Footnote to Pedigree. This pedigree was not taken from the authorities of a single island. As it stands, it represents a far more comprehensive knowledge than any individual school of Gilbertese genealogists now commands, having been built up out of a host of separate (and jealously segregated) narratives collected in the course of twelve years' research from island to island of the group. Each separate detail of the pedigree, however, represents a point of view at which half a dozen authorities, whatever else may be their differences, agree, and the whole may, I think, be regarded as the greatest common factor of Gilbertese knowledge about Kriatax today. It may be added that the pedigree is but an extract from a table of much wider scope, which must await publication with the Gilbertese Traditions of Origin and Migration already mentioned.

It is obvious that the early names given in the pedigree are merely figurative, and represent individuals only by reference to the groups or countries to which they belonged. By the "Trees of Nakurana" in column 1, we are to understand the distinguishing mark, perhaps
the totem of a race or sib that inhabited
Nabaraba; by Na Aream Tikiiteia in
column 2 is meant a person claiming
descent from the separation of heaven and
earth. In column 3, the name of Tabukini-
Tarawa, the man "created by Na Aream
on Tarawa," means "The Eminent Man of-
Tarawa," and signifies the representative
of an autochthonous group considered to
have grown with the land. In column
4, Taburimai is the name of a sib-
deity, and stands for all the persons
of his sib who migrated from the North to
Samoa. It is still a common
Gilbertese practice to designate a whole
group of people by the sib-deity's name.
Taburimai te Koraki aei (lit. Taburimai
the company this) in modern speech means,"These people belong to a Taburimai clan." It is known
Taburimai i abagura (lit. He arrives
Taburimai at land-our) signifies, "some
people of the Taburimai clan have
arrived at our island.""3

The implications of the early parts of
Kriatau pedigree are worth examining
and will be treated by the following
notes. Kriatau the eldest person descended
will be analyzed in the following notes.
Pedigree of the early High Chiefs of Tarawa

**MALE SIDE**

- Na Areau the Elder, who started the work of creation, making first Tarawa, then Samoa, then "all lands" in the darkness of Chaos.

- Tabuki-n-Tarawa created by Na Areau and his "sisters" Nui Temaiti, Nei Bava, Nui Reia, and Nei Tereka (Grey One). Married Nei Bava.

**FEMALE DISTANT SIDE**

- The Trees of Nabaraba, a land far to eastward of Tarawa. The Trees were called the Man and the Woman.

- Na Areau the Son, called Tekitikia, who separated Heaven from Earth, made the Sun, Moon and Stars, and finally created Man — the Breed of the North (Tarawa, Bora), and the Breed of the South (Samoa).

- Taburimai of the North, created by Na Areau and his "sisters" Nui Temaiti, Nei Bava, Nui Reia, and Nei Tereka (Grey One). Married from the North to Samoa.

- (Unknown numbers, missing generations)

- Kouakiki of Samoa married Nei Aeriki and Nei Tekiriki-ni-Mone, both of Samoa.

- Barotoka of Samoa who fled northward to Tarawa, in order to avoid an unwelcome marriage.

- The Trees of Nabaraba, who migrated to Tarawa with "a root of the Tree of Nabaraba."

- A person called by the patronymic Na Areau Tekitikia, who made three voyages to Samoa.

- Nui Batianana of Tarawa, who "spear the anchor of the land" — i.e., was a person of chiefly rank.

**Te Ariki-n-Tarawa**

- Married Nei Tereka of Tarawa.

- Kiratalagi the Eldest (the lover of Kabaiga) of Tarawa: married Nui Kimoauna of Samoa, who was fetched to be his wife by Na Areau, his paternal grandfather. Nui Kimoauna was a descendant of Nui Temaiti, the "sister" of Tabuki-n-Tarawa (see col. 1 above) and was one of Tarawa stock settled in Samoa.

- Kiratalagi the Second of Tarawa: married Nui Temaiti, the "sister" of a traditional clan ancestor named Bue, who claimed the Sun as his progenitor, and migrated into Tarawa from a western land called Terbongi, Roror or Roror.

