

The Spring of Mana From The Book  
60 By Jeffrey Gissons, Kahuki and Te Whakataane

occupation. Titles were awarded initially to tribal and hapu groups and then individuals were awarded shares as members of one of these groups. An individual who wished to sell his or her shares could then apply to have them partitioned off.

In the Land Court traditional history became legal evidence. Speakers would claim rights to land by: (1) reciting genealogy (whakapapa) and so relating themselves to an important ancestor who had either lived on the land or had taken it through conquest; (2) relating accounts of conquests; and/or (3) describing how they and their recent ancestors had lived on the land — indicating burial places, cultivations, houses and other signs of settlement. Presented as legal evidence, traditional history was told as never before. The Land Court context systematically distorted the telling of this history in a number of ways. Firstly, it required that narratives be told with respect to a surveyed block of land. This meant that episodes and details of a traditional account that concerned land outside the surveyed block were omitted or briefly summarised and traditional accounts which related primarily to land outside the surveyed block were told in a way that made them appear more relevant to the land in question. Secondly, the court required that land be claimed through descent from particular ancestors. But which ancestors? This was a question to be decided by collective agreement prior to the court hearing and it was not a straightforward task. There were two critical issues involved in choosing the right ancestor and the right episodes: (1) the relationships between members within a claimant group; and (2) the relationship between this group and another claimant group. The speakers for a group needed to be able to show that they were descendants of a common ancestor or that their ancestors were close allies. Moreover, this descent or alliance had to exclude members of other claimant groups. This meant that new groups were formed, common ancestors chosen and incidents and episodes pertaining to these ancestors strategically selected to suit the specific circumstances of the case.

With reference to the period immediately following the confiscation of 1866 Karauria Edwards, a leading member of Te Whakatohea, has written:

\* Our people were now well and truly under the control of Government legislation. The Whakatohea at the height of its power was comprised of numerous hapu, many more than the six hapu we know, these being Ngai Tama, Ngai Rua,

\* Ngai Patu, Ngai Ngahere, Ngai Ira and Te Upokorehe. The courts now began the task of resettling the Whakatohea on the poorer marginal lands that they had been reduced to. It was the courts that decided that the Whakatohea would now be comprised of six hapu (Edwards n.d.).

\* This division of Te Whakatohea into six hapu had important implications for the court cases discussed in this and the following chapter. Two of the hapu listed by Edwards, Ngai Patu and Te Upokorehe, claimed shares in the Tahora and Waimana Blocks and the fact that their identity had already been legally pre-defined restricted their options for making their case. Maori traditional history as told in the Land Court was, therefore, radically different from this history as told in other contexts. Indeed, the imposition of the court procedures and the subsequent division of land and people means that a clear distinction must be made between pre-Land Court and post-Land Court traditions. This chapter is concerned with the latter.

### TE WHAKATANE

The founding ancestor of Te Whakataane was a man named Haeora who is said to have lived at the headwaters of the Te Wai-iti stream, between Matahi and Tawhana. In genealogical terms, Haeora was a contemporary of Taneatua who passed by Te Wai-iti on his way to Maungapohatu. Haeora's grandfather, Tamatea, had, like Taneatua, come from Hawaiki by canoe. Making landfall at Waitaia, east of Opoitiki, he walked inland towards Te Wai-iti naming features of the landscape as he went. In contemporary tradition Tamatea's full name is Tamatea-mai-tawhihi (Tamatea from afar) and the name of his canoe is Nukutere. However, unlike Taneatua and Matzatua, Tamatea and Nukutere do not feature prominently in Tauranga valley tradition today. Indeed, very little concerning Tamatea and his canoe has been recorded. Best (1925) makes passing reference to them but his information appears to have come from the court accounts which follow. Lyall (1979) also refers to these accounts adding no new material. Gudgeon (1892) mentions Nukutere as one of the Urewera and Ngai Porou (East Cape) canoes and adds that Whironui, an ancestor of Porourangi (of Ngai Porou) came on this vessel. Summing up the available written sources, Simmons (1976) wrote:

The association of Nukutere and Te Whironui is about all that is known about Nukutere. In general it appears to have little importance or substance in tradition, except that it serves to explain the origin of Whironui (1976: 309).

One explanation for the lack of emphasis placed on the distinctive Hawaiki origins of Te Whakātane today might be that the descendants of Tamatea now prefer to relate themselves to Ngai Awa, Te Whakatohea and other tribes as members of the Tuhoe tribe, hence they link themselves back to Hawaiki through Mataatua ancestors.

