

Talking Heads: On the Repatriation of Māori *Toi Moko*

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I. Introduction: Detached Heads

In a critical first step, the head is severed from the rest of the body at the foundation of the skull. Next, sharp tools are used to make an incision that allows for a complete extraction of the brain. Following removal of the brain and eyes, interior cavities are filled with clay and vegetal fibers to delay decomposition and ensure that the head maintains its shape. It is then boiled or steamed in a specialized oven, smoked over an open fire, and set out in the sun to dry for several days. Before the process is complete, a coating of shark oil is applied to protect the skin and the delicate tattooed patterns that embellish these heads.¹

The resulting embalmed heads are called *toi moko* (Figure 1).² In this way, the Māori, a people native to northern New Zealand, preserve the heads of their deceased in a practice similar to that of Egyptian mummification. The process surrounding the creation of *toi moko*, often performed by tribal chiefs, was considered sacred. Accordingly, neither the relatives of the departed nor the people performing the ceremony would eat until it had been completed.³ Due to their sacred nature, these heads are not generally photographed. In preparing this thesis, I have given a lot of thought as to how I can address these heads as visual objects, yet still respect their sanctity. I chose to provide Figure 1, a black and white image of a “specimen” previously kept at New Zealand’s Auckland Museum, as a way of helping readers to understand why these heads look the way they do. I will discuss the commodification of preserved heads and the ways in which these heads have become associated with colonization and questionable museum ethics. More recently, these objects have taken on a symbolic meaning in the struggle to right past wrongs and re-establish desecrated traditions.

The story begins with an act of cutting. In this vital moment of detachment, the head itself becomes an object, a movable thing separated from the body. It is precisely this mobility that resulted in these spiritually imbued objects becoming international commodities. Through their history, these severed heads have been detached from their ritual traditions and attached to larger conceptions than the bodies from which they have been excised.

It was common for Māori burials to emphasize the relationship between the living and their ancestors, with individuals often buried inside or close to areas of settlement. Burial practices are complicated and vary amongst different iwi (tribes) and throughout different time periods. For instance, anthropologists have discovered more than one style of burial within the same plot.⁴ Early burials were typically in shallow graves with the bodies positioned in face down or “crouched” positions. Later burials beginning in the end of the sixteenth century are often found in caves, many of them secondary burials. In these cases, the bodies appear to have been buried and allowed to decompose before the bones were removed and relocated to a cave. On rare occasions, the whole body was placed inside the cave.⁵

Toi moko were created to ensure a continued, post-mortem connection with ancestors. They were kept in ornate boxes and brought out only for special occasions.⁶ Thus, we can imagine the living greeted the deceased as one might receive an old friend. Through the preservation of their heads, the dead were able to continue functioning as members of the community. The heads were prepared so that the form and features of the deceased were still visible, so it would have been possible for individuals to recognize their ancestors.

The concept of *wairua* can be used to understand traditional Māori beliefs about life and the afterlife. The *wairua*, usually translated as ‘soul’ or ‘spirit,’ is bound to one individual for life and is able to detach from the body for periods of time, like during dreams.⁷ Although it leaves the body after the death of an individual, it is believed that human remains still contain a continued essence of the departed. For this reason, ancestral remains are regarded with great value.⁸ The foundation of Māori society is built around the peoples’ beliefs about the afterlife and the role that ancestors play in the day-to-day activities of the living. The authority of the ancestors shapes all aspects of Māori culture. In times of stress, they often call upon the spirits of their ancestors, or *tupuna*.⁹ Mothers in labor or men in battle often appeal to these spirits for strength and assistance. Therefore, showing respect to one’s ancestors is of great importance to the living. Accordingly, turning the head of an individual into *toi moko* was a sign of respect. The head was viewed as the most sacred part of the body and is seen as the source of all knowledge and power. The importance of the head to notions of the afterlife is exemplified in the following narrative:

Two brothers were [fleeing] for their lives down a hillside. A shot broke the leg of one of them and he fell. The enemy was close at hand. Already the exulting cry, “*Na! na! mate rawa!*” was heard. The wounded man cried to the brother, “Do not leave my head a plaything for the foe.” There was no time for deliberation. The brother did not deliberate. A few slashes with the tomahawk saved his brother’s head, and he escaped with it in his hand, dried it, and brought it home.¹⁰

The belief in the importance of the head also led to the practice of *ta moko*, or traditional tattooing, that decorated the faces of many Māori (Figure 2) and, ultimately, their preserved heads.

II. *Ta Moko* Tattooing

Legend has it that one day the great Māori Chief Mataora was approached by a group of young people from Rarohenga, the spirit world. Among them was a beautiful woman named Niwareka, the daughter of Uetonga, a chief of the underworld. She and Mataora fell in love and eventually were married. One day, following a dispute, Mataora became angry and mistreated Niwareka, who left him and returned to Rarohenga. In his grief, Mataora followed her to the house of her father. Upon his arrival, the inhabitants of the underworld mocked Mataora for the designs painted on his face, as they were smudged with sweat and appeared pitiful in comparison to their permanently tattooed faces. After begging for his wife's forgiveness, Mataora was given permission to be tattooed by his father-in-law and subsequently returned to the world of the living with Niwareka.¹¹

This is believed to be the origin story of *ta moko*, the tradition of facial tattooing in Māori culture. Changes in oral traditions have resulted in the dissemination of several versions of the narrative, yet the message conveyed remains consistent: *ta moko* serves as a constant reminder of the relationship between the living and the dead. It is not just an art form, but a cultural heirloom and sacred ritual meant to connect the wearer with their ancestors in the afterlife. After he was tattooed, Mataora became worthy of marrying above his status, as Niwareka was descended from the gods of the underworld. His tattooing then served as a permanent reminder to avoid evil actions, such as mistreating one's wife.¹² As for the significance of these patterns, *moko* was not just a decorative symbol of connection with one's departed *tupuna*, but a sign of an individual's status within the contemporary community.