- Kiratalagi the Third of Tarawa: married Nei Reia and Nei Kobaueva of Samoa, who came to Tarawa at the time of a mass migration from the South into the Gilbert Group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Side</th>
<th>Female Side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Na Areau the Elder</td>
<td>Tabuki-n-Tarawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na Areau the Son</td>
<td>Taburimai of the North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Trees of Nabaraba</td>
<td>Kouakiki of Samoa</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The diagram includes additional textual elements that are not visible in the image.*
Genealogy
Pedigree of the early High Chiefs of Tarawa

MALE SIDE

Na Are'au the Elder, who started the work of Creation, making first Tanawa, then Samoa, then "all lands" in the darkness of Chaos

The Trees of Nabana, a land far to westward of Tanawa. The Trees were called the Man and the Woman

Taraba, King of Nabana and Ni Tekana

Ni Tekana of Nabana, who migrated to Tanawa with a root of the Tree of Nabana

Tabuki-n-Tarawa, created by Na Are'au Tekiletua, on Tanawa, with his "sisters" Nei Tama'i, Nei Baia, Nei Rioi-temuva. Married Nei Baia

Taburimai of the North, created by Na Are'au Tekiletua. Also described as the son of Tabakaa (Shark) and Nei Anikai (Grey Nurse). Migrated from the North to Samoa

Takuraio, of Samoa, married Nei Are'ua and Nei Tekaneni-Mane, both of Samoa

Kaputoka of Samoa, who fled northwards to Tanawa, in order to avoid an unwelcome marriage

Female DISTANCE SIDE

Na Are'au should be deleted throughout

A person called by the patronymic Na Are'au Tekiletua, who made three voyages to Samoa

Ni Batiavia, of Tanawa, who held the anchor of the land — i.e., was a person of chiefly rank

Varatoka of Samoa, who came northwards to Tanawa, in order to avoid an unwelcome marriage

Te Ariki-n-Tarawa married Ni Teketeke of Tanawa

Kira'adai the Eldest (the lover of tabuka) of Tanawa, married Nei Kimoana of Samoa, who was fetched to be his wife by Na Are'au, his national grandfather. Nei Kimoana was a descendant of Nei Tama'i, the "sister" of Tabuki-n-Tarawa (see col. 3 above) and was thus of Tarawa stock settled in Samoa

Kira'adai the Second of Tanawa, married Nei Tiapae, the "sister" of a traditional clan ancestor named Bue, who claimed the Sun as his progenitor and migrated into Tanawa from a western land called Te Reongi-proro or Roro.

Kira'adai the Third of Tanawa, married Nei Beia and Nei Kobuewe of Samoa, who came to Tanawa at the time of a mass migration from the South into the Gilbert Group.

There were in 1920 (three or two generations) no adult living descendants
Settlement of Butanitani by Rairaneana.

(see genealogy)

1. When Rairaneana's son Fisimani was grown up he married Nii Raketai, the daughter of Beia-ma-takei with Fikiri Nii Kirirere, on Tabiteua.

2. Fisimani and his wife went to live at Arau, the home of Beia-ma-takei; they had three children there: Rairaneana II, and Naniia, and NaAtanga.

3. Rairaneana II grew up cruel and hot-headed. His amusement was to kill the people of Arau, and to threaten his own brothers with death. So his mother reproved him, saying that Arau was not great enough to hold his violence, and telling him that he had better set out and conquer another land. He decided to make war on Butanitani. It was arranged that when he had subdued the island his mother and brothers should follow him.

4. He set forth with a fleet of Arau canoes, manned by his mother's people: his captains were named Karibantaarana, Zaanntee, Tanoiki-ni-bong, and (name lost). Tradition calls them his brothers on his mother's side.

5. They landed at Ulkiangang (5. End) and fought a battle at Tekveve and defeated the inhabitants: thence they swept up the island, by land and lagoon at same time to Kepa, where another battle was won by them. A third engagement was won at Kama, and a fourth at Little Makua. On this last island Rairaneana.
settled down to rule as High Chief.

8. When news of the victory came to Tarawa, Nri Rakaitai, with her husband and sons sailed for Butaritari. But when Ravianeana saw his brothers coming, he hated them and made ready to kill them. But his mother reproved him again, saying, "If you cannot even be at peace with your brothers, then go again and find another land that will contain your misdeeds." So he left in anger and set sail northward until he came to Mine (Milne, Marshall's). He conquered it and his descendants are there until now. Some of these came back to Butaritari about ten years ago, and established relationships with the local descendants of Ravianeana's brothers.