\* Tamatea's grandson, Haeora, and Haeora's adopted son, Kahuki, are now the main ancestors through whom Te Whakātane claim mana, rangatiratanga and land. Kahuki was, above all, a great warrior. Born at Ohiwa, on the coast between Whakātane and Opoitiki, he was raised to manhood among Haeora's people at Te Wai-iti. As we shall learn, the story of Kahuki relates Te Whakātane to the Ohiwa hapu, Te Upokorehe, and it relates both groups to their land. Moving down the descent lines thirteen generations from Haeora we come to Tamaiokoha, one of the great Te Whakātane leaders in the second half of the nineteenth century. Tamaiokoha is said to have taken on the mantle of Haeora as he rose to prominence during the colonial wars fighting to protect his sovereign independence and the ancestral land of Te Whakātane.

Te Whakātane have two marae beside the Tauranga river today: one is at Whakarāe, inland from Matahi near the confluence of the Tauranga river and the Te Wai-iti stream; the other is at Tāuani in the Waimāna valley. The meetinghouse that overlooks Te Waimāna from Tāuani represents Tamatea-mai-tawhiti. Up-river on the Whakarāe marae stands a meetinghouse that represents Toi-te-hātahi (Toi the only child). Tamaiokoha's grandson, Nino Takao, told me that both meetinghouses were built at about the same time in the early 1930s and that their tahu (ridge-poles representing the backbones of the ancestors) were cut from two tree trunks that grew from the one base. Tamaiokoha, himself, is now represented within the Ngai Tāua meetinghouse at Piripari.

In 1889 Te Whakātane's rights to their Tahora lands as descendants of Tamatea and Haeora were contested by the Te Whakatohea hapu, \*Ngai Patu. During the court hearing Tamaiokoha and two Te Whakatohea speakers related accounts of Tamatea's arrival in Aotearoa and described the deeds of the warrior, Kahuki. In the remainder of this chapter I

first present these accounts and interpret them as addressing questions of mana and land rights. I then present a contemporary account of the deeds of Kahuki as told by Tame Takao, Tamaiokoha's great-grandson, and I conclude the chapter by relating this contemporary account to Tamaiokoha's version presented in 1889.

### TAMATEA \*

During the Land Court hearing for the Tahora 2 Block Te Whakātane and Te Whakatohea claimed tangata whenua rights to the land by virtue of their descent from Tamatea. Mini Tamapaora, a Te Whakatohea speaker told the court:

Tamatea the ancestor came from Hawaiki and it is taken for granted that his father must have lived and died there. Tamatea's father's name, I have been told, was Irakewa. He lived, I suppose, at Hawaiki. The name of the canoe he came in was Tu-whenua ... His descendants were divided into sections. I have heard that other Tamateas came over in the same canoe. I know the ancestor Muriwai. Muriwai was the wife of Tamatea and lived at Whakātane. Tamatea went from [Opoitiki] and married her there. I am a descendant of Muriwai. Tamatea found no people occupying the land when he arrived here ... I can't remember the name of the canoe Muriwai came in [!]. I can't say if she came in the same canoe as Tamatea ...

When Tamatea was travelling through the country he went up the Wai-o-eka stream and saw [a] peculiar stone and called it his comb.\* The stones, Te Karoro o Tamatea [Tamatea's parrot] and Nga-tai-herna [or Nga-tai-e-rua?] were named under similar circumstances ... The stones \* called Nga-toka-rarangi [the row of stones] are also an ancestral mark. When Tamatea saw [that] they all stood in a row he gave them that name accordingly. There is a mark called Rotonui-a-wai [Big lake of water] — a small pool on high land and known by that name. Tamatea discovered this pool and made it a mark to identify his connection with the country. His descendants state that he stamped his feet and caused a pool of water to come with which to quench the

...

thirst of his daughter. This is a legend. The water is still there... Tamatea exclusively had the mana over this land. It belonged to him (OMB, 5: 340-341).

