the spots that were used to raise their potatoes and corn. No vessel can depend on finding supplies here except from the White people and at English prices.

The river has been represented as abounding in fish, which is not the case. Our net has not supplied our table and the natives will not condescend to work at such an occupation as angling, which they might do, near the heads of the river, with advantage, the land throughout this river is of a sandy clay which when not covered with timber presents a dry and barren appearance and the banks are a collection of mud and mangroves which in most places prevent a landing.

The soil is certainly not to be compared with the alluvial land in the valleys in the south; but it is productive beyond any idea its appearance would lead one to form, and, favoured, as it is, by a most genial climate, yields abundant crops. The vine flourishes in the worst part of it. The cowrie, however, is the principal and most important produce of the hills here, which do not offer a field for British husbandry by any means so inviting as the plains of Taranake, which the natives agree in calling the garden of New Zealand.

The whole country as far as south of Kafia is of the same description. Except for timber, therefore, and for facilities of water carriage and exportation I do not think that this part of the country can be compared with the possessions of the Company on the southern part of this island and, if a communication shall be found between Taranake and Port Nicholson, which is a finer harbour than any on this coast or even if the Knowesley river be found available, of which I have sanguine hopes, the Company will have no cause to regret the previous occupation of the land hereabouts by the numerous missionary and other owners.

The want of the small vessel I expected is now severely felt by me. It prevents my examining the Waikato and Kafia harbours and forestalling the numerous speculators who are arriving every day from New Holland. Should it become advisable at a future time for the Company to possess these harbours, it will be affected at a much larger cost than at the present moment.

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**December 11<sup>th</sup> [Wednesday]**

Whilst waiting for the Chiefs from the Bay of Islands I have examined the principal portions of this river and can see no spot at all adapted for the situation of a large town.

The shoalness of the water, the numerous mudflats and banks and the rapidity of the tide present everywhere obstacles and inconvenience for shipping, whilst the numerous creeks and mangrove swamps, intersecting fine districts and breaking the face of the country offer no less impediments to the settler. The bar at the entrance also must not be forgotten amongst the disadvantages of this river.

Having assembled the Chiefs I went today with the three principal ones to take possession of Herds point and the Motukaraka property. Not being provided with the deeds of the former purchase, I was obliged to rely on the Chiefs for a description of the boundaries, which I went over with them. It has always been supposed that this purchase extended over a large district up to the range of hills, but of late the Chiefs have sold all but the point, which is about a mile square, to Mr White and others. Their right to do so must be decided by the wording of the deed. The point, they gave, me possession of, contains good land and is a good situation but its size of course offers no inducement to form a township on it, neither does the opposite land, when examined, present a much more flattering prospect.

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**December 13<sup>th</sup>** [Friday]

The Chiefs arrived from the Bay of Islands today and we wait for a fair wind to cross the bar and proceed to Kiapara. I have purchased of Mrs Blenkinsop the widow of Captain Blenkinsop whom I have mentioned as having bought the Wairao and other property in Cloudy Bay all her rights and claims to the same. This completes the Company's title to that part of the southern island and is of importance as the finest district thereabouts and connected with Kaikora or the Lookers on which has been represented as a harbour.

*End of Despatch No.3*

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*Despatch No.4 Folios 214-219***December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1839 Bay of Islands [ ]**

Sir, Since my last letter dated Hokianga, I have been to Kaipara, where I am sorry to have to inform you that the 'Tory' ran aground and narrowly escaped being totally wrecked. Captain Chaffers, to whom I can attribute no blame, was guided, in going into the harbour by Mr Macdonnell's sketch, which proved inaccurate. A quicksand bank, lying in the middle of the channel and perhaps formed since Mr McDonnell's visit, suddenly arrested the ship's progress, a moment after the man in the chains had announced 12 fathoms' water.

The bank lies at three miles to seaward of the heads and when there is no ripple, can only be detected by an experienced eye from the masthead. After remaining in great peril during twenty four hours on the bank, the 'Tory' rolled out of the bed. She had formed in the sand and forged into deep water. I am happy to say that although in seeking assistance from the 'Navarino', a large ship lying up the Kaipara harbour, a boat, in which the cabin passengers were rowing me, was nearly swamped in the breakers and was swept by the ebb-tide out to sea, no life has been lost and but a small portion of the cargo, such as the bricks and pavement flags was sacrificed. Five of the guns, a quantity of spars, three anchors and a chain cable were also thrown overboard, to lighten the vessel. A copy of the ship's log shall be sent you by the first opportunity in order that the necessary protest may be made, to recover a portion of the loss from the underwriters.

Finding that the 'Tory' had received some serious injury and was making water so fast as to keep all hands employed in pumping and that she must wait till the next springtides to be got high and dry to be looked at and repaired, I walked over to this place and have chartered a small brig to go to Kaipara to take the cargo and passengers of the 'Tory' and to proceed to the sugar-loaf islands to complete the purchase and bring off the party kept there; whilst in a schooner of 40 tons, I am about to go to Port Hardy, where the interests of the emigrants render my presence necessary.