A biographical interpretation of the patterns on the heads at the Museum of Natural History in Rouen, France allows scholars a better understanding of the specificity of these markings (Figure 3). The markings convey information about an individual's social status, occupation, and family. While men were given full facial tattoos as well as decoration on their backside and lower torso, women's facial tattooing was usually limited to the lips and chin.¹³ When the Māori later interacted with the Europeans, these markings were used on official documents as a kind of signature for treaties, deeds, and land grants.¹⁴ This is significant not only in understanding the relationship between symbolism, demarcation, and status in their culture, but also because tattooed *moko* patterns are still discernable after the heads have been preserved. The tattooed patterns that ornament the *toi moko* certainly contributed to the curious appeal of the "other" that attracted Western collectors in the first place. Horatio Gordon Robley, the avid nineteenth-century collector of ethnographic artifacts, described these heads as having a look of "life in death which once seen can never be forgotten."¹⁵

When the process was complete, a ceremony was held in order to "recompense" for the blood of the person that had been shed. During this ceremony, a feast was given and a slave or captive was sacrificed.¹⁶ All of the precautions and rituals surrounding the process reveal the deeply held significance of *ta moko* in Māori culture. Unlike the sterile, low-risk needle tattooing we are familiar with today, *ta moko* was painful, lengthy, and posed a high risk of infection and other complications. Lines were made by tapping a chisel rapidly and precisely in order to carve the design into the face of the bearer.¹⁷ The process itself was considered *tapu*, or sacred, and therefore was subject to a number of strict rules. For example, *ta moko* was performed out of doors in a temporary shelter built for this specific

purpose.¹⁸ During this time, the person being tattooed was not allowed to speak or make physical contact with anyone not involved in the ritual. They were fed through an elaborately carved funnel, called a *korere* (Figure 4), due to both the resulting facial swelling and the risk of coming into contact with contaminated substances.¹⁹ For several days afterwards, recipients of *moko* were made to abstain from sex and washing oneself while they healed.²⁰

Ta moko tattooing was a way to honor an individual. Only noble and respected members of the tribe were allowed to undergo the ritual, so unmarked heads certainly would not have been embalmed. In this sense, the association between tattooing and preservation is twofold. The tattooed patterns are eternally fixed on the heads of these enduring objects. They cannot be removed. Likewise, the notions of honor, ancestral connection, and community values that connect these practices cannot be separated from the objects themselves – or can they?

III. Early Contact with Europeans

Sealers, traders, missionaries, and other Europeans who came over to New Zealand in the late eighteenth century developed an interest in these heads as souvenirs or “curiosities,” particularly the more disquieting enemy heads. *Toi moko* were not only made from the heads of ancestors, but also from the heads of enemies conquered in battle. While the preservation of ancestral heads was seen as a show of respect, preservation of the heads of a conquered enemies served another, practical function. These heads were often publically displayed as a show of strength to neighboring tribes. They could be traded from one tribe to another to solidify bargains and other tribal agreements.²¹ It may seem

contradictory that these revered objects were used to scorn or instill fear in tribal enemies, but this practice can be explained with a discussion of the Māori concepts of *tapu* and *mana*. *Tapu*, the root of the English word “taboo,” describes a person, object, location, or practice that is restricted, or sacred.²² *Mana*, another concept crucial to understanding *toi moko*, refers to the power or spiritual authority of a person.²³ When a warrior is taken prisoner, he loses both his *mana* and *tapu* and his captors can treat him however they wish.²⁴

There is an important visual distinction between the heads of enemies and those of ancestors. The mouths of ancestral heads were sewn shut with vegetal fibers, but the mouth of an enemy was left open (Figure 5). The lips of an ancestor’s mouth are sewn together in the middle before streaming, allowing for a peaceful, less confrontational appearance. The enemy heads have ghastly snarls after preservation, with exposed teeth, almost as if the heads are forever crying out to voice the power of the warrior that took their life. Perhaps they also cry out in mourning of what would become their tragic history.

They no longer served to scare off enemies or establish treaties, but became collectables and appealed to the Western fascination with the exotic and grotesque. Although New Zealand did not become an official British colony until 1840, the cultural exchange between the Māori and European powers began much earlier. The Māori and the Europeans first came into contact in 1642 with a Dutch expedition led by Abel Janszoon Tasman in the service of the Dutch East India Company.²⁵ Tragically, cultural misunderstandings led to bloodshed in a pattern that would prove to be prototypical of subsequent encounters with the Western world. Both civilizations were compliant in the

commodification of the heads, as a brutal trade of human heads in exchange for firearms was developed.

When Tasman and his crew attempted to dock in Golden Bay, the northwest end of New Zealand's South Island, the local Ngati Tumatakokiri tribe rammed the Dutch ship with their canoe and killed four of the Dutch seamen. This prompted the Dutch to refer to Golden Bay as Moordenaers Baij, or Murderer's Bay.²⁶ While Dutch may have viewed the attack as unprovoked, the Māori likely recognized them as a threat:

The incident took place in the middle of the seasonal kumara growing season, which runs between October and April. The Dutch ships made a beeline for what was essentially the food basket of Golden Bay before they were attacked. After the Dutch anchored and sent two small boats inshore to explore the coastline, local people may well have seen Tasman and his potentially hungry crew as a threat to their food resources.²⁷

Dr. Ian Barber of the University of Otago notes that a tribe's local gardens were most likely considered *tapu*, or sacred. The Māori probably saw the disrespect of their land as a reason to attack the unannounced strangers.

While Tasman's trip to New Zealand was followed by British expeditions by John Byron and Samuel Wallis, Captain James Cook's 1769 voyage solidified sustained contact between New Zealand and European powers. The declared aim of this mission, sponsored by the Royal Society of London, was not to colonize. Instead, the voyagers were to observe the movement of the planet Venus in order to calculate the distance between the earth and the sun, and to look for what they believed was the "great southern continent."²⁸ Despite his stated objective, Cook wrote detailed accounts of the natural resources of New Zealand. These proved to be helpful in the future as colonial interests became more pertinent, and suggest that astronomical studies may not have been his only aim. During a previous

expedition to Tahiti, Cook befriended a Tahitian chief and priest named Tupaia who came along with his crew to help translate the Māori language, similar to his own Tahitian language.²⁹ Tupaia was also useful in helping Cook and his men understand the traditions of the Māori. This is most clearly illustrated in firsthand accounts from other members of his voyage:

The [Māori] chief man on the largest canoe made speeches, brandishing his spear, and eventually came alongside, where he pronounced a few words and gently threw a stone against the side of the ship. At this signal his men immediately took up their weapons, but Tupaia warned them that if they attacked they would all be killed, and threw Tahitian cloth down to them (which influenced them far more than his threats had done).³⁰

Unfortunately, the diplomatic Tupaia was not present when the British men first attempted to come onshore, and the encounter also turned violence.

The Māori later described the Captain Cook as “a surly old fellow who fired upon the natives,”³¹ yet they were greatly fond of Tupaia. When the British returned to New Zealand three years later, they called out to welcome him. They were distressed upon learning that he had died, and asked if he had been killed by Cook and his men.³² Although Tupaia’s death was the result of cases of scurvy and malaria, this speculation is indicative of the Māori’s distrust of European explorers. Cook visited New Zealand again in 1773 and once more in 1777. The official account of the expeditions, compiled by John Hawkesworth,³³ was a huge success and contributed to the interest in Polynesia and Polynesian artifacts among the general public. In fact, the three volume set was the most requested item in the Bristol Library from 1773-1784.³⁴ Cook and his men returned to England with detailed journals documenting their travels as well as and many Māori treasures, among them *patu* (clubs), *hoe* (carved paddles) *matau* (fish hooks), and two *toi moko* (Figure 6).³⁵ The travel

logs, stories, and treasures collected by these early explorers contributed to the Western world's misinformation about New Zealand and the reputation of the Māori as bloodthirsty savages.