9. So Na Atanga and Mangkia stayed on Butaritari. Makin, when their brother left. Na Atanga was the elder, and became High Chief. He called the warriors who had conquered the islands and distributed the land among them. The captains were his "brothers" in his mother's side. To Karibataraana he gave the chiefship of Makin. These were his instructions to him:

"Your perquisites there shall be $Tbanaeneke ( and deep-sea fish, and the birds of Kama; none but you shall use them. And you shall remember to supply me with food, for that is my right over you."

To Ioannea he gave Kuma; these were his instructions: "Your perquisites there
Katu-ma-te-aota = M. Rabadanabuniki
shall be the inner parts of the porpoise, and the fish called okaka, and the tana'erek ( ) and the bina'bino ni Kamao; none but you shall see them. And you shall remember to supply me with food, for that is my right over you.

To Taunokini being the gava Kamao; there were his instructions: "Your perquisite there shall be the tina'ere ( ) and the fish called mimimai and the okaka, and the bina'bino ni Kamao and the tana'erek. And you shall remember... etc., etc.

To the fourth chief (name lost) he gave Tanimaiaaki; there were two instructions, "Your perquisite there shall be the aara (mullet, grey) and deep sea fish, and the tina'ere, the okaka, the tana'erek and the Kamao. And you shall remember... etc., etc."

So they all went to their districts and collected the conquered people to work on their farms, and they subdivided their lands among their own companions.

8) Dr. Atanga and his brother Mangkia took all of the island of Butaritari south of Tanimaiaaki as their private share. They lived in the village called Butaritari.

9) At that time the chieftain of Rem Kaiti and Haakeia, had set out with a great host and conquered every island of the group as far north as Marakei. They were preparing to set out from Marakei to overcome Butari
Tari and Makin. NaAtanga grew alarmed.

10. Manikia, the brother of NaAtanga, had grown into a terrible man. He was a giant; his teeth were as long as a child's fingers; and his chief pleasure was to eat human flesh. Everyone hated and feared him. So NaAtanga said to him: "You shall go as a messenger to Kaitu and Haakeia, taking gifts with you; and you shall prevent them from making war upon our land."

So Mangkia set out in a canoe, with a crew of giant stature. They did not sail, but paddled the whole 60 miles to Maraeki, and when they came there, they were told that Kaitu and Haakeia were at Tarawa. So they paddled another 40 miles to Beto. And when they came to Beto, they learned that the chiefs were at Taratai; so they paddled another 15 miles to Taratai. There they landed, and so amazed the Beiman by their stature and fierce manners that they were willing to promise not to invade Butantari, for they said within them "Are all the war-mos of Butantari like these?" So Mangkia gave them the presents he had bought - Te Baraitoa (the hood) and Te Kie ni Karaka (the mat of invisibility), which woreing, a man became invisible to his fellows.

11. Then Mangkia and his men set forth to Southward. They never returned to Butantari, but went to Abemana.
where they settled. Mangkia became the
ancestor of the High Chief of Ahemana.

Na Atanga lived and died. High Chief of
Butaritari and Makin. He had three
children: the eldest Komābi, a man;
the second Kakiāba, a man; the third
Nei Mauri-te-nea, a girl.

Komābi lived at Tongaïta; he was
disliked by women and few people liked
to live in his settlement. Kakiāba
lived at Fakukintake, and had a large
harem and settlement, for he was
beloved.

So Komābi was bitterly jealous, and
made war on his brother, but he was
defeated and fled to Abaianu, where his
descendants still live.

So Kakiāba remained as High Chief
on Butaritari and Makin.

Barata was the eldest son of Kakiāba
(see genealogy). The descendants of the
various chiefs who had been appointed
(see p. 7) by his grandfather began to
be too powerful and restless; so he
decided to exterminate them. First
he made war on Makin, and conquered
the descendants of Barata Taranwa.
He killed every man, woman and child of
the family. To the latest born.

Next he wiped out the Kaiama chiefs,
descendants of Ioanua. Only two
were saved alive, Te Tai and Makiani;
because they alone knew the major
connected with a man's initiation
ceremonies.
Then followed the extermination of the Kelea and Tanimauriaki chieftains, in the same manner.

15 When this was done, Bunatao went to live at Makin, while his father Kakiába remained on Butaritani, with his other six children.

16 One of Kakiába's favourite resting places was the islet of Bikaati; on the east coast of Butaritani. He spent long months there, and neglected the affairs of Butaritani more and more as he grew older. This gave the opportunity needed by the slave class to make a conspiracy to overthrow the ruling chiefs. A slave named Itinua was leader of the plot. During one of Kakiába's absences, the people rose and entered the king's settlement, speared all the occupants, including the wives and children of the king. Only two of his children escaped the slaughter, Tatabaka and Teitibo-n-nea, who had been adopted by some of the slaves and were hidden by them.

So the insurrection took possession of the whole island, while Kakiába remained in fear on Bikaati.

17 When Bunatao, his eldest son, heard the news on Makin he collected all his people and made a swift descent by night on the settlement of Kelea. He found Itinua in the maneaba all unruly for battle; he himself had few people with him; neither side dared to force the issue, and the meeting
resulted only in the exchange of a few words. Then Bunataua returned undisturbed
to his canoes and sailed to the village of Butaritari. Thence he sent messengers
to Ukiangang, and in 12 hours had
gathered together a formidable army to
meet the forces of Tinna.
He began by searching out every
relative and friend of Tinna who
could be found in Ukiangang and
Butaritari settlements, and putting
them to death. Then he and his men
marched up to the northern part of
Tanimateaki district. Tinna with
his hastily gathered faction came south
from Renen to meet him, and a battle
was fought between the two places. A
crushing defeat was inflicted on Tinna;
and every member of his tribe, male
and female sides, was put to death.

After this, Kakiaba asked Bunataoa
to remain as High Chief of Butaritari;
but he preferred Makin, and abandoned
his claim to the kingship of the
larger island, which reverted then to his
younger brother Tiri-bo-nene.

But after a while Bunataua began
to be jealous of his brother; he chased
when he saw the food of Makin being
sent as High Chief right to Tiri-bo-nene.
So he decided to make war upon him.

When he came to Butaritari, his
father met him, and some fair words
persuaded him to go and make war upon
another island instead, as his own flesh
and blood. After a hot discussion, Bunatao consented to attempt the conquest of Marakei.

Arrived at Marakei, he does not seem to have made war upon the people. Tradition says that he landed and persuaded many warriors to join him in a war against his brothers. After a short time, he led his force northward and made for the land at the place called Nakinoro or Butaritani. His canoes had been sighted long before, and a force descended upon the shoal to prevent his landing. A bloody battle was fought in the shallows called Te-bike-mi-mone. Both sides fought to exhaustion without a definite result. Then Bunatao consented to parley with his father and brothers. As a result, he sent the remnant of his host back to Marakei, and stayed in peace with his people. Eventually he returned to Nakinoro and was chosen to be High Chief. His descendants in the male line remain so until this day.

(Note. This tale is absolutely taken in conversation from para. 16 onwards as it deals with a crisis in which the High Chiefs were nearly overthrown.)

(9) Teanoki, son of Itiibon-nea, seems to have ruled in peace, and so did his descendants, Iti-bon-nea teanoki and
But family jealousies were again aroused in the fourth generation from Teiti-Maroon. Karia I, the son of Teiti-Maroon was High Chief, when Heateu, his father's brother's son, began to make trouble. He went about the island boasting that he would soon be King. Karia went to Heateu's father and attempted to make peace, but the old man was powerless to restrain his son. So Karia decided on war. He led a small host to Buwiriki, the home-place of Heateu, and attacked him in daylight. Guns had lately arrived in Butirano. One of Karia's men, named Roroa, with his first shot put a bullet through Heateu's head. The High Chief's people then went forward to make an end of the whole faction. But when Heateu's father saw his son fall, he ran forward and setting his heel upon the dead man's head, said: "You have killed the offender, my son and your brother. I am your father's brother, I beg you to stay your anger." At this Karia was ashamed to go further: he slew no more, but he took possession of the lands of Heateu, with those of the rest of that band and made the slaves slaves to the descendants who number 60 odd. Among the slaves to this day are some who are related to the High Chief. The last scene in this drama was enacted before the Lands Commission in 1922, when the descendants of Heateu claimed to
reenter as chiefs upon their lost lands. The answer was a lemon.