Tamaikoha, seeking to uphold the mana of Te Whakatahane, said:

The Children [of Tamatea] were Roau, Rangī-waaka, Ngatai-e-rua. They lived at Wai-o-eka and places to be seen now... Roau was not a child of Muriwai. The canoe that he came in was called Nukutere, and the remains of the canoe are to be seen at Waiāna [east of Opotiki]. The produce brought from across the sea in the Nukutere canoe by Roau were taros, karaka, ti tree (cabbage). The name of the cabbage tree was Whaka-ruarua-tangi. The karaka was planted at Hira Te Popo's place [the home of a Te Whakatohea rangatira]. Tamatea [first] arrived at a place called Tuwhenua [Northland] and came across land with 140 people. This Tamatea party of all Tamateas [all of whom were named Tamatea] en route dispersed different ways in search of land for themselves. With regard [to] my own Tamatea Nukuroa, he settled on half of Te Wera [inland to the east of the Tauranga river] in this block at Kahunui. He left there Te Rangiwaka-a-Tamatea, one of his daughters, and the place is called so down to this day. Then a little further north on Wai-o-eka [river] is the comb of Tamatea. There, on a rise therabouts, was a pool, the water of which was supposed to [have] come at his stamp. It is called Tangi-wai... I don't know who the wife was of my Tamatea. He had a wife, though I've forgotten the name. Tamatea Matangi, the husband of Muriwai, was a different and distinct man from [this] other Tamatea [Nukuroa] (OMB, 5: 274-275).

Mini Tamapaoa and Tamaikoha were in agreement that a man named Tamatea had held the mana of the land and that, like Taneatua, he had established his ancestral presence by walking across the landscape giving names to prominent features. Taneatua approached Te Waimana from the north-west, Tamatea from the north-east—however, they are not said to have met. Like Taneatua, Tamatea not only named features, he also caused them to be. By stamping his foot in order to bring forth a spring he not only quenched the thirst of his daughter, but he also firmly

claimed the land for his descendants. Mini Tamapaoa spoke of Ngatai-(h)-e-rua as a stone, while Tamaikoha referred to her as Tamatea's daughter. However, there is probably no contradiction here since the daughter could well have taken the form of a tipua as did some of Taneatua's offspring. It seems, therefore, that only one Tamatea claimed this land of Tahora for his descendants. The point at issue was: who were they?

As a hapu of Te Whakatohea, Ngati Patu were descendants of Muriwai. Te Whakatahane were descendants of Haeora. During the court hearing Ngati Patu did not dispute the fact that Haeora's descendants had rights to the land and nor did they dispute the assertion that Haeora's grandfather had first claimed the land. The critical question was: did Haeora's grandfather marry Muriwai? If he did so then his name was Tamatea-matangi and he had come to Aotearoa in the Tuwhenua canoe. If he did not marry Muriwai then his name was Tamatea-nukuroa and he had come to Aotearoa in the Nukutere canoe (see Tables 4 and 5). Upon this disputed marriage hinged the relationship between the two claimants. If Haeora's grandfather had married Muriwai then both Te Whakatohea and Te Whakatahane were descendants of a common ancestor who had held the mana of the land. If the marriage had not taken place then only Te Whakatahane were descendants of this great ancestor.

TABLE 4

Tora	Muriwai	Tamatea-matangi	Kokouri
	Rangikurukuru	Haeora	
	Ngati Patu	Te Whakatahane	

It was, of course, impossible for the Judge of Irish descent, Judge O'Brien, to decide this issue and he did not even attempt the task. However, the important point to note here is the way in which the speakers were strategically exploiting the interdependence of genealogy

TABLE 5

Toro	Muriwai		Tamatea-matangi	Tamatea-nuku-roa
		Rangikurukuru		Roan
				Haeora
		Ngati Patu		Te Whakataane

and narrative. Divorced from their genealogical contexts the narratives of Mini Tamapaora and Tamakoha were similar with respect to the details of Tamatea's walk and they had the same meaning—Tamatea had claimed the mana of the land. But contextualised in relation to the disputed marriage, the meanings of the two narratives were quite contradictory.

#### 'TE WHAKATANE' — THE NAME

During the court hearing Ngati Patu sought to further strengthen their claim to being the descendants of Haeora's grandfather by asserting that the tribal name 'Te Whakataane' had originated with Muriwai. At least this appears so since Tamakoha is recorded as denying that 'Te Whakataane' derived their name from an incident when Rangikurukuru, son of Muriwai, requested his mother to instruct him in the art of *taiaha*,<sup>✱</sup> so taking the role of a man. According to Tamakoha this incident accounts for the name of the Whakataane river and presumably for the name of the place but it does not account for the name of his tribe. Tamakoha explained the origin of the tribal name, Te Whakataane, as follows:

The origin of the name Whakataane is from a legend connected with a fight that took place during Haeora's time inside this Block A, on the eastern side of the Wai-o-tahi [Waiotahē] stream (OMB, 5: 270).