Naturalist Sir Joseph Banks joined Captain Cook in his first voyage.³⁶ Just one year into the 1769 expedition, the acquisition of a preserved head by Banks marks the first ever recorded trade of a *toi moko*. While in New Zealand, Banks managed to persuade an elderly Māori man to give him a preserved head in exchange for a pair of white linen undergarments. The man was at first reluctant to participate in the trade, but Banks convinced him to cooperate by “enforcing his threats” with a musket.³⁷ The first incident of what would become a bloody, international market began with Sir Joseph Banks' underpants. Banks' threat of violence and inclusion of modern weaponry became typical of these exchanges. The trade of heads began with a disrespectful and violent confrontation and continued to increase in scale and brutality.

In his travel logs, Banks included detailed descriptions of the flora and fauna that he found in New Zealand. He went on to discuss the indigenous people that he finds with the same kind of descriptive, isolating language that he utilizes to describe the plant and animal life. As a result of his botanical studies at the University of Oxford,³⁸ he was well versed in the scientific advancements during this age of Enlightenment. In the 1730s, Swedish naturalist Carol Linnaeus a contact of Banks, developed his famous system of biological classification.³⁹ Often regarded as the father of taxonomy, Linnaeus' method focuses on classifying types based on observable characteristics. Banks writes, “In color they vary a little, some being browner than others, but few are browner than a Spaniard a

little sun burnd [sic] might be supposd [sic] to be.”⁴⁰ Banks describes the Māori as he would describe a newly discovered species of flower.

From behind this syntactical barrier, Banks is able to make observations about the indigenous people as if they were somehow less human than Banks and his readers back in England. He writes with an air of supposed genetic superiority, yet his journals include narratives of the native women being sexually exploited by these powerful foreigners. He notes, “both sexes were much more modest in their carriage and decent in their conversation than the Islanders, which our people who had a mind to form any connexions [sic] with the women soon found, but they were not impregnable.”⁴¹ The idea that a woman of another race could not be made pregnant by a white man surely contributes to the argument that Banks and the other members of Cooks’ voyage viewed themselves as inherently more advanced than the Māori.

The Europeans had established a system of trade with New Zealand that was generally cooperative, however, the British ultimately did not learn enough from the violent incidents of the expeditions of Tasman and Cook. In 1810, the captain and some of the crew of *The Boyd* were killed and eaten by the Māori after going ashore at Whangora Harbor.⁴² This act, a retaliation against an earlier disrespect on the part of the British, delayed the arrival of missionaries until 1814.⁴³ While not entirely successful in their attempts to westernize and convert the Māori, their complex tribal divisions and social systems were strongly affected by the presence of the early missionaries. Chief Hongi Hika visited England in 1820 to meet with King George IV, who gave him gifts in recognition of his cooperation with the English missionaries.⁴⁴ When he left England, Hongi Hika stopped in Sydney, Australia where he traded these gifts in exchange for weapons and ammunition

which he brought back with him to New Zealand. The pressure for resources and trade had caused tension between the communities, and an arms race between tribes developed. In these difficult times, the Māori clearly felt that selling preserved heads to acquire muskets was the only way to protect their lands and families from European settlers and members of other tribes.

This series of inter-tribal wars, often referred to as the Musket Wars (1807-1842),⁴⁵ killed thousands of Māori people. In the midst of this unprecedented civil dispute, in February of 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. This official agreement between the British monarchy and more than five hundred chiefs resulted in New Zealand's official status as a British colony.⁴⁶ Accordingly, the Māori became British subjects. In this chaotic period, the treaty appealed to many chiefs, as they hoped to control the sale of their land and believed that forging a new relationship with Britain could help alleviate the fighting between tribes. Unfortunately, the government often ignored the protections that the treaty had promised to the Māori.⁴⁷ Instead of creating unity, differences in translation and interpretation of the treaty did nothing to alleviate the tribal conflicts, and instead exacerbated issues between the Māori and European settlers.

The hostility of this period proved particularly fatal when the muskets brought over by these European traders and colonizers replaced many of their traditional weapons. The days of skillful hand-to-hand combat between celebrated warriors were gone and replaced by modern warfare. The introduction of this new, advanced weaponry no doubt increased the violence of the period, but a force much more powerful and far-reaching than the introduction of Western technology caused the community's decimation. Instead, arrival of the Europeans was so detrimental to Māori beliefs and customs due to the creation of a

new obscure marketplace for human remains and the repudiation of century-old beliefs in the face of outside pressure.

When the Māori learned that European traders would exchange guns for heads, the market for these items exploded and demand began to surpass supply. The long-standing traditions of honor, respect, and remembrance that surround *toi moko* were destroyed. As the heads-for-guns trade began to escalate, many Māori abandoned their customary practices. The trafficking in heads turned the creation of these cultural heirlooms into a lucrative commercial enterprise.

IV. Changing Attitudes

As the collecting of heads became more popular later in the nineteenth century, we see several key changes in Māori attitudes towards *toi moko* and *ta moko* tattooing. Understandably, the Māori did not want their ancestors to end up in the hands of white collectors on the other side of the world. There are even accounts of Māori recognizing the unique *moko* patterns tattooed on the heads of their family members and attacking the traders who refused to give them back:

Amongst the heads which Joe Rowe [an early European trader] had purchased were two of Taupo chiefs. These were seen at his store in Kapiti by their relatives who entreated him to give them up. He laughed at them. Finding he had arranged this expedition, they left before him and went to await his arrival... While eating, a party of natives joined company and one of the natives went and sat down in the boat. Rowe called out to [the other trader] to turn him out, but knowing more of the natives, Rowe proceeded to do so himself, and the Māori promptly killed him with a blow to the head... Rowe's head and that head of another of the men were steeped and dried in the usual way for sale.⁴⁸

The callous lack of understanding on the part of the European traders and the consequential increase in violence led to the destruction of this sacred Māori rituals, and ancestral remains were no longer made into *toi moko*.⁴⁹

The Māori continued to embalm the heads of their captured enemies, but for a different purpose. To keep up with demand, they began to preserve the heads of slaves and captives from other tribes with the intent that they be sold to traders.⁵⁰ When the European hunger for human remains was no longer satisfied by preserved heads of captives and slaves, desperate traders turned to theft and grave robbing.⁵¹ There are even stories of heads being negotiated and selected while the slaves were still alive.⁵² What was once a means of honoring chiefs and other dignified persons became a fate reserved only for the poorest, most unlucky members of the community.