The time of rendezvous being so near has obliged me to take these decisive steps, after the best deliberation, for the interests of the Company and the settlers. My knowledge, by means of the Sydney public papers of the fact of a large territory having been sold to the public by the Company has rendered it, in my opinion, imperative on me, as its Agent, to incur the increased temporary expense of these small vessels to ensure the location of the first colony without delay and to secure the agricultural districts of Taranake. I have, however, kept the additional cost as low as possible, consistently with the vigorous execution of my views. I shall by these means be at Port Hardy by the 10<sup>th</sup> of January and shall proceed to plant the first settlement at Port Nicholson.

The chiefs at this place were totally unable in the altered state of this country to put me in possession of the lands at Kaipara claimed by them by right of former conquest and sold by Mr McDonnell to the Company and the Kaipara chiefs positively refused to yield their land upon that claim or to part with any part of it by sale.

The situation pointed out to me as eligible for a principal settlement at Manukou was sold by Mrs Mitchell two years ago, by means of Mr White, to Captain Symonds, Major Campbell and Mr Roy and together with the land of Mr Hampden includes the whole of the isthmus between Manukou and the Thames, with a large extent on either side of it and Captain Symonds is in possession of part of this land. The Company's lands in the Hokianga, as well as the islands bought by Captain Herd, in the Thames are inadequate and ill-adapted to be the seat of the first colony. The possessions of the Company by means of Mr Herd's purchases, proving to be insignificant in size, as pointed out by the natives and resident Europeans.

Under these circumstances I have been confirmed in my intention of placing the first emigrants at Port Nicholson and confining my operations to the land I have acquired for the Company in the neighbourhood of Cook's Strait.

All future communications therefore, and drafts of emigrants should be directed to Port Nicholson. I will forward a more detailed account of late transactions and of the accident to the 'Tory' by the first opportunity.

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*Despatch No.5 Folios 220-229*

**27<sup>th</sup> February 1840 Port Nicholson [ ]**

Sir, I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> August 1839 by the 'Cuba' enclosing copies of papers relating to the Company, and of the Instructions given by the Directors to Captain Smith and Mr Hanson. You will have been made aware, by my previous Despatches that I have acquired an extensive territory in Cook's straits, and had decided upon this place, as the most eligible for the first Settlement.

Upon my first visit to this port, in September last, under the impression that it was the intention of the Directors, that a maritime and commercial Settlement, should be formed in the best harbour of Cook's Straits, and, that another settlement, for agricultural and general purposes, should be established on the Company's Lands more to the North.

I made selection of a most desirable place for a Town at "Thorndon", in Lambton harbour. The land at that place being almost cleared, the site being advantageous for laying out a Town, and for its appearance, and an immediate vicinity to an excellent anchorage, from whence vessels at all times, could discharge their cargoes with facility, guided me in this choice.

The change in the views of the Directors since my departure from England, induced by the rapid sale of land, by the formation of a first Colony at home, and by the desire of the members of that Colony, to lay the foundation of a principal Settlement and City, which should combine the advantages of the two settlements previously contemplated; has obliged me to give up the idea of placing the first settlers at "Thorndon", and to select the lower end of the valley of the "Hutt" for the site of the city, behind which will extend, the Country Sections.

This necessary alteration in my plans, to suit the altered state of things, and to coincide with the Instructions to the Surveyor-General "to provide for the future, rather than the present" that "the public convenience should be consulted, and the beautiful appearance of the future City should be secured, so far as these objects could be accomplished, rather than the immediate profit of the Company," and that "ample reserves for all public purposes, such as, a Cemetery, a Market-place, Wharfage, a botanical Garden, and probable public buildings, a park and extensive boulevards, should be made;" induced me to concur in the opinion of the Surveyor-General, that the land available at the head of the harbour was insufficient for the purposes.

It has, however, entailed on the Company considerable expense, and produced a slight degree of despondency amongst the settlers arrived. In the first place, ships cannot, on account of the flatness of the beach abreast of the valley, anchor within a mile of the land, with perfect safety; they consequently can despatch their boats, with cargo, but few trips in each day, and, as the settlers are all anxious to have their temporary locations up the river, as near to the site of the future town-acres as possible, large boats, which can only enter the river at high water, can only carry to them their heavy baggage and machinery, once or twice a day. The detention of vessels must, therefore, be longer than if the place of disembarkation had been nearer to them, with smooth water at all times, and with a steep shore, as at Thorndon.

Secondly, the survey of the Town allotments will be much prolonged, by the land in the valley being intersected by the river and other streams, as well as being loaded with timber and underwood; and lastly, the clearing of the land, although likely to be repaid by the extreme fertility of the soil, by the first year's crop, on that part devoted to culture, holds out a prospect of labour and cost, which Settlers would willingly avoid, on sections designed for buildings.