He added that at the time of the battle Haeora was known as a rangatira of Ngati Aima, then the major tribe in the area. Unfortunately, Tamakoha didn't elaborate on the nature of the 'fight' or associated legend. There are only two pa on the east bank of the Waiotahē river (within Block A) and Best wrote that Upokorehe were driven from these pa during Haeora's time (1925: 89, 110). One reason for the brevity of Tamakoha's account may be the fact that he was also representing Te Upokorehe in the court.

Although I did not record any detailed accounts of Tamatea's arrival in Aotearoa from Tauranga valley historians, I did learn that Tamatea's full name was Tamatea-mai-tawhiti and that he sailed from Hawaiki on the Nukutere canoe, landing east of Opotiki. It was also pointed out that Haeora's grandfather was not the Tamatea of Te Whakatahe. Best noted that Tamatea-mai-tawhiti was an alternative name for Tamatea-nuku-roa (1925: 91) and indeed they have the same broad meaning—'Tamatea who came from afar'. Thus it is clear that contemporary Te Whakataane tradition generally agrees with the accounts given by Tamakoha in 1889. However, regarding the origin of the name 'Te Whakataane', neither Muriwai's words to her son nor a battle near the Waiotahē stream are referred to as explanations. Some elders said that the name arose in Haeora's time but they knew of no specific incident connected with it. Tame Takao suggested that 'Whaka' was the equivalent of 'Ngai' (descendants of) and that Te Whakataane are descendants of tane (man), the man in this case being Haeora. Sadly, it seems that on this point some crucial information has slipped out of tradition.

#### KAHUKI

In the Tahora Block hearing Ngati Patu argued that Haeora's grandfather, Tamatea, was their ancestor and that they should therefore be awarded shares in the land that he traversed. But this was only one prong of a two-pronged argument. Earlier in the hearing Ngati Patu had claimed 'descent' from Haeora through his adopted son, Kahuki; they therefore claimed the mana of Haeora as their own. Not surprisingly, Te Whakataane strongly resisted this line of attack. It is to this intriguing debate that we now turn.

On March 15, 1889, Tauha Nikora told the court:

I claim this land for Ngati Patu, a hapu of Te Whakatohea tribe ... I claim the parts A, AD and AE through the ancestor Kahuki, through conquest and his own claim in virtue of his ancestry [but not through occupation] (OMB, 5: 134).

TABLE 6

Kahuki Takuni Hawea Te Rangī-huini Hika-wharetoa Tahu	Ruamoko Pakira Hine-riku Tankuri Mihi Terina Tauha Nikora	Muriwai Rangikurukuru Waka-ue-riri Koihi Whanau-te-rangi Tauhina Hau-te-rangi (Hau-o-te-rangi)	My addition from Best, VII, Table 17
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Tamaikoha held the mana of Te Whakataane, but he was also representing two other related hapu: Te Upokorehe of Ohewa and Ngai Turanga of Te Waimana. Other members of the Tuhoë tribe who claimed shares in the land were collectively referred to as Te Urewera. Tamaikoha was also representing them. He told the court:

I claim the piece marked A through ancestry and occupation. My ancestor is Haeora ... my ancestors from Haeora's time have occupied this land down to the present time ... I claim this on behalf of Te Upokorehe, Ngai Turanga and Te Whakataane hapus ... the portion marked AE I wish allotted to the Urewera which I represent. The rest of the portion I claim, but wish allotted to Upokorehe and Whakataane hapus and such others as we may select to admit (OMB, 4: 312-14).

TABLE 7

Haeora Tuhuna [Rongo]-Maipawa Manuruhi Tamakaeke Tarihi Rawahou Tamahouhanga Te Mannu-whakaari Te Mauri Te Ra-mahaki Uraga Ariari Tamaikoha
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The marriage of Haeora's grandfather was not at issue here. Rather, it was the identity of Kahuki. The two accounts which follow address the question: did Kahuki take over the mana of Haeora? Tauha Nikora, a descendant of Kahuki and member of Ngai Patu, claimed that he did. Tamaikoha, a descendant of Haeora through his son, Tuhuna, claimed that he did not. If Kahuki did take over the mana of Haeora then his Ngai Patu descendants had legitimate claims to the land by virtue of descent. If he did not then those whom Tamaikoha represented were the true owners. We shall now hear how this crucial genealogical question was answered through narrative.