The preserved heads of slaves, captives, and the occasional European that were produced during this period cannot be viewed as true *toi moko*. After all, *toi moko* are defined by their intent and spiritual value. They were intended to serve a specific purpose for their communities. This distinction is stressed in the Māori vocabulary, as the preferred term for the falsified heads produced for European consumption is *mokomokai*, not *toi moko*. Likewise, the *moko* tattooing that covered the faces of these slaves was completely fabricated and devoid of meaning. No longer part of a sacred ceremonial process, the process was performed rapidly and without concern for symbolism or quality. Instead of communicating details about the status of an individual, their role in the community, and significant events in their life, this *moko* was completely meaningless, merely constructed by the forgers to appear symbolic.

This sacred art of *ta moko* disappeared as a result of the commercialization of preserved heads. The possession of elaborate *moko* tattoos proved to be dangerous, as unlawful traders would readily kill a man in order to turn a profit from his head.⁵³ For their safety, less and less people chose to undergo the process. The complete decimation of the Māori culture and upheaval of their social structure ultimately destroyed the primary purpose of *moko*. In the eyes of the newly powerful European colonizers, all Māori were equally inferior. As chiefs and distinguished members of the community were no longer recognized as such, it was unnecessary for them to display their status and ancestry through their tattoos.⁵⁴ By 1860, the full-face *moko* tattooing had all but disappeared.⁵⁵

The full or partial tattooing of slaves' heads was often done post-mortem, so it is often possible for anthropologists today to distinguish these falsified *mokomokai* from true *toi moko*.⁵⁶ Figure 7 shows the skin of two heads. In the example on the left, the smoother, less prominent tattooing was done while the bearer was still alive. In the second photograph, the deeper, more precise *moko* was added after the death of the individual. Even if the heads originated as true *toi moko*, however, more elaborate tattoos were sometimes added to an individual's existing *moko*, because heavily tattooed heads were more attractive to Western buyers. In this case, it is impossible to tell whether or not the preserved head was once a true Māori chief or an unlucky slave. It is even said that the heads of Europeans killed in New Zealand were occasionally preserved, tattooed, and sold back to their own naïve countrymen.⁵⁷ The creation of this cultural enterprise caused both the death of the individuals themselves and the deaths that would come as a result of the muskets acquired in these negotiations.

V. General H.G. Robley

General Horatio Gordon Robley's collection of *mokomokai* serves as a revealing example of the way these heads were transformed into commodities. A character replete with contradiction, General Robley first came into contact with New Zealand as a soldier in the British army stationed in Tauranga with the 68th Regiment during the Land Wars (1864-1866).⁵⁸ In his time in New Zealand, he produced many sketches of life and documented many different examples of *ta moko* facial tattooing. It is also known that Robley had an intimate relationship with a Māori woman, Harete Mauao, during this time and fathered a son named Hamiora Tu Ropere.⁵⁹ Two years later, Robley left New Zealand and never returned, although he continued to send her child support money for some time.

Robley insists that his stint in New Zealand was not the origin of what would become his extensive collection of *mokomokai*. The Sydney Act, passed in 1831, effectively stopped the exportation of heads.⁶⁰ As a result, Robley's collecting began once he had already returned to Britain, at a time when *mokomokai* were found in museums, curiosity shops, and private collections throughout the country. In his writings, Robley describes purchasing his first head:

It was more than 20 years after leaving [New Zealand]... that an accidental chance led to the supreme art of collecting and writing about [*moko* and *mokomokai*]. Passing one day along the Brompton Road [south west], I espied from the top of an omnibus on which I was travelling a phrenologist re-arranging his window, & in the window was a Māori head placed there to such base use as an advertisement to the cranium part of the human frame for the purpose of attracting attention to his doctrine.⁶¹

No matter where his personal collection started, Robley's *mokomokai* undoubtedly originated from New Zealand where they were exported as part of an abhorrent trade centered around commercial exploitation and a violent struggle for power.

Robley was deeply invested in his collection, yet at the same time was critical of the trade that resulted in its acquisition. David Simmons of the Auckland Institute and Museum notes that several of the heads previously in Robley's collection show signs of having been excised from the body and preserved in a manner dissimilar from the traditional Māori practice. Simmons also observes that the *moko* designs on a number of Robley's heads appear to have originated from the mid-nineteenth century in the Bay of Plenty area, the area most associated with the falsification of *toi moko* using the heads of captives or slaves.⁶² Despite this, Robley denounces the traffic in heads as "gruesome" and "replete with abominations."⁶³ He goes on to stress that it was "repulsive to [Māori] instincts and which they only adopted as a desperate measure to preserve their tribes from annihilation."⁶⁴ While he was not directly involved in the exporting of heads, his role as a collector seems to contradict these harsh criticisms.

Robley does not describe the severed heads themselves as "gruesome," but he is appalled by the it is the exchange and falsification of these heads. Perhaps Robley, the self-described expert on Māori culture and 'connoisseur' of heads, sees himself as the 'last step' in the dreadful narrative that resulted in the heads being exported from New Zealand in the first place. After all, the heads in his collection had been brought to England long before he purchased them. Historical records appear to coincide with his claims that he neither carried *mokomokai* out of New Zealand, nor commissioned the preservation of any heads. Perhaps he truly believed that his position as a collector of these 'finished products' was

wholly dissociated from the desanctification of these objects. In either case, he was able to use of the *mokomokai* for his own advantage and enjoyment.

In addition to his fascination with the heads, Robley also exhibited interest in other aspects of Māori culture. Over the course of his lifetime, Robley wrote two books, *Moko or Māori Tattooing*⁶⁵ and *Pounamu: Notes on New Zealand Greenstone*.⁶⁶ The first, *Moko or Māori Tattooing* is unusual because its discussion of *ta moko* is almost exclusively aesthetic. As previously discussed, *ta moko* was a symbol of connection with one's departed *tupuna* and a sign of an individual's status within the community. Despite this, Robley's text solely focuses on describing the different patterns and themes that he finds in the tattooing (Figure 8). Similarly, he overlooks the value in Māori greenstone, or *pounamu* (Figure 9), and focuses on its aesthetic beauty. The stone is considered *tapu* (sacred) to the Māori and is used in ceremonies and for making peace agreements.⁶⁷ Robley's text discusses the etymology of the word *pounamu*, the legends associated with the discovery and use of stone, and its utilization in tools and jewelry. He does not, however, provide a discussion of the symbolic meaning other than what is strictly necessary for an understanding of the object.

Robley's intentions are certainly called into question in this decision to write extensively on two sacred aspects of Māori culture without discussing their sanctity. To overlook the spiritual context through which these traditions took place is to overlook the fundamental nature of these practices. At this juncture, one must question whether the author fully valued or even understood these traditions. In the introduction to *Pounamu: Notes on New Zealand Greenstone*, he writes, "For savage art, rude though it may be, and doomed to extinction as civilization advances, has an individuality of its own which makes

it of importance to the ethnologist and of interest to the student.”⁶⁸ Undoubtedly, the description of native art as “savage” falls inauspiciously on the ears of educated readers. Moreover, his choice of words suggests that Robley’s interest in the Māori stems from an elitist, dissociated point of view; like a birdwatcher would observe and document a species in threat of extinction.