Notwithstanding the decision as to changing the site of the Town, which has led to the adoption of vigorous measures to remedy as much as possible the inconveniences arising from it, which I will mention hereafter, it is my opinion, that, at some period of time "Thorndon" must become the site of a commercial Town. The landing-places along its whole extent, the vicinity of the safe harbour, which must, even under present circumstances, be the anchorage of large vessels during the winter, and its level surface of five or six hundred acres, with gentle eminences on which residences may be erected at its back, point it out as the future shipping Town of the City to be created at the opposite end of the Port, to which a road along the beach may be made without difficulty throughout its whole length of six miles. The wind, also, constantly blowing here from the northwest or southeast is fair at all times for a passage from or to either place.

The most apparent drawback upon the eligibility of "Thorndon" for a Town is its want of large streams of water, which, however, can be remedied by wells, which are amply supplied at a small depth from the surface.

In pursuance of the directions to press the survey of the Town Lands, I have, at the Surveyor-General's request, increased the strength of his working party from twenty to thirty men, which number is as large as can at present be employed, under his and his assistant's inspection. I have also instructed the Surveyor-General to make contracts with respectable capitalists, for cutting lines in the woods on the site of the Town, at a certain sum per chain; and two parties are now most usefully employed under his directions in these operations. The expences of these contracts, and of the wages of the labouring Surveyors are at present guaranteed by myself and will be laid before the council so soon as the Umpire and Secretary shall arrive, with a view to their being defrayed out of the sum of £2000 placed at my disposition by the Board, under restrictions of the Council of Colonists; at the same time, not learning from the Surveyor-General that any funds have been made available to us here for the general purposes of the surveys; indeed having in the absence of any agreement in writing respecting wages adopted on my responsibility, the rate of labourers wages in New South Wales viz £1 a week and rations of flour, meat, tea and sugar for each man; I am desirous to learn whether it is intended that the expences should be covered by the £2000 already mentioned? Which from the tenor of your Despatch on that subject, and of the resolutions of the Board dated the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> September ultimo. I do not conceive it to be, whether those expences, shall be submitted to the Council of Colonists or accounted for by the Surveyor-General and myself, and defrayed out of a special fund, and finally any scale of wages or limitation which the Directors may think to name.

It has been out of my power to erect a wharf for the convenience of discharging cargoes; but a small jetty has been of service in landing the Company's and other Stores and goods on the beach, and temporary houses prepared by the natives, and labouring emigrants together with those of the Company's houses arrived, already provide shelter for newcomers; whilst the same has been obtained for those landed by a portion of the labourers unable to maintain themselves, whom I have employed at low wages, including rations.

Having anticipated the directions respecting the place of rendezvous for ships, by appointing an Agent near Port Hardy, no difficulty has been hitherto experienced in their pursuing their course hither without delay, one of them the 'Duke of Roxburgh' having been boarded in the Strait did not enter that harbour.

I have dispatched the 'Cuba' with Mr Hanson, and proper assistance and letters to Kafia, with a recommendation to purchase an extensive tract of land in the Waipa Country, and notwithstanding the proclamations issued by the Governor of New South Wales relative to the acquisition of land in this country shall continue to extend the Company's possessions in eligible situations, in the expectation that grants from the Crown will be made as regards future as well as past purchases according to the wording, however confused, of those proclamations.

The 'Tory' not having yet arrived here, I presume that the extent of damage received by her rendered it necessary that she should proceed to Sydney for repairs, in which case I have instructed Messrs Willis & Co. of that City to freight or charter her for London in the manner most advantageous in their opinion for the Company.

The 'Guide' brig which I chartered at the Bay of Islands has arrived here with the passengers of the 'Tory' and a portion of her cargo, having completed under Mr Dorset's and Mr Jerminham Wakefield's management the purchase of an extensive district at Taranake (of which I will send copies of the title deeds as soon as they can be made) and brought away from that place Mr Barrett and Dr Dieffenbach.

Of Mr Barrett's services to the Company, I cannot speak in too high terms. I have appointed him Agent for the Natives, which office will make him the medium between the settlers and their dark neighbours in all disputes and in the allotment of the native reserves in lieu of the land now occupied and cultivated by them. This office is absolutely requisite to ensure a good understanding between us. I have named a salary of £100 per annum attached to it, subject to the approval of the Directors, who, I hope, will think fit to increase it.

The harbour master ship being I presume an affair to be provided for by the Colonists, is at present filled also by Mr Barrett gratuitously. This office was intended for Captain Chaffers who expected a salary of £300 per annum attached to it. It is doubtful whether its duties of it, for many years would deserve so high a remuneration, or indeed any that would render it worth the acceptance of Captain Chaffers.

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*Despatch No.10 Folios 241*

**2<sup>nd</sup> March 1840 Port Nicholson [ ]**

Sir, I beg to apprise you, that instead of hiring the two vessels mentioned in my letter from the Bay of Islands, of the 31<sup>st</sup> of December last, I was only able to obtain one, for the purposes I had in view.

That one, the Brig 'Guide' arrived here on the 21<sup>st</sup> ultimo and I immediately discharged her. The Tory's detention, with the specie on board, out of which I had intended to pay the expences rendered necessary by our accident at Kaipara, obliged me to give orders on Messrs Willis & Co. of Sydney, for the total sum of £376, with instructions to them to draw on you for that amount. I have to request the Directors to honor their Draft.

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