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(Salmond, A., 1993: 138,
299, 322, 339–340, 343)

ANNE SALMOND

TWO WORLDS

*first meetings between
Maori and Europeans
1642-1772*

1769



New Zealand Book Award winner

fronted them from the western bank of the Tuuranga-nui on 9 October (said by Williams to have been Rongowhakaata warriors from Orakai-aa-puu paa) numbered about fifty (with the European estimates ranging from fifty to 100); while on 10 October they were approached by two groups operating independently at first, which jointly numbered about 150.

These numbers suggest a scale of social organisation in which groups of perhaps 500 people could each quickly mobilise a force of about fifty to seventy-five warriors, on occasion joining forces with other groups. This may underestimate group sizes, however, for Orakai-aa-puu (which was abandoned in 1839, the year before a mission station was established very near the paa)¹⁰² was later described by Williams as a palisaded settlement covering an area of three acres, with many fenced enclosures inside where the houses were built – rather a vast (and possibly exaggerated) construction for a group of 500 people.

It is evident from the *Endeavour* accounts that the Tuuranga-nui people were well practised in resisting outside intrusion; and from the fears of the young fishermen, their tales of enemies at the northern end of the bay who might eat them, and the desertion of Te Maro's body on the Tuuranga-nui's eastern bank that there were major internal disputes and tensions within the bay at this time.

During the expedition's first three days on shore in New Zealand the *Endeavour* journal-keepers and artists described a number of individuals; hair-styles; clothing styles (which included the use of penis strings¹⁰³); personal decoration; facial tattoo (the first man shot had spirals tattooed on his right cheek and arches tattooed on his left temple, while the oldest fisherboy had only his lips tattooed); weapons (including spears of different sizes, patupatu, or hand clubs, and a weapon like a paddle); canoes (including one thirty feet long and another that was larger); fishing nets and pots; a possible fishing god; and houses, shelters and settlements (including one fortified paa). Coastal views of Tuuranga-nui were produced from the deck of the *Endeavour*, and there were also charts, forty species of plants collected by Banks and Solander and at least one weapon, which was taken from Te Raakau.

All the same, these first encounters between Cook's men and Maori people had been short, suspicious and violent, and not a great deal was learned about life on shore. According to Polack, the Tuuranga-nui people described the discharges of the muskets as 'waititiri, or thunder,' and reported feeling ill when these 'atua' (supernatural beings) simply looked at them.¹⁰⁴ On the whole, the local people must have been profoundly relieved when on the morning of 11 October, the *Endeavour* raised its anchor and sailed south out of the bay.

Chapter Six

COASTING TE MATAU-A-MAAUI
(HAWKE'S BAY)

12–18 October 1769

The south-eastern region that the *Endeavour* was now about to visit was, according to local tribal histories, dominated at that time by a loose-knit grouping of sub-tribes known as Ngaati Kahungunu, a prosperous and powerful people who traced their descent from Kahungunu and his father Tamatea-ariki-nui (or Tamatea-mai-Tawhiti), of the *Takitimu* canoe.¹ One heartland of this region was Heretaunga, described by other tribes as Heretaunga-hauku-nui (Heretaunga of the heavy dew) – in other words a rich place, laden with resources.²

Te Matau-a-Maui (Maui's fish-hook) was a large bay backed by a rampart of hills, covered with beech forests that were criss-crossed by the trails of kiore (Polynesian rat).³ From these high ranges, rivers ran down the coastal hills to the flats, giving access to fortified villages and hill and valley gardens in the interior.⁴ Inland lakes swarmed with wildfowl and harboured eels, kookopu (galaxias), inanga (whitebait), freshwater pipi and mussels. Muttonbirds nested at Puke-ti-tiri and at Titi-o-kura, about twenty-five kilometres inland, where they were trapped in nets hung on the ridges as they flew home at dusk to their burrows.⁵ Wood pigeons, tui, huia, bellbirds, parrots and parakeets lived in patches of bush on the flats. Fern-clad hills ran down to extensive grasslands, swamps and a large lagoon behind Ahuriri Bluff, famous for its succulent paatiki (flounder).⁶

In 1769 this lagoon formed a sheltered harbour for local canoes, accessible from the sea by an inlet to the north of the bluff. There were dense beds of shellfish on both sandy beaches and rocky shores in the bay, and good fishing grounds out at sea. Whales often visited Te Matau, drawn there by the force of their mauri (the material symbol of their life-principle) located at Maahia to the north. Some of these whales acted as sea guardians for local descent-groups, protecting canoes from capsizing and other disasters.⁷ All of these features contributed to the reputation of the bay as a wealthy, prestigious place.