My first encounter with General Robley came through a striking photograph of the man posing with his extensive collection of *mokomokai* (Figure 10). In the photo, he sits casually cross-legged among his mummified heads. His gaze refuses to meet the camera directly, but looks off into the distance, mirroring the inability of the *mokomokai* to make eye contact with the viewer. The heads are mounted on the wall like that of a prize stag. What is perhaps most visually striking is the way that the floor-to-ceiling arrangement has left a row of *mokomokai* at directly the same level as Robley’s own head. This upsetting juxtaposition of the living and the dead paints a picture of Robley as a perverse collector of the macabre with no consideration for Māori culture or the individuals whose remains he now displays.

Indeed, an early twentieth-century writer notes that he decorated his bedroom wall with the *mokomokai* and “when unable to sleep at night [he] would rise and comb his Māoris' hair, and felt himself soothed.”⁶⁹ Although the accuracy of this account is questionable, it sheds light onto the presumptions made about Robley based on his collecting. Later accounts have offered descriptions of Robley’s scandalous taste for interior decoration:

On my first visit to London in 1905 I called on Major General Robley and found him taking his ease at full length on a couch; around the somewhat small room were displayed 38 ... preserved head with tattooed faces — they were on tables, sideboards, mantle-piece —

everywhere. The possessor of them was smiling proudly at the gruesome display.⁷⁰

Robley's eccentric behavior, recounted in his autobiographical memoirs, undoubtedly contributed to the public's fascination with his character and collection. In these memoirs, edited and published by Horace Fildes, Robley unabashedly describes his peculiar actions in the auction house: "[I purchased] a head from the private collection of the late Dr. Paterson, Bridge of Allan — as soon as it became mine, to the astonishment of the saleroom bidders, I *hongied* (sic)⁷¹ it, explaining the rubbing of noses was the correct greeting."

Robley's memoirs contain several episodes of this public exhibitionism. On one instance, he describes bringing one of his heads to a dinner. He recalls, "I remember when Seddon gave a cold meat banquet at the Holborn [restaurant] and I took a head with me⁷² — many of the young men were astonished at my lecture on it."⁷³ Again, his choice of the word "astonished" is noteworthy. Certainly, the ladies and gentleman of nineteenth century London were more than "astonished" by this unconventional, former military officer who lived alone with the remains of more than thirty human individuals. The capability to shock allows an individual to gain a sort of power, and these kinds of public performances suggest that Robley enjoyed his infamous reputation as a collector of *mokomokai*.

Likewise, he was not shy to show off his collection. In addition to sharing his collection with friends and scholars, Robley's heads were shown on public exhibition. In 1898, his *mokomokai* were shown in London's Guildhall.⁷⁴ The shock, notoriety, and novelty of this show turned out to be a great success, and when the exhibition ended it was moved to the Liverpool Museum to be shown again. In this setting, the Liverpool Daily

Post wrote, “There are twenty-one heads, each tattooed in the most artistic manner possible... The Liverpool public owe Major-General Robley a debt of gratitude for his kindness in thus enabling them to become acquainted with these relics of barbarian art.”⁷⁵

When the heads left the Liverpool Museum in 1900, Robley wrote to the New Zealand government and offered his collection for sale. His letter was ignored, and when he renewed it the following year, he was denied. Robley offered his *mokomokai* to museums, individuals, and the government of New Zealand several more times before in 1907, broke and in failing health, he sold thirty-five heads. Mr. Morris K Jessup purchased the heads on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History in New York for £1,250.⁷⁶ Many scholars have drawn attention to his continued desire to sell the heads to New Zealand as a commendable effort towards repatriation, insisting that this had always been his intention in acquiring them.⁷⁷ At this time, Robley himself writes, “This writer, when ill, could easily have let the collection go abroad – lots of offers now on [it], but I wait a bit as I know where it ought to be for my own conscience.”⁷⁸ Robley continued to offer his *mokomokai* to New Zealand, but it may not be accurate to claim that repatriation was his main concern in amassing his collection. Indeed, only one head from Robley’s collection was returned to New Zealand during his lifetime.

Robley’s writings from this time also document his intention to keep the collection intact:

I am not so well as I was and [the collection] may pass to executors and be scattered to dealers who [would] gladly pay. I know the present Māori outlook to getting on and no historical lore but I am sure if it was placed to them [that the options were] to guard the *tapus* (sanctity) in New Zealand or let [the heads be] scatter[ed] [throughout the world].⁷⁹

Here, Robley’s words again are at odds with his actions, as thirty-five of his *mokomokai*

were sold to the American Museum of Natural History, while five of his favorite heads were kept in his possession before being offered once more without success to different collectors and institutions in New Zealand.⁸⁰ Robley experienced a moral conflict regarding the future of his collection as he neared the end of his life. These excerpts clearly display his attachment to these detached heads and his hope that they be cared for responsibly. While both concerns of repatriation and maintaining the integrity of the collection were raised, financial interests ultimately prevailed.

As Robley's collection grew, so did his notoriety. It has often been said that no kind of press is bad press. In July of 1894, *Judy, the London Serio-comic Journal*, published a comic mocking Robley's penchant for advertising for *mokomokai* in local newspapers (Figure 11). The comic, entitled *So Much for Buckingham*, is a reference to the quote, "Off with his head! So much for Buckingham!" from Colley Cibber's popular adaptation of Shakespeare's *Richard II*.⁸¹ It begins with the posting of an advertisement in the *Daily Paper* in which Colonel R (here assumed to be Robley) states his desire to purchase a "dried, tattooed, New Zealand head." In the text, a man who addresses himself as Lunatic⁸² hopes to reply to Robley's ad and describes a dream in which he sails to New Zealand and meets a Māori chief. When Lunatic inquires about purchasing *mokomokai*, the chief replies that he is currently out of heads, but is expecting a shipment to come in from England. At this time, Lunatic takes matters into his own hands and cuts off the chief's head to preserve it himself.

When Lunatic gets back to London, however, his friend informs him that cutting off the chief's head was unnecessary, as the ad had simply called for a "dried, tattooed, New Zealand head" and had not specified that the head needed to be human. Lunatic then

decides to dry and tattoo the head of a sheep himself in order to sell it. Although Robley ultimately refuses to purchase the tattooed sheep's head and kicked Lunatic "into space," the text satirically addresses larger issues such as the morality and provenance of Robley's heads and the overall practice of collecting *mokomokai*. The chief's response that he is "expecting a shipment (of *mokomokai*) to come in from England" reveals just how detached the newly-commodified *mokomokai* were from their earlier, sacred purpose and land of origin. Furthermore, the fact that *Judy*, a popular satirical newspaper, would publish such a caricature is telling of his reception amongst his contemporaries. This is especially significant when considering that this comic was published at a time when traveling exhibitions and human "zoos" featuring "specimen" from around the world was relatively common.