#### TAUHA NIKORA'S ACCOUNT

Kahuki's mother was Paroro. Rongopopoia was his father [see Table 8 for these and other actors in this story]. These people belonged to Te Whakataane of which there are several sub-sections ... In Kahuki's time Te Whakataane were a numerous people and occupied the western side of the block. Te Rongopopoia and others of his people were cruelly killed, being caught in a net and smothered in the water by another section of their own people, Te Whakataane

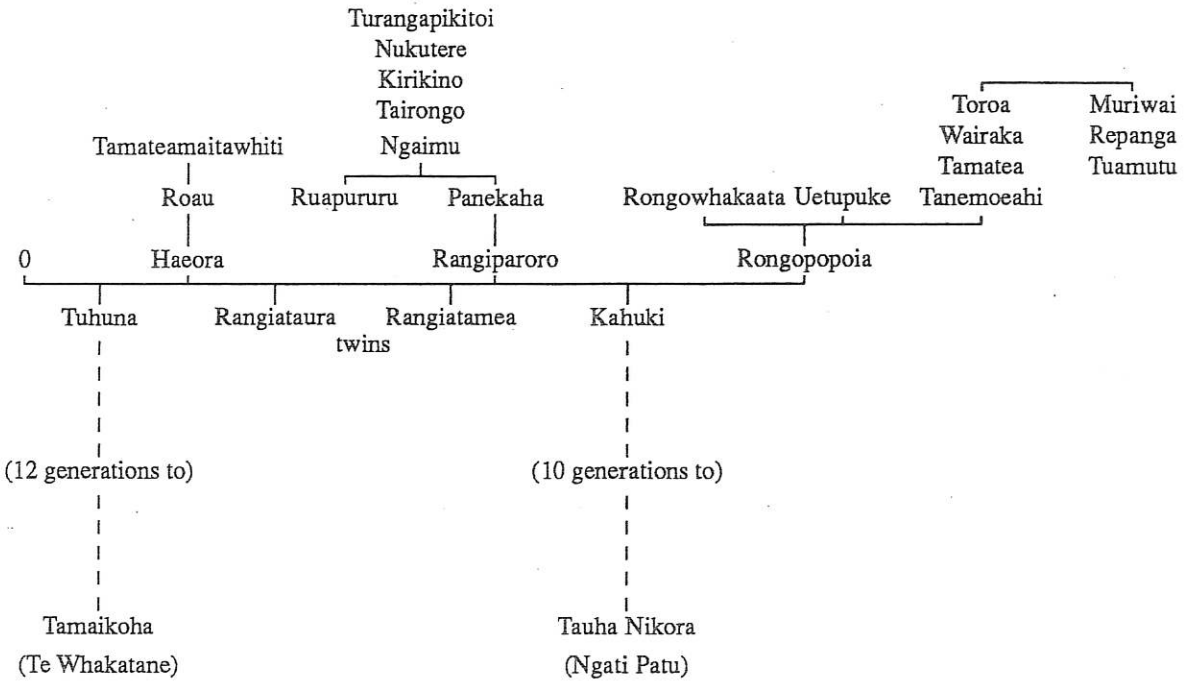
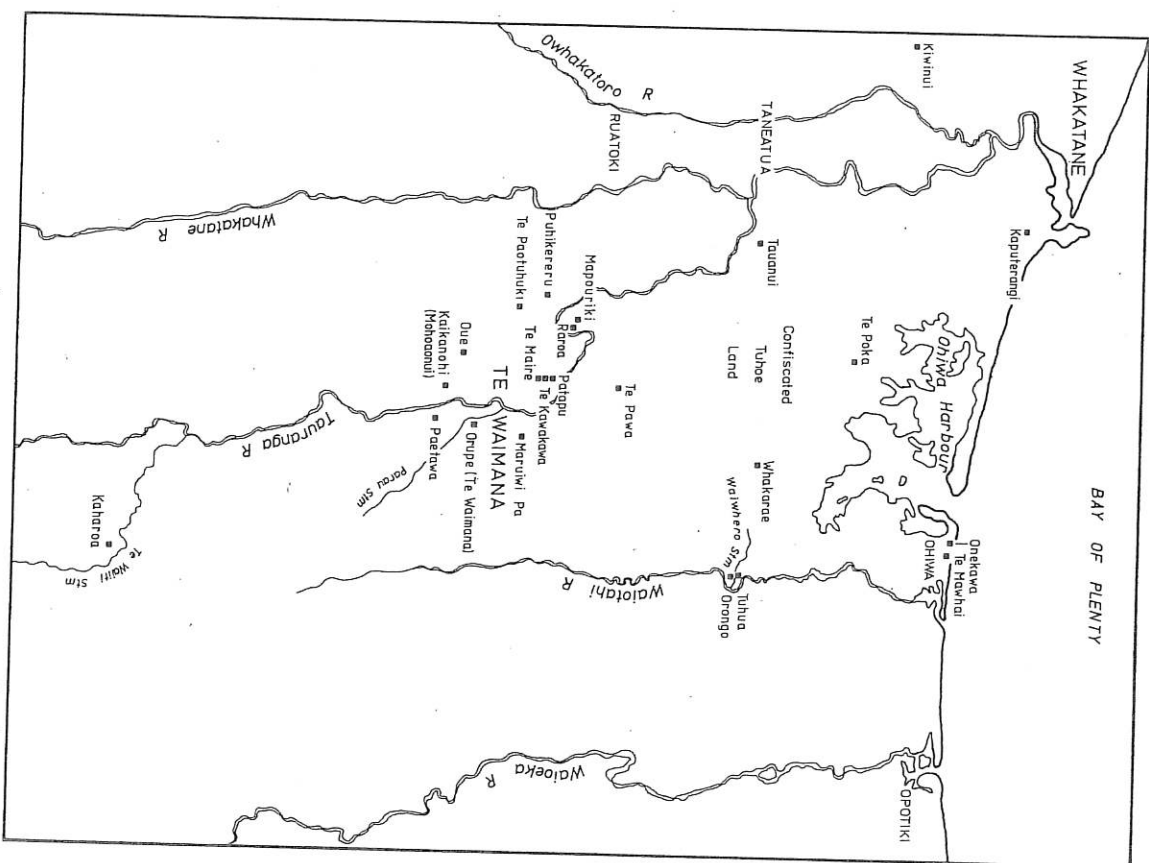