Karia I died without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother Buraimo, who was ruling in the eighties when Stevenson visited Bitaritari, and his distant kinsman Burioka was High Chief of Atemana. Buraimo saw the coming of the Flag in 1892 and was the first native Protectorate to be appointed by Mr. Swain. His son Tafun succeeded him but did not live very long. Tafun’s son is now High Chief—a man of 40 odd, who is childless. The chiefship will pass if he dies without issue to his brother Akoi, who is also childless, and after him to the third brother Koriri, and his male issue.
Social Organisation

Traditions

The traditions concerning the origin and ancestry of all Gilbertese clans are more or less secret.
But there is a vast difference in the degree of secrecy with which they are guarded, e.g.
between the clan of Karongoa-an-nea and all
the other social groups of the islands. The
traditions of most Gilbertese clans are not,
and were never, very jealously concealed.
Although a man would not go so far, perhaps,
as to coach a stranger in the lore of his
clan, he would have no objection against
discussing it openly before the old men
of the manuala. It was not sacred to him,
nor was it kept hidden from any member
of his own social group.

But with Karongoa-an-nea it was different.
Not only was it forbidden for a member of the
clan to discuss the ancestry and early
history of his group before an audience of
outsiders; he must also keep it secret from
his fellow clanmen. Only the senior branch
was supposed to possess this information;
and although the eldest might pass it on
to several people of his own generation,
he had the power of forbidding those to whom he

communicate it even to their children. He himself
would pass it only to his eldest son, or if he
had no sons to the senior representative
of the collateral line who would succeed
to the eldership of the clan. He might,
however, communicate it to his daughter,
generally the youngest, to “console her for
a small inheritance of land”. In this case,
the daughter would be sure of honour in her
generation, for she would have to be referred
to as an authority when her father died. But
on pain of becoming maraia (accursed) she
might not impart the tradition to her own
children, since these by their father would
be members of another clan.

Only the traditions of Karangaroa-n-near,
therefore, among all the Gilbertese clans, may
be regarded as truly secret. These are most
difficult of access, even today, when the
ancient reserves are fast dying and the
old teachings discarded as valueless.
Bern conquerors on Ma'akei

Brothers
- Kātomeana
- Fakononi
- Tetabea
- Fakalaha
- Kairo
- Tehevehewe
- Tafo'oa

Brothers + Sister
- Tana'atao
- Mi'ima'ia

Bern
- Kaotoua (a Marshall
- man settled in Abemama
- who followed the war)
- Kaothinina

Sister of Kaotoua + Taobiria
- Itotānien

Land
- Auaian
- Onabike

Marina
- Marina
- Morokoni boran
- Fiovitai
- Taimo'ano
- Bino
- Tikitantano

In Rinouma with a small company of the original
inhabitants remained at sufferance on Talautaka.
There were also a few left on the last side
of the island, but most of them fled in their
canoes and were never seen again.
Rai'ntuo-ri-masea

Raianitas

Gratius from Breae conquest in Bokhe.

1. Rai'ntuo-ri-masea
2. Nei Kukia
3. Manka
4. Nei Kecu
5. Jez Manka
6. Te Bunea
7. Te Burea
8. Te Bunea
9. Te Burea
10. Te Burea (II. June 1517)

Te Kewe Kewe

Trubanaka = Nei Kuan of Kunea, but.

Te Komane = Te Komane
Genealogy from the time of Tekewekewe, the first conqueror on Marakai from Bena.

Tekewekewe
Kukkanaka
Tekon

Tekonimane = Nui Tukia

Nui Ikamaka Tekon

Kiaokiri = Nui Katana

Kiaono Barokka
Kiokkina Boato

Tokiniokaka Tabuna Taranatan

Iam Bobora Kiaoini (14)

Iaonaake Karawanu

Teina (20)

(12) Nui Rute Kanaama

Fin The numbers in brackets indicate the approximate ages of living

June 6, 1942.
The Advent of Europeans.

About 800 years ago there were no Europeans on the Pacific islands. During the reign of Kamehameha the first Europeans is said to have arrived. At this time, although the people were cannibals, they lived fairly peacefully and did not practice cannibalism unless forced to by lack of food. A ship arrived and a member of the crew was purposely cast ashore and left while the ship sailed away. This man was known by the natives as 'Bob.' He had no profession; he was a king, not even a slave and he was forced to live with the natives in Tahiti. Perhaps the natives held him in awe because of his long beard which is said to have reached nearly to his waist. He soon learned how to cut tobacco and apparently, last long before he discovered that tobacco allowed him to remain awake for long periods of time.

In return for the hospitality of the natives, he is said to have taught them three things. Probably he taught them many more but the following three seemed to have stuck in the mind of my old Pong-Tale. 1) How to make a mosquito net. 2) How to make a lamp. 3) How to drink strong toddy.

The native idea of a mosquito net before Bob arrived was a small blanket like a tent with a ridge pole made of a sleeping mat which accommodated only one person. Bob apparently manufactured a large square affair which allowed room for two or more people. The only means of illumination which the natives had was by keeping fires going all the time. If the fire died there was no light. He made fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together.

Bob used a half clam shell filled with coconut oil in which was the pounded up dried steak of
The islands of the Coconut (Te Raro) which was weighed flat one end by means of a stone serving as a block. Bouts of drinking South Toddy seemed to pass away a lot of Yarn time.

After a considerable time another ship arrived looking for Bob. They gave him clothing and took him away off the island. Before he went in return for the kindness he had received he gave a small curving to the man with whom he lived as a wind that he might make a knife to cut his Toddy. Left to this, Toddy was cut by means of a small shell sharpened on coal flame. This Toddy cutter was known as Te Kaxarati and this wood is used soon still for a Toddy cutting knife. For looking Coconut served for building Canoes, making weapons etc., a piece of sharpened clam shell was used.

Later on a third ship arrived whose news the native remembers as Kabunare. It was who brought tobacco to Retaitaia. This he traded for Coconut oil. The King - Teiki Maroaa was the first Kava Tobacco and it was made as laws that if any native acquired tobacco that native was shown it to the King to sample first. This custom was known as To matanini. This was all right when the people of the King's Village came singly to his house. But a crowd of people from far away village, arrived with their tobacco one day and the King had so much tobacco that he was violently sick and fainted throughout he abolished the custom of To matanini.

After his many ships arrived for the purpose of trading & acquiring oil. The pot, which was now set Kekio loko first landed at Retaitaia. As that the native could prepare Coconut oil. Hate Kepuia was wanted and the pot, no longer required, wore back.
To relieve for the purpose of holding rain water in account of the difficult in getting good well water.

From our Visiting Vessel a crew showed the natives called Koal Koa and who informed the native that he came from Paramatta was left ashore at the small island of Tikow in the Butanianti Lapoon and he opened a trading store. In which he traded such things as rifles ammunition, good rum, whisky gin & rum. There was there after much drunkenness & feasting. Many people were killed. The cannon some of which were quite big affairs were made for making a noise & frightening people.

On one occasion a ship came to Wihanjare and many Butanianti people went on board. A native proposed to fire a cannon and when the people saw this they jumped overboard & stayed under water in order not to hear the explosion. One man — Pokamaw — stayed on the ship. After the explosion the natives came to the surface except one man — Nae Kaut — who was placed in coming up. Pokamaw dived into the water & went Nae Kaut under the surface; intimated to him that the cannon was to be fired again whereupon Nae Kaut — stayed under water — was drowned. Pokamaw and all the other natives climbed back on board while these stole as much as they were able before going ashore for their canoes. Pokamaw and another native Temowewe went ashore in one canoe & proceeded to class the things they had stolen to one another. Temowewe produced an earthenware cup whenfor Pokamaw said it was a poisonous thing a ran away to his himself as such a notion as to be able to slipaway Temowewe. Temowewe believed that the cup was poisonous & also ran away whereupon Pokamaw returned & stole the cup for himself. He fled was brought to Blain by Capt Davis who undoubtedly
Wife (now a native of Beth) called TENEIA. Her son was called TANINTOA (Note: ATIRABABA was the name of the place at Beth where the Urutea was burned down). When Reamatekarie's wife died he married hei KIRIRERE at Lebit Cula.