Like Tuuranga-nui, the ancestral history of the region was complex, with genealogical lines from Maui (whose hook snagged on the southern promontory of the bay when he fished up the North Island), from Mahutapoanui (of Lake

Chapter Twelve

SURVILLE IN TOKERAU (DOUBTLESS BAY)

December 1769

New Zealand is the place where we should probably put the antipodes of France and where the Dutch were maltreated. They say there are tall men there; whether they are really so or whether fear made them seem so to the Dutch, they are in any case mysterious about giving a full description of them.

Pierre Duval: *La Monde, ou La Géographie Universelle 1670*.¹

The *St Jean Baptiste*, the ship that had crossed the *Endeavour's* track off North Cape on 16 December 1769, was a French Indian vessel on a trading expedition bound for 'Davis Land', an island rumoured to be off the coast of Terra Australis. Jean-François-Marie de Surville, the captain, had decided to call in at New Zealand for food and water, because his crew had been stricken with scurvy and they had a desperate need for fresh supplies.

Surville's expedition knew nothing of the *Endeavour*, and like Cook and a later explorer from French India, Marion du Fresne, the *St Jean Baptiste's* officers were dependent on Tasman's account and charts of the New Zealand coastline. At this period French map-makers were known as the best in Europe, and a number of contemporary charts included Tasman's version of the western coastline of part of the South and all of the North Island. Some French theorists (including de la Lande, map-maker for the French 1769 transit of Venus expeditions) thought this might be part of the Southern Continent, and marvellous fantasies were circulating about what might be found in the Southern Hemisphere's southern seas. To understand the expectations that Surville and, later, Marion du Fresne brought to New Zealand, and their behaviour towards local people, it is necessary to consider briefly the society from which they came.

THE FRENCH BACKGROUND

In the mid-eighteenth century France was by far the most densely inhabited country in Western Europe, with a population of twenty million people.² At the height of the Seven Years' War (1756–63), France maintained a standing army of half a million men.³ It was also the acknowledged centre of European intellectual and cultural life, with one of Europe's most glittering royal courts. The French

quantities of fish for pieces of blue and white cloth, which they put on around their shoulders. According to Labé, their canoes were well carved and twenty-eight to thirty feet long, with wash-boards. Each canoe was crewed by eight to ten men, five feet three inches to five feet seven inches tall, whose long hair was daubed red on their forelocks, and who were wearing dogskin cloaks. They were unarmed except for a few spears. The chief of these people indicated that he wanted to visit the *St Jean Baptiste* and the Europeans beckoned him to come on board. Pottier described this meeting:

Amongst all the savages in the boat, the one who seemed to be the chief came on board, all alone. When he got to the quarter-deck, he seemed speechless and trembling. He was made much of. Our captain embraced him and led him into his cabin, gave him something to eat, and some liquor to drink. He made him a present of a jacket of coarse red cloth, with green facings and bavaresses and some red trousers. The man let himself be dressed in the jacket, in exchange for which he gave us a dog-skin tunic, which covered him from shoulder to mid-calf. We took him into the wardroom, where one of our officers put a shirt on him, over the jacket. [According to Monneron, at this point his people became uneasy about his absence and 'began to show their disquiet; quite a clamour went up. He showed himself to his people and we understood from his gestures that he was telling them that he was safe.'⁵¹ The man went back to his canoe, seemingly well pleased, but when he got there the fancy took him to remove his new clothes. It was quite a joke to see all his companions doing their best to get the shirt off, without success; they pulled it mostly from the bottom, but once they noticed that by pulling it that way they were tearing it, they saw that this was impossible, and would have spent ages without achieving their aim if the chief had not explained to them that to put it on him we had made him lift his arms. After that they took it off easily.⁵²

As Monneron commented, 'it is easy to imagine the joy felt by our unhappy crew at finding themselves among peoples who had already treated us with humanity'.⁵³ At 10.30 a.m. the canoes went back to land and the ship began to follow them into the bay, tacking several times before sailing close to the eastern coast of Karikari Peninsula, which Labé described as 'very high, bare, with scrub in some places, sand in others.'⁵⁴ Two paa were noted as they approached the land. Spencer has located these on Joliffe Point at the centre of Matai Bay, and on Puketutu Island. Finally, at 9.15 that evening, the *St Jean Baptiste* anchored in Tokerau, about five miles from the shore. Surville named the bay 'Lauriston Bay' after Law, the Governor of Pondicherry, and described the landscape in his journal:

This bay seems a lovely place. The nearest heights close to the sea look a little arid, except in the hills where there are trees. Near the shoreline, particularly in the curve of the bay there is nothing to be seen but sand dunes [Tokerau Beach]. But the second row of mountains on the mainland side look heavily wooded, with fine trees [i.e., the hills beyond Magoonui Harbour to the south-east].⁵⁵

From their anchorage to the south-east of Rangiaohia the French could see a small fort on a high, pointed hill beside a 'pretty cove' (Rangiaohia), with a small sandy beach below it where the people beached their canoes.

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At daylight on 18 December eight to ten canoes came out to the *St Jean Baptiste*, bringing a large quantity of fish, and a crew of four to ten (mainly men, but including several women) to each canoe. Some of the larger canoes were fifty feet long and carried up to twenty-four men armed with spears, clubs of 'black stone' and 'ivory' (whalebone), or a sort of 'sabre' tipped with bone. Labé described these people in some detail:

They paint [tattoo] their faces and buttocks like the Kaffirs of the Guinea Coast and put red in their hair, which they arrange like the coiffures of Indian women; their dress consists in some loincloths which they put about their waists. Some have dog skins sewn together, others wear nothing on their bodies but a Thrum mat with broad straws six inches long; by way of ornament they hang round their necks a greenish stone like glass which represents a devil figure — I cannot describe it clearly [greenstone tiki]. Others have in their ears pendants of this same stone, 3 or 4 inches long, $\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, thin and pear-shaped but flat. Others have in their ears pieces of dogskin. Some have the skin of a bird to cover their nudity, without passing underneath, others do not hide it at all. They are without modesty and are great thieves, but they do not seem to be dangerous. They do not have fierce faces as do the people at Port Praslin . . .

I had forgotten to say that these people put tufts of white feathers on their heads, sometimes black ones; some put them across the forehead. They all have pierced ears. The designs they put on their faces and their buttocks are the colour of gunpowder. These designs are embossed and well worked. They also put this colour on their lips, red pigment mixed with oil on their hair and some of them on their bodies. The women do the same.⁵⁶

From the evidence of this account the local people were relatively wealthy, with dogskin cloaks, greenstone tiki and pendants, and plentiful facial and body tattoos. The observation that 'birdskins' (perhaps feathered aprons)⁵⁷ were worn (as was later stated, by the women) 'to cover their nudity' is interesting, as a variation on the perfumed grass girdles described by Monkhouse at Anaura. The reference to thieving suggests that as in other districts, goods were sometimes taken without any immediate return being given. In fact vast quantities of fish ('enough to feed 400 men') were piled into baskets during this meeting in exchange for pieces of blue and white cloth and empty bottles, with some bargaining being conducted in sign language (for like Tasman, Surville's men had no useful vocabularies on board). The French were also given several stone patu and one of whalebone. When these exchanges were over several of the local people, including the chief who had previously visited the ship, came on board and were entertained in the captain's cabin.

At two o'clock that afternoon Surville had the longboat lowered with ten soldiers on board and eight oarsmen each armed with a sabre. Pottier later described the scene as they rowed towards the land:

All [the] people were scattered here and there on the hills and the shore, and no doubt were doing honour to the new arrival by waving things constantly to one side, as though to create a breeze, while they bent over — some had long-haired skin cloaks, and others had bunches of grass. This ceremony must have been tiring

Frenchman, a Moorish lascar and two natives of Pondicherry, all of whose bodies were thrown overboard into the bay.

At 5 a.m. on 30 December Surville, Pottier and Labé went back to 'Refuge Cove', where Surville hoped to make 'a cast of the net, and also [to] see whether I could not capture a native, in order to extract from him afterwards whatever knowledge it would be possible to obtain about this country'.⁹⁴

The local chief greeted them warmly and gave them cooked and dried fish. In return Surville presented him with blue cloth and some wheat, corn and green peas, which he showed him how to plant. After the French had eaten dinner in the shelter of a grove of trees the local people brought them more dried and cooked fish. The chief invited them to a group of houses on a rise below the paa, where several women danced for them:

There were about 8 or 10 of them grouped around us, amongst whom were three girls or women who danced in front of us for a very long time, trying by all sorts of the most lascivious movements to attract us. Two young men also joined in their dance. Finally, bored with seeing always the same thing (because they went on and on, apparently thinking that we were only difficult to arouse, and that they would succeed in the end), after having traded for some dried fish with this little group we went down. The three females followed us and in a final transport one seized me around the waist, and squeezing me hard in her arms made the most lascivious movements against me. I shook her off and we went about our tasks.⁹⁵

The French crew were so ill and debilitated during their visit to Tokerau that it is unlikely that they had been sexually very active. The women's dancing on this occasion was probably a performance in honour of their guests, although given the lack of response there may also have been an element of teasing and taunting in what they were doing. The *Endeavour* crew after their stay in Tahiti had regarded Maori women as comparatively chaste and modest, and barely commented on the sexual explicitness of some local dancing. The *St Jean Baptiste's* men had had no such experience, however, and both Labé and Surville reacted with affronted distaste on this occasion. Later that afternoon the wind blew up again and Surville and Labé took the boats back to the ship.

During the great storm on 28 December the *St Jean Baptiste's* yawl had swamped, and on the night of the 30th it must have washed ashore. Early the next morning one of the officers who was surveying the coastline with a telescope saw the yawl stranded on Tokerau Beach, with several local people (whom Surville now for the first time called 'noirs', or blacks) looking at it. Surville ordered the longboat lowered and hastily set off towards the beach, but when they arrived the yawl was no longer visible. He and his men ran up and down the sand dunes searching for it, until finally they found a trail where the yawl had been dragged over the dunes as far as a deep, narrow creek, and either sunk amongst the reeds or taken along the creek to some nearby lakes. During their search the sailors had shot some birds and finally in weary frustration they heated up the cauldron on the beach and made a meal of birds and wild celery, 'fit for the gods'.

Over the preceding few days Surville had experienced near-shipwreck, crit-

icism from his officers and the deaths of some of his men. The loss of the yawl was the last straw, and he was now intent on revenge. After this meal he led his men to the northern end of the beach where there was 'a fairly big village', with people running up and down the nearby hills, and drawn up in armed parties on the heights. One small group had stayed close to the houses, however, and their leader signed to Surville to approach. Surville beckoned to him in turn, and the man came forward unarmed, carrying a green branch — 'a symbol of friendship among all these people'. Surville angrily reproached him for the 'theft' of the yawl and ordered several of the sailors to 'arrest' him and tie him up with ropes. He was led away to the longboat, and, 'wishing to extend the revenge further', Surville then seized two fine canoes that were beached nearby, loaded with nets. He ordered some sailors to take one of these canoes to the longboat, while all the nets were piled into the second canoe and it was set alight. After this Surville and his men moved on and fired five or six groups of fishermen's huts and fern-root store-houses (about thirty buildings in all) along the nearby creek.

While they were doing this one of the soldiers noticed a group of warriors heading towards the longboat. Surville and two soldiers raced back to the longboat, the soldiers with bayonets fixed, and arrived just in time to drive off five or six warriors armed with spears who were trying to rescue their prisoner. As the warriors ran off, Surville's men set fire to one last village nearby and then returned to the *St Jean Baptiste* in the longboat with the prisoner and the captured canoe. A group of about sixty armed men stood and watched impotently as the fire took hold and spread across the scrublands behind Tokerau Beach.

As Pottier L'Horme reported back on board the *St Jean Baptiste*:

the prisoner turned out to be the same man who had had dried fish brought to me when I was without food at Refuge Cove in the bad weather. I was touched with the greatest compassion when this poor wretched man came on board. Recognizing me, and not knowing what his fate would be, he flung himself at my knees, embraced them fervently, then got up and embraced my body just as fervently, with tears in his eyes. He said some incomprehensible things to me, but indicated by signs that he was the one who had had fish brought to me at a time when neither I, nor those who had incurred the misfortune of not being able to regain the vessel, had a single thing to eat. This man appeared to be asking for mercy, or begging me to ask it for him. I did my best to console him, and explained to him that we had no wish whatever to harm him. It was useless; he kept on crying, especially when he saw irons put on his ankles to keep him prisoner.⁹⁶

Labé, on the other hand, simply described this man's physical appearance and lamented that Surville had taken only one prisoner:

The Islander whom Mr de Surville captured and then took on board is a man of about 35 years and seems very vigorous and alert, 5 feet 2 inches tall, squarely built, painted and embossed like the Kaffirs from the Guinea Coast, long hair tied in a knot, his body the same colour as the peoples of the Coromandel Coast. His clothes consist of a type of dogskin cloak which covers his body. His nudity is not covered with linen. This poor man seems very gentle and quite quiet . . . I had him put in irons and manacles for fear that he would escape by swimming away. In my

opinion Mr Surville has made a bad mistake in not carrying off a dozen islanders. They would have served us well on board for the menial tasks, since we have already lost 60 men from the crew and have more than 40 still sick.⁹⁷

From Surville's point of view, the 'theft' of the yawl had provided ample justification for burning houses, canoes, nets, and capturing a local chief. From a Maori point of view, however, it was no theft at all, because canoes, whales, sea-mammals and anything else that washed ashore came under the mana of the chief of that place.⁹⁸ The capture of this man (whose name was recorded by the French as 'Naguinouï' or 'Naquinovi',⁹⁹ and as 'Ranginui' in local tradition) must have seemed an arbitrary gesture of hostility, as difficult to understand as many other of the French actions had been. A Te Paa-tuu-poo tradition collected by John White, probably in the 1850s, recorded local memories of this episode:

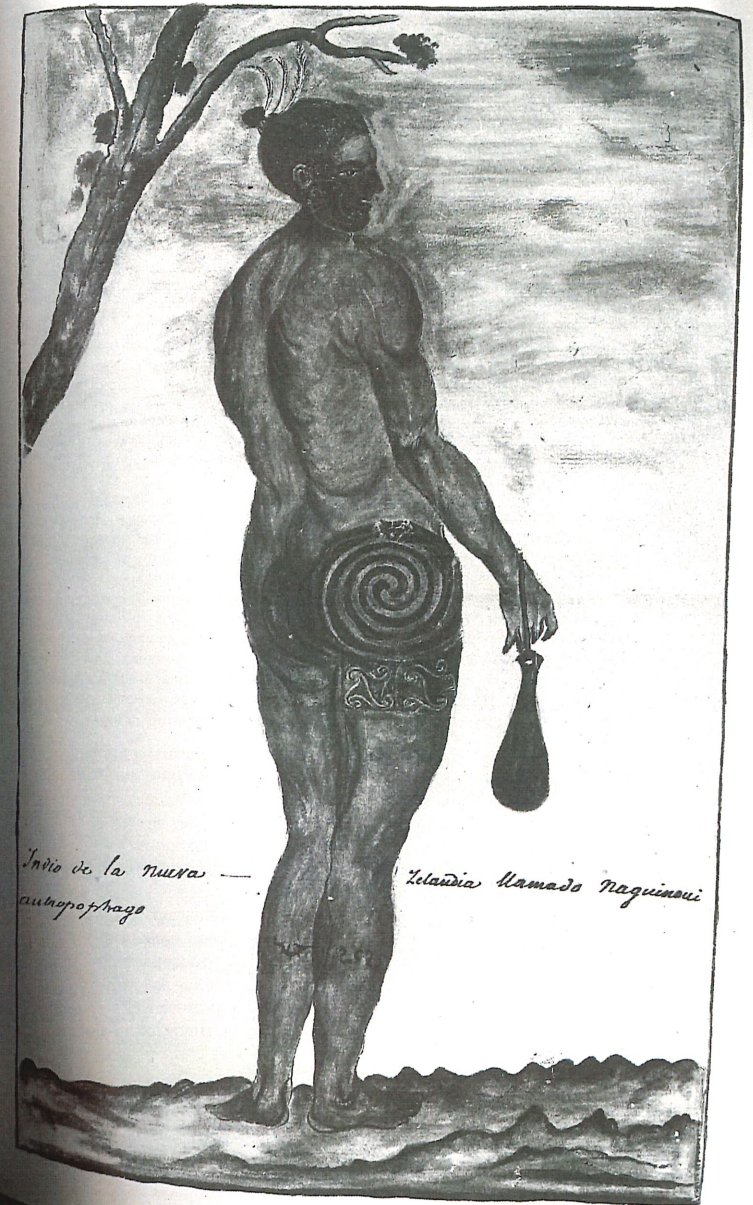
In the days of ancient times a vessel came to Mangonui [here probably used as a term for the entire bay], this we heard from our old people who related this information about these goblins [tupua] to us. The vessel dropped anchor at Mangonui, and a gale came on and the sick people of these salts [maitai] from the other side of the sea were on shore, and the people of Patuu tribe attended to and fed these sick people, and they were kind to these white skins [Pakeha] till the gale subsided, when the chief of the Patuu tribe paddled on board [sic] of the ship to see the goblins, and to see the ship, and the chief who was called Ranginui was tied by orders of the chief of those salts, and the ship sailed away with Te Ranginui on board, and the vessel was lost to sight out far on the sea and sailed away no one knew where. There was not any cause given for which Ranginui was made prisoner by these salts, nor was there any reason for his being taken out to sea, but for such acts as this the Maori retaliated on the salts who might come to these islands that the Maori might have revenge for the evil brought on them by the salts, or those from over the sea.¹⁰⁰

Surville, however, had no qualms about what he had done. On 31 December after raising anchor and sailing out of the bay, he wrote in his journal:

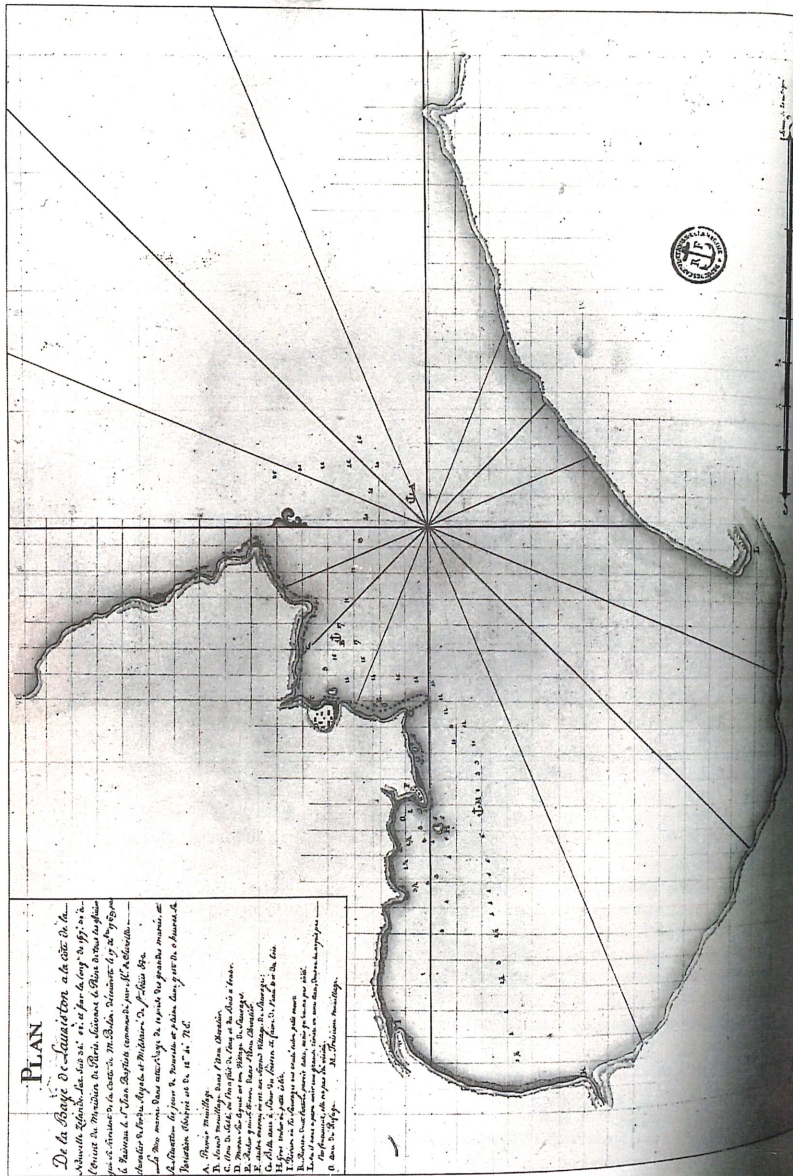
Seeing that . . . the wind was continuing to blow too strongly for a ship that was down to its last cable and anchor, and having in addition just what I would desire, a savage and a native canoe, and our men being also partly rehabilitated and in a state to undergo a small voyage, I ordered the anchor raised. At 9.00 in the evening we were under sail.¹⁰¹

The voyage from Tokerau proved to be anything but short. Surville headed his ship towards Peru, a Pacific crossing that wore both the ship and its crew to tatters and which took more than three months. Ranginui was freed from his irons and treated kindly by Surville, who exempted him from work and let him sleep in the council chamber with the captive from the Solomon Islands. At first he 'sighed and cried often', but Labé soon reported that 'he no longer seems sad, laughs with everybody, drinks and eats well and sleeps well; he eats a great deal. From time to time he is afraid that he will be disembowelled then eaten; that is

Opposite: 'Indian of New Zealand called Naguinoui cannibal'. This sketch of Ranginui displays his spiral buttock tattoo and curious horned tattoos on his calves.



1769



(Ranginui)

what the islanders do to people they take prisoner in their country.¹⁰² Pottier L'Horme sketched him in his journal, along with various artefacts including the captured canoe, but he did not survive the voyage. On 24 March 1770, in sight of the Juan Fernandez Islands, Ranginui died of scurvy, and less than two weeks later, Surville drowned in high surf on the bar of Chilca in Peru as he made a desperate effort to seek help from the Spanish for his crew.

THE ST JEAN BAPTISTE ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS OF TOKERAU

At the end of their brief visit to Tokerau, Surville, Pottier L'Horme and Monneron wrote generalised descriptions of the place, in Surville's case contrasting and comparing it with 'Port Praslin' in the Solomon Islands. In the 'Description' that follows I have combined their generalised comments, under the headings used by Pottier L'Horme in a relatively detailed account that seems to have been prepared for publication.

The Land

According to Monneron,

No one, before us, had set foot in this country. It was discovered on 13 September 1642 by Abel Tasman, who encountered the same weather on the west coast as we did. He followed the coast from latitude 42° 10' south to 34° 35' south only. Thus everything we have seen in the eastern region has been discovered by the *St Jean Baptiste*.¹⁰³

This was not true, of course, as we have seen, even given European ideas about 'discovery', for the *Endeavour* had preceded them on the eastern coastline.

Height, features, and colour of these people

Pottier L'Horme described the people of 'Lauriston Bay' as:

fairly tall in general, without being giants [thus contradicting one of the suggestions in Tasman's account]; even quite small people are found, as witnessed by the one

Opposite: 'Plan of Lauriston Bay' has an elaborate explanatory key:

- A First anchorage
- B Second anchorage in Chevalier Cove
- C Sandy Cove where we got water and firewood
- D Hillock where the savages' village is
- E Rock in Chevalier Cove
- F Another hillock where there is another of the savages' villages
- G Fine cove for seining for fish and getting water and wood
- H Big rock or little islet
- I River where the savages sank our little boat
- K River whose entrance appears to be good but which we did not visit
- L Where there appeared to be a big river or a cove whose curve was not visible; it was not visited
- M Third anchorage
- O Refuge Cove

what the lightning of the strange god was that had been brought there, but these guns were used on these stupid, and many of them fell dead. These stupid saw that many of those who were gazing at the lightning and hearing the thunder were being killed with what they did not know. . . .⁷⁴ They could not see what had killed them, but could only hear the voices which the gods uttered. All that could be seen on the corpses was the blood from a wound . . .⁷⁵

Leaving a tangle of dead and wounded warriors on the beach, Crozet's party returned to their ships. As they passed Te Hue Bay they again saw warriors wearing the clothes of their dead comrades. One chief was wearing the spotted velvet jacket Marion had worn on the day he had been killed, and carried his silver-mounted musket, while others wore other officers' garments, and one man had de Vaudricourt's cutlass slung across his shoulder. Some of the officers on the longboat urged Crozet to fire the blunderbusses and stone-mortars into the bay. Perhaps sensibly, since the boat was loaded almost to the point of swamping, he would not agree. As soon as they returned to the *Mascarin*, Crozet, who was now in command of the vessel, ordered a carronade fired into Te Kauri's village, and sent the longboat with a detachment of soldiers to the camp at Moturua, where great crowds of warriors had gathered. The sailors landed under the cover of a carronade fired by the French vessels at the hills above Waipao Bay. By now it was pouring with rain, so Roux issued the sentries he had posted around the island encampment with pieces of sheepskin to keep their musket-locks dry. All that night they loaded tents, water barrels, the forge and the sick men into boats, and transported them back to the ship. At 11 p.m. the warriors made a feint attack on the forge, where they were forced back by musketry, and then attacked the entrenchment Roux had constructed, retreating after several volleys were fired, having themselves thrown only a few spears and darts. Picking up their dead and wounded, they vanished into the woods near the forge and made no more attacks that night.

The next morning, 14 June, there were even more warriors on the island than before. They threatened the French, displaying Marion's clothes and musket to try and frighten them into submission. Roux wanted to mount an attack, and at midday he received orders from Crozet to unite his forces, march to the village on the island and drive the warriors off it to protect their access to the local water supply. Crozet also ordered some men, women or children to be captured if at all possible, promising the sailors fifty piastres for every person brought back to the ships alive. Roux selected twenty-six men, twenty soldiers and six volunteers, arming each with a musket, a pair of belt pistols, a cutlass, and forty rounds of ammunition. At one o'clock they set off for Paeroa paa, marching with bayonets fixed and leaving the encampment guarded by an officer and thirty men. When the people of the paa saw them approaching, they loaded their women and children into a fleet of canoes drawn up nearby, and ran into the paa. According to Crozet their chief 'Malou' (Maru?)⁷⁶ was with them, with five or six other principal fighting men. Roux described this paa as being built on the end of a peninsula with steep cliffs on three sides, surrounded by three rows of palisades. The neck of the peninsula was fortified by a twenty-five-

thirty-foot fosse and three more rows of palisades, surmounted by a fighting-stage reached by a ladder. To the left side of the paa a narrow track led to the gate, which was only two feet square. As the French approached, the people tossed water on to this track to make it slippery, so that the attackers had to hold on to the palisades as they advanced to stop themselves from falling into the sea. Two chiefs came out and hurled darts at them, using whip-slugs. The foremost Frenchmen fired in return, hitting one man in the body and also smashing his thigh. The other man retreated, and as Roux's contingent attacked, they shot the warriors on the fighting-platform so that their bodies blocked it for their comrades who were climbing up to attack the French with darts, stones and spears. They reached the gate without suffering any casualties, only to find it closed and guarded by two chiefs.

The attackers poked the barrels of their muskets through the palisades and shot the two defenders. Others then stepped forward behind 'a kind of lean-to' man who stepped forward lunged at Chevalier de Lorimer with his long spear, wounding him on the nose before he, too, was shot down. The attackers battered down the gate with rocks and the butts of their muskets, and when it finally fell they ran inside to find a rear-guard of warriors covering the evacuation of the paa. These warriors threw themselves behind a rampart and hurled spears at the French, wounding Roux in the thigh and one of the volunteers in the ribs. One old woman stayed back with these men, handing weapons to them with great coolness, but she was very soon shot dead. After about fifty minutes of resolute fighting, all of the chiefs who had led this rear-guard action had been killed, and the survivors were forced to retreat. As the French reached the end of the paa they found two large canoes carrying about 200 men out at sea, and other canoes at the foot of the cliffs still loading people on board. The marksmen took aim and of about 250 people on these last canoes, almost all were shot or drowned. Roux commented that none of the people of this paa seemed to be familiar with firearms, for when they saw the attackers taking aim they lifted up their cloaks in a futile effort to protect themselves from the 'missiles' that were fired.

After taking possession of the paa Roux ordered his men to search the place, but they found no trace of any of their dead comrades, either in the houses or the store-houses. Ngaati Pou, the people of this paa, had joined in the attack on Marion and the wooding-party, but it seemed that all the spoils had gone to Te Kauri's people as *utu* (compensation) for the desecration of the *tapu* at Opunga. The Frenchmen tried to follow Crozet's orders by capturing some people alive, but even the wounded men fought and bit so furiously, breaking the cords that bound them as if they were thread, that none of them were taken. When Roux inspected the bodies of the dead (who numbered seven chiefs and forty men) he found that all of the defenders had been grown men, and that the chiefs who had fought with such bravery had taken three or four fatal musket wounds before they collapsed and died. As he commented later, 'Certainly these men put up a resistance such as we had in no way expected.'