TABLE 8

[they were killed by Tuamutu and his people]. When this occurred Kahuki's mother was in child. [Kahuki was [later] born. Tuamutu, chief of Te Whakatane, issued an edict that all male children were to be killed as they were born. This edict referred to the whole of Te Whakatane except his hapu. When Kahuki was born his mother concealed the gender of the child and so this child was preserved. But the mother, seeing that there was great risk in keeping it secret, decided to leave and went [inland] to Kaharoa [see Map 5]. Haeora, a man of Te Whakatane lived there. Haeora married Paroro and adopted Kahuki and brought him up to man-hood. When full-grown, the other boys used to chaff [tease] Kahuki because he had no father. Kahuki asked his mother [about this] as he thought Haeora was not his father. His mother said 'yes, your own father died away from the block [at Ohiva]' and she told him of how his father was smothered and about his birth.

Upon hearing this, Kahuki spoke to Haeora and asked Haeora to make him a taiaha [long club]. Haeora did so and asked what Kahuki wanted it for. Kahuki said he was going to visit the place where his father had been killed. He was grown up at this time. Kahuki went to a pa near Ohiva, stayed there and, although under the mana of Te Whakatane, was anxious to fight with them. He stayed with his own hapu, Panekaha [Panekaha, the ancestor, was Kahuki's maternal grandfather]. The boys of different hapus all about Ohiva were engaged in playing different games. Kahuki joined them and he immediately killed two of them and took away from each head a portion of hair. He went back to the Panekaha hapu and presented the hair to Panekaha. After this presentation he called upon the people of that hapu to join him in returning to have a fight. The two boys he killed belonged to Tuamutu's hapu. [Kahuki's hapu and Tuamutu's hapu] had a fight and it is said that Kahuki was foremost in the attack. It was not until his people saw that he was beating the others that they came to help. A general fight ensued at Onekawa [a pa at Ohiva, see Map 5] after the killing of the boys and the pa was taken [by Kahuki].



Map 5: Tauranga valley pa and other pa referred to in this book

In this pa were a hapu of Te Whakatane and the people that escaped retreated to another pa. This [other] pa was at Wai-o-tahi [Waiotahē] but I don't know the name of it. Tuamutu, one of Te Whakatane was in the pa at Onekawa and he escaped to the pa at Wai-o-tahi ... [Kahuki then pursued Tuamutu but each time Kahuki took a pa Tuamutu escaped] ... Tuamutu then fled inland to a pa called Waiwhero. This is in the Opoihi valley. This was a very strong pa and occupied by a great many people. Kahuki attacked the pa and it was besieged for some time. He finally took it and killed Tuamutu. The pa is on a hill with a stream just below it. The people fled into the river but they were overtaken there and many were killed. This river was red with blood, hence the name Waiwhero or red water. It is known by that name to this day.

Kahuki returned to Wai-o-tahi, occupied land on the confiscation line, and built a pa close to the Wai-o-tahi river. It was a strong fortified pa. After he had returned he collected together all Te Whakatane and during this time he held the chief mana over Te Whakatane. From that time onwards they have occupied the land without interruption ... I am claiming this land on behalf of Ngati Patu ... Kahuki was Haeora's adopted child and the mana of Haeora fell on him (OMB, 5: 164).

#### DISCUSSION

Taaha Nikora claimed that Kahuki took over the mana of Haeora, the inland leader of Te Whakatane, and hence Kahuki's descendants, Ngati Patu should be awarded shares in the sub-blocks in question. The fighting, as described by Taaha Nikora, was entirely within Te Whakatane, that is, it was between three hapu of this tribe. These hapu were not named, but we learn that one hapu was headed by Tuamutu and a second, to which Kahuki belonged, was headed by Panekaha. A third hapu that occupied the inland sub-blocks (AD and AE) was headed by Haeora. This inland hapu was represented in the coastal battles by Kahuki. Prior to Kahuki's birth a split had occurred between the two coastal hapu due to the killing of Kahuki's father, Rongopopoia. Panekaha's hapu later formed an alliance with Haeora's inland hapu, represented by Kahuki,

and the two were able to take revenge for the killing of Kahuki's father. Kahuki, a leader of his mother's coastal people and his adoptive father's inland people, then reunited Te Whakataane, so taking over the mana of Panekaha and Haeora.

Kahuki achieved his successes in battle with a *taiaha* that Haeora had made for him. Haeora had brought Kahuki 'up to manhood' and in presenting him with a *taiaha* Haeora acknowledged Kahuki as his son and successor. Haeora had brought Kahuki into manhood in another sense also, since Kahuki was only able to become a male (in a publicly recognised sense) by travelling with his mother to Haeora's settlement. Prior to this, as an infant amongst his father's people he was publicly female, his sex concealed by his mother. In *Tuhoe* political thought there is a strong association between the penis and the mana of a *rangaitira*. For example, there is a local saying (*whakatauki*): *ma nga raho ka tu te ure, which, literally translated, means 'through the testicles the penis stands upright'*. Figuratively, this refers to the fact that a leader's mana depends upon the support and recognition of his kin. The alternative name for the *Tuhoe* tribe, *Te Ure-wera* (The Burnt-penis) has its origins, according to one account, in the actions of Murakareke, *Tuhoe*-*potiki*'s son. When Murakareke was dying he instructed his eldest sons to give the hind part of a dog (chiefly food) to his youngest son, *Tamapokai*. This would signify that *Tamapokai* was Murakareke's chosen successor. However, the eldest sons ate the rump themselves and gave *Tamapokai* the head. Murakareke was so angered by this that he burnt his penis — perhaps accidentally, perhaps deliberately. By so 'cooking' his own penis he thereby signalled the negation of the normal line of descent whereby his mana would pass to his eldest son. He cut off his mana and died (in another, more complex account his mana is literally cut off). By concealing Kahuki's penis, *Rangiparoro* was concealing Kahuki's mana and his true link with his father's hapu. It was not until the mother and baby reached Haeora that Kahuki's sex was revealed and he became a son — not of *Rongopopoia*, but of Haeora. In light of this it is surprising that *Tauha Nikora* did not link Kahuki's adoption to the name 'Te Whakataane' — 'to become a man'. Of course, given that he denied that Kahuki was Haeora's son, *Tamaikoha* could not do so.

To summarise: *Tauha Nikora* implied that Kahuki took over the mana of Haeora in that:

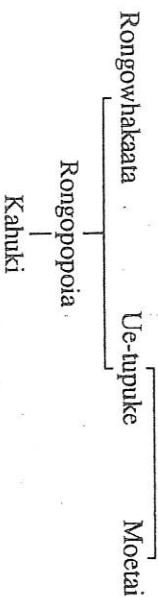
1. Kahuki became a man as the son of Haeora;

2. Haeora presented Kahuki with a *taiaha*;
3. Kahuki skillfully used his *taiaha* to defeat the leader of one Te Whakataane hapu and reunite the tribe under his leadership.

#### TAMAIKOHA'S ACCOUNT

*Tamaikoha* began his reply by objecting to the fact that he needed to refer to Kahuki at all — Kahuki did not belong to Te Whakataane. However, he reluctantly agreed to do so and introduced his case by reciting part of Kahuki's genealogy (Table 9). This showed that Kahuki was a descendant of *Rongo-whakaata* and his wife *Ue-tupuke*, both of whom lived near *Gisborne*. *Rongo-whakaata* is the founding ancestor of the *Gisborne* tribe of the same name.

TABLE 9



*Tamaikoha*'s account was recorded as follows:

*Ue-tupuke* was jealous of her husband and when with child by him she ran away. Her husband's name was *Rongo-whakaata*. Her sister's name was *Moetai*. *Ue-tupuke* was jealous of her husband's attentions to her sister. The younger sister said to *Ue-tupuke*, 'what are we going to do about our husband?' and *Ue-tupuke* replied, 'where I am going I shall find another husband' and she ran away. Three days later her husband pursued her and overtook her at *Opotiki*. He caught her and requested her to return but she wouldn't. When he took hold of her he said, 'if the child is a female call it after the river *Otara* and if a male call it 'Rongopopoia-Rongo-whakaata'. She remained at *Opotiki*. She used to gather *pipis* at *Pakih* and she called



the pipi bank Rahotea [white labia?]. A man at Ohiva called Tane-moe-ahi [the older brother of Tuhoe-poitiki] heard that there was a nice looking woman at Opotiki and he came and lay in wait at this pipi bank. Tane-moe-ahi later took her as his wife and accepted the child. The child was born at Onekawa, near Opotiki and was called Rongopopoia as requested by her first husband ... [Rongopopoia married (Rangi)Paroro]. Paroro was the mother of Kahuki and belonged to a hapu called Tairongo living at Ohiva.

With regard to Tuamutu, it has been said that he belonged to Te Whakakane. I shall now show that he did not [a genealogy may have been recited here but it was not recorded]. I claim Tuamutu as a slave. He had no claim whatever upon the land. His only claim was as a traveller over the land ... A boy connected with Rongopopoia was flying a kite along the coast and with the string of the kite Tuamutu strangled him and [he] threw him into the sea. Rongopopoia thereupon mustered a war party and at Mautau [east of Opotiki], the place where the killing [had] occurred, he found the old man Repanga [the father of Tuamutu] there alone. He rubbed noses with Repanga and killed him in repayment for the boy's death ... After peace was made and all things were quiet Tuamutu conceived a plan for taking the life of Rongopopoia ... Rongopopoia was killed because he killed Repanga. Tuamutu killed Rongopopoia not through jealousy or personal spite ...

[Kahuki's sex was then concealed from Tuamutu] and his mother was taken into protection and she married a man of Te Whakakane ... The only mana bestowed upon Kahuki was through his being reared at Kaharoa [Haeora's settlement] at a place [a pa] called Te Puni. That was the only favour conferred upon him. We don't recognize him as a chief. The descendants of Haeora, Koikoi and others, reared him. If Kahuki had been of rank he would have been supplied with at least four wives but he didn't get one. There remained upon him the stigma of his sex being concealed by his mother ...

When Kahuki left [Kaharoa] he would have been properly escorted if he were a chief. But only his two half-sisters went with him through Waimana to Ruatoki. At Ruatoki there happened to be a war party and they chased the two girls — Rangi-te-ata-ura and Rangi-te-ata-mea. They killed them. Kahuki escaped and got on a hill and asked who the war party belonged to. A man answered, 'it is mine'. Kahuki asked, 'were my sisters killed?' and he answered 'yes'. Kahuki said 'I would have been glad if one had been spared, but as they were both killed it can't be helped.' He then fled and reached Puketū, [near Taneatua] a little outside Whakakane.

This chief [at Puketū] provided Kahuki with a man as a guide to carry food and they went to a pa at Ohijwa called Te Pōka. [see Map 5]. There Kahuki met his own people. His elder brother was there. It was there that they conceived the idea of avenging their father's death. All this took place on the coast ... the cause of the dispute between Kahuki and Tuamutu, from what I understand, was the killing of his father and the degradation which followed him as a result of his sex being concealed ... They matured their plan and met with Tuamutu who had come with a war party of his own into the district. He had come to avenge the deaths of certain boys killed by Kahuki. Kahuki's brother and party attacked Tuamutu. They attacked and pursued them as far as the Oīara [river] and a little beyond this ...

Tuamutu concealed himself in a swamp near Opotiki and when Kahuki's war party had gone Tuamutu fled as quickly as possible and joined the [Te] Whanau-[a]-Apanui, [a tribe] at Maraenui [east of Opotiki]. I have never heard that Kahuki overtook Tuamutu and defeated him at Wai-thero ... If he has any descendants alive today they will be with Whanau Apanui. If Tuamutu had been of Te Whakakane he would have sought refuge with Te Whakakane rather than seek safety with the Whanau Apanui (OMB, 5: 264-281).