VI. People on Display

In the 1820s, Captain Samual Hadlock from Maine took his travelling exhibition of indigenous people on tour around Europe, visiting London, Berlin, Hamburg, Prague, Dresden, and Vienna. Although the main attraction of Hadlock's show was an Inuit couple and Inuit artifacts, he also travelled with objects from the South Pacific and a Māori Chieftan⁸³ who he had met in England. When the Māori man died, his head was preserved like a *mokomokai* and reattached to a model of his body. In continuing to show his remains, Hadlock was able to further displaying and exploiting the chief even after his death.⁸⁴ This exhibition reinforced the commonly-held stereotypes about the Māori as savages. After seeing the show, one viewer remarked, "we did not even need the Captain (Hadlock)'s

word for it to be convinced that this man from New Zealand, before he was taken aboard, really has eaten other people, because that's indeed the way he looks."⁸⁵

Exhibitions of this type were not a fleeting craze, but continued well into the twentieth century, often in large Expositions meant to show off the great wealth and technological innovations of respective countries. In the opening remarks of the 1924 British Exposition, King George V described the British empire as a "family of nations."⁸⁶ Following the end of World War I, the government aimed to present a wealthy, thriving nation to both British citizens and visitors from around the world. Expositions included the Palace of Industry, the Palace of Engineering, the Palace of the Arts, and "Races in Residence." The Official Guide for the Exposition notes that the colonial pavilions presented "representatives of their local inhabitants at work in local conditions."⁸⁷ People were able to observe other humans as they would animals, stressing "local conditions" similar to the way that a zoo might recreate the natural habitat of a wild animal.

The growth of these expositions is intrinsically linked to sentiments of ethnic superiority and nationalism that characterize the expansion of the colonial system. Charles Rau, the creator of the ethnological exhibits at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876 described this false sense of superiority using ideas from the recently published theories of Charles Darwin. He says, "The extreme lowness of our remote ancestors cannot be a source of humiliation; on the contrary, we should glory in our having advanced so far above them, and recognize the great truth that progress is the law that governs the development of mankind."⁸⁸ People presented in world's fairs and colonial exhibitions during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not seen as individuals, but unnamed specimens.

Indigenous cultures were presented as evolutionarily inferior, despite the fact that these civilizations came into existence long before Western societies. Exhibited in the nude or made to wear traditional clothing, they were presented as being somehow less intelligent or less evolved than the Western fairgoers. While there is no record of the Māori being exhibited in this way, Aborigines from Queensland, Australia were on exhibit at the Frankfurt Zoo in 1885.⁸⁹ The exhibition, *Austral Neger*, was publicized in posters with the following text:

Male and female Australian cannibals... R.A. Cunningham, Director... The first and only obtained colony of these strange, savage, disfigured and most brutal race ever lured from the remote interior wilds, where they indulge in ceaselessly bloody feuds and forays, to feast upon each other's flesh... The very lowest order of mankind, and beyond conception most curious to look upon.⁹⁰

The cultural traditions of indigenous Australians and New Zealanders have many resemblances, so the language used to describe these Aborigines is applicable to a discussion of New Zealand. Had the Māori been included in this exhibition, it is likely that their practice of cannibalism would be communicated in a similar, unreservedly discriminatory way.

These exploitative episodes further extended to the cultural traditions of the people displayed at these fairs. The largest fair ever recorded is the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition. In the area of the fair dedicated to New Zealand, visitors were able to observe examples of native plants and wildlife as well as a variety of cultural artifacts, including *mokomokai*.⁹¹ The Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, published in 1906, describes the New Zealand exhibition in the following manner:

The Māori has long since passed the savage state and has shown his ability to attain the highest stages of modern civilization. The contrast between the position of the Māori in 1840 and 1904 constitutes a remarkable progress in racial development. Formerly the Māori was a savage, clever and enterprising, but ferocious, cruel, and a cannibal.

Today he tills the soil, speaks English, and sends his children to school... Contact with a highly civilized community has diverted the natural intelligence of the Māori to useful channels, while Christianity has developed the best instincts of a fine race of people. In the today [sic] the Māori stands side by side with the white man, a welcome comrade in the building of a new nation.⁹²

This discussion of racial development reflects a Darwinist perspective, common throughout the Western world in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The commission's report praises the Māori for their "natural intelligence." Although this may at first appear to be complimentary, this generalization is problematic as it typifies their race as a kind of "species" the way one might draw attention to the cleverness of a particular breed of dog. Moreover, the commission credits the "progress" of the Māori to Christianity and contact with the West. In the eyes of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, the Western world is the cultural acme to which all civilizations should aspire. As a result of their assimilation, the Māori came to be viewed as "welcome comrades."

In another area of the fairgrounds, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition presents indigenous people from the newly acquired Philippine Islands in an entirely different light. In the nearly two million-dollar "Filipino Reservation" exhibit, subjects were presented as savages, headhunters, and dog eaters.⁹³ For the viewing pleasure of the public, sacred rituals were performed out of the context of their creation. Infrequent rituals like ancestral memorials, marriages, and elections of chiefs were repeated day after day.⁹⁴ The continued performance of these sacred rituals served to strip them of their meaning and transform them into a heartless sequence of well-rehearsed motions. The disrespectful exploitation of the sacred Philippine rituals merits discussion, as it mirrors the same way that the rituals associated with the creation of *mokomokai* were desecrated following their commodification.

VII. Western Displays of Māori Art and Artifacts

Whether they were genuine *toi moko* or “manufactured” *mokomokai*, these heads moved from New Zealand during this period of colonization and ended up in Western museums and private collections. As colonizing countries became more powerful in the late eighteenth century, preserved heads and other Māori artifacts were displayed as evidence of this colonial expansion and dominance. The earliest collections of artifacts from New Zealand were shown under the label of “artificial curios of the South Pacific.”⁹⁵ The ways in which Māori *taonga* (treasures) were exhibited has varied greatly since these earliest displays.

As evidenced by the journals of Joseph Banks, the turn of the century witnessed a keen development in an interest to typify the human race. As systems of classification and Darwin’s later theories of evolution grew in popularity in the beginning of the nineteenth century, institutions such as the British Museum, the Royal College of Surgeons, the University of Edinburgh, the University of Oxford, and the University of Cambridge presented human remains in an attempt to demonstrate evolutionary sequences.⁹⁶ Under this scientific pretext, Māori works were collected as examples of natural history, displayed as “primitive artifacts.”

Later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Māori society began to collapse as a result of the Musket Wars and the disputes over land ownership. As the civilization faced a threat of extinction, their artifacts were shown as “primitive curios” of a dying race heeding to British progress.⁹⁷ It was also at this time that museums themselves began to play a part in the trade of human remains. While museums today are often viewed as moral institutions with the power to enact social change, this was certainly not the case in

the 1870s. In particular, the Auckland Museum in New Zealand played a large role in the export of remains and artifacts around the world. Thomas Cheeseman, the curator of the Auckland Museum during this time, went to great, illicit lengths to expand his collection.

In exchange for items from New Zealand, the museum solicited antiquities and curiosities from all over the world. Letters exchanged between Cheeseman and representatives from the Florence Museum and the Smithsonian Institution, respectively, illustrate this effort:

Dear Sir, I safely received your letter of December 14th relative to the exchange of specimens. As I gathered from it that your chief desideratum was a series of Māori crania I at once set about collecting a number, and now have the pleasure of informing you that I have shipped a case containing 21 good skulls to our agent at San Francisco ... Should you require more crania I can easily obtain them [sic].⁹⁸

Dear Sir, On the part of the Auckland Museum, I take the liberty of writing to you to ascertain whether it would be possible to open an exchange of specimens with the museum under your charge ... I could send: ... New Zealand insects New Zealand shells ... ethnological specimens related to the Māori race – also a series of their crania etc. ... We principally wish to have in return specimens of South European mammals and birds, but we should gladly receive specimens in all branches of Natural History.⁹⁹

After the 1920s, the collecting of natural specimens by European institutions decreased dramatically. Despite this, local collections in New Zealand grew larger with the increase in status of museums in the colonies. In 1928 alone, approximately fifty-five human remains were accessioned by the Auckland Museum.¹⁰⁰ As New Zealand's national identity grew following the first World War and the construction of the Auckland War Memorial (1929), both individual collectors and the public at large looked to support the development of their new museum by making donations, often in the form of human remains.¹⁰¹

It wasn't until the 1960s that the vocabulary surrounding *taonga* changed again and "primitive curios" was widely replaced with the term "primitive art."¹⁰² Although this timeline reflects a clear progress in developing a culturally sensitive narrative, it is far from politically correct. The description of non-Western art as "primitive" is criticized by contemporary art historians as it suggests an undeveloped, unsophisticated quality. This ethnocentric ideology stems from a colonial narrative of superiority. Additionally, while referring to *taonga* as "art" rather than "curios" implies that these objects are being viewed with more dignity, this too can be problematic when considering the intention behind their creation.

In her article, *The Museum as a Way of Seeing*, Svetlana Alpers discusses the "museum effect," or the tendency to turn all objects into works of art.¹⁰³ This tendency is unfavorable in the case of many Māori artifacts, such as *toi moko*, that were created for purposes other than aesthetic enjoyment. Alpers cautions that in concentrating one's attention on the visual qualities of these objects, the deeper, ritual meaning and cultural significance can be lost. At the same time, not addressing them as works of art may overlook the beauty in these objects or suggest them to be "lesser" than Western art. While there is no flawless model for presenting non-Western art in Western museums, cooperating with indigenous people regarding the presentation of their objects can be a comprehensive solution to this issue.

In 1984, The Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition *Te Māori: Māori Art from New Zealand Collections* travelled the country, also being shown in Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco before returning to New Zealand exactly three years later. The show embodied a desire to change the representation of the Māori and their artifacts in the world of

museums. *Te Māori* was historic in the sense that it was the first show in which the Māori displayed their native art internationally. Although Māori art had been exhibited overseas in the past, this was the first time in which the people themselves were involved in the process.¹⁰⁴ Kara Puketapu, the Secretary for Māori Affairs headed the exhibition's management committee. A sub-committee composed of Māori representatives was also formed. This group was charged with responsibility for determining "how the Māori people would participate in this exhibition of their artistic heritage, what part they would play in the opening ceremonies, and what they would consider as generally appropriate for their *taonga* (treasures)."¹⁰⁵

The members of this committee were not symbolic figureheads, but played an active role in the show's organization and presentation. They accompanied the exhibition as caretakers, were trained as guides, and took part in a traditional ceremony celebrating the opening of *Te Māori*.¹⁰⁶ This *karakia* ceremony, held at dawn, was used to invoke spiritual guidance and served as a formal welcome. Spiritual leaders carried the *Te Māori* stone, the life-force of the exhibition into the cultural center and placed it in the sacred meeting house built within the space.¹⁰⁷ Thus, the Māori were given responsibility over tribal *kaitiakitangi*¹⁰⁸ (customary practices relating to the authority and guardianship *over taonga*). This control over the presentation of their culture and artifacts represents a clear shift from the way that the *mokomokai* were taken out of their sacred, ritual context and exploited in a way that benefitted the traders.

The decision not to include preserved heads in *Te Māori* was undoubtedly a conscious choice on the part of those organizing the exhibition. Due to the popularity and element of shock value associated with their preserved heads, much of Māori art at this

time was associated with these objects. Great care was given to the process of selecting artifacts for this highly anticipated show. Had the Māori wished to display *toi moko*, without a doubt, they would have been included. In choosing not to exhibit their ancestral remains, the show made a powerful statement about the ownership and use of these objects. Ultimately, they are not to be gawked at in museum settings, but respectfully preserved in a way that acknowledges their *tapu* (sanctity) and *mana* (spiritual authority).

The exhibition was also innovative in its presentation of Māori *taonga*. The works on display were presented as pieces of art rather than ethnographic artifacts, as they had been in the past. New Zealand historian and Māori leader Hirini Moko Mead described this shift in the status of Māori art saying:

The Metropolitan is synonymous with international art. It is the center of the world of art. By taking our art to New York, we altered its status and changed overnight the perception of it by people at home and abroad. We brought Māori art out of the closet, out from obscurity, out from anonymity, and out of the cupboard of primitive contextualization. In fact, we rescued and freed it from the limiting intellectual climate of New Zealand, releasing it so it could be seen by the world.¹⁰⁹

Te Māori is regarded by Māori and museum professionals alike as a success story of cross-cultural understanding and cooperation. It is considered to be emblematic of a larger movement known as the Māori Renaissance. At this critical moment, New Zealand began to rid itself of its identity as a dying British colony and strove to find new means of self-representation.

VIII. Māori Renaissance

The latter half of the twentieth century saw the growth of a socio-cultural movement known as the Māori Renaissance. This period saw a tremendous increase in

Māori literary and artistic achievement, language programs, and Māori studies programs in universities.¹¹⁰ After decades of exploitation and subjugation, fortunes began to change for the Māori. No longer viewed as a “dying race,” the community began to fight for political and economic rights both within New Zealand and on an international scale. In this effort to reassert their identity, several high profile marches and demonstrations were organized.

The Māori Land March in 1975, one of the largest and most publicized, was created by *Te Rōpū Matakite* (Those with Foresight) to draw attention to the ongoing alienation of Māori land. The issues of landownership that were exacerbated by the Treaty of Waitanga in 1840 continued to plague the community until well into the twentieth century. Fifty marchers left the northern settlement of *Te Hāpua* on September 14, rallying behind their nearly 80-year-old leader, Whina Cooper.¹¹¹ As the *hīkoi* (march) continued the 1000-km trek to Wellington, they stopped overnight at twenty-five different *marae* (community houses) where Cooper spoke and led discussions regarding the purpose of the march. Chanting, “not one more acre of Māori land,” the group grew in number and visibility, gathering signatures along the way. By the time they reached Parliament eight months later, the five thousand marchers had gathered 60,000 signatures for their cause.¹¹²

Despite this overwhelming support and publicity, many people felt that the government did not do enough to address their grievances. In the years following the Māori Land March, several other protests regarding land alienation were organized. In 1977, Takaparawhā (Bastion Point reserve), was occupied in protest of the government selling the land of the Ngāti Whātua tribe that they believed had been wrongfully taken from them between the 1850s and 1880s.¹¹³ Ultimately, the government’s offers of settlement in February of 1978 were viewed as “too little, too late,” and in April of that year

the Supreme Court ruled that the protestors were trespassing by occupying land that belonged to the British Crown. On May 25, 506 days after they had arrived, police evicted all 218 of the occupants.¹¹⁴

In continuing to come together for a common cause, people belonging to different *iwi* (tribes) began to develop one singular Māori identity. By finding power in numbers rather than isolating themselves based on the concerns of individual tribes, these movements grew in strength. Recognizing the need for cooperation, the *Mana Motuhake* (self-determination) political party was formed in 1980.¹¹⁵ In 1987, the Māori Language Act resulted in *te reo Māori* being recognized as an official language of New Zealand.¹¹⁶ A number of initiatives at this time resulted in a noticeable resurgence of the use of this language.

As the Renaissance continued to gain strength and people searched for ways to re-establish their identities, *moko* experienced a great surge in popularity. *Ta moko* tattooing was a way in which the Māori were able to establish a connection with their larger community. In instilling fear in the Māori, European headhunters deprived them of this unique form of cultural heritage. Māori activist Tame Wairere Ite, an important figure in the Renaissance movement, notes:

The resurgence of *ta moko* among Māori is a direct means of reasserting our *tono rangatiratanga* (absolute sovereignty). It is in defiance of past and present political agenda, laws, and regulation that continually deny access to our lands, language, customs, and beliefs.¹¹⁷

It is this same impulse to bring back what was taken from the Māori that prompted the formation of official programs of repatriation. As the moral anchor of the Māori Renaissance, repatriation allows for the re-attaching cultural traditions and values to these detached heads.

IX. Repatriation Practices

People became more informed about museum ethics and the rights of native people as the Māori Renaissance grew in strength and visibility. As a result, establishments in possession of *toi moko* and other kinds of human remains have been criticized. In 1988, Bonham's auction house in London proposed the sale of a *mokomokai*. The inclusion of sacred human remains at a modern, highly publicized auction stirred a great deal of controversy in the art world. Consequently, the head was withdrawn from sale and returned to New Zealand for burial.¹¹⁸

New Zealand established an official program in 2003 for the return of *mokomokai* and other skeletal remains, called *koiwi tangata* through their national museum *Te Papa Tongawera* and the *Karanga Aoeteroa* Repatriation Unit.¹¹⁹ Repatriation is the process of returning a person to their place of origin or citizenship. In this case, it refers to the return of human remains to their nation, allowing the dead to be reunited their ancestral homeland. *Te Papa* (meaning 'our place') has repatriated more than two hundred Māori ancestral remains from international institutions. Still, the museum estimates that there are more than six hundred ancestral remains that have yet to be returned to New Zealand.¹²⁰ Ideally, these heads will be returned to the relevant *iwi*, or tribe. Understandably, it is often difficult to establish provenance, particularly when there are strict limits regarding the scientific tests that can be run on these objects. *Toi moko* are highly sacred artifacts, so removing hair or fiber samples is prohibited.¹²¹ Donor information, museum accession records, oral histories, and archaeological sites are all useful in helping to identify the provenance and tribal association of individual heads. The *iwi* are individually responsible for discerning the most appropriate fate for their ancestors.

They can choose to keep the remains in the long term care of a special, *wahi tapu* (consecrated space) built within in the museum.¹²² While they will never be exhibited on display to the public, the *toi moko* maintained in these spaces within *Te Papa* are accessible to both tribes and researchers.

In some cases, in-ground burial is selected as the best option for the resting place of *toi moko*. This option is often contested, as irreversible decomposition happens rapidly if the environment is not carefully controlled for fluctuations in temperature and humidity. Museum theorist Elaine Gurian discusses this notion of purposeful decomposition by drawing attention to the notion that, “all people do not hold the preservation of objects as a universal good.”¹²³ To illustrate this point, she draws a comparison to the Tibetan Lamas who create intricate sand paintings only to destroy them. Coming from a culture that values the conservancy of objects for future generations, it may be difficult to understand why a group of people would want to intentionally destroy their own irreplaceable artifacts. Yet, if we recognize that the *mokomokai* belong to their Māori descendants, then we must also recognize that they are entitled to destroy them if they see fit.

Alternatively, vault burial with provision for future access is another option. In this case, tribes can be comforted that the spirits of their ancestors are at rest in a respectful, permanent setting. At the same time, the *toi moko* can be preserved in a climate-controlled environment so that future generations can perform further non-invasive research if necessary. Attitudes regarding the display and care of human remains have been subject to change throughout history, so this is often thought to be a reasonable alternative to complete burial.

Issues regarding repatriation become particularly complex when taking into account the grotesque commodification and Māori complacency that resulted in the creation of falsified *mokomokai*. These heads, far from traditional, ancestral *mokomokai* cannot be associated with a particular *iwi* (tribe). They were not made to commemorate departed ancestors, and their *moko* patterns cannot be associated with any tribe or geographical area, as it was completely fabricated. This poses an important question: if these heads are without provenance, should they still be repatriated? While this delicate issue is up for debate, *Te Papa Tongawera* and the *Karanga Aoeteroa* Repatriation Unit believe that they should, as they are the still remains of someone's ancestors and deserve to be treated with respect and dignity. In cases where provenance cannot be established, the heads are held and cared for in the *wahi tapu* built within *Te Papa* while research continues and discussions are held to determine a permanent resting place.¹²⁴

X. Legislation Relating to Repatriation

Three main pieces of legislation have determined the ways in which human remains are currently handled in New Zealand. While by no means an extensive consideration of all New Zealand laws related to *toi moko* and repatriation practices, this brief summary is meant to demonstrate the changes in attitude towards sacred Māori objects. In chronological order, the *Burial and Cremation Act*, the *Protected Objects Act*, and the *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act* reflect a more comprehensive approach to this delicate issue and display an effort on the part of the government to address and rectify past injustices.

The *Burial and Cremation Act* of 1964 regulates the burial, cremation, and exhumation of human remains. More specifically, the act makes it a criminal offense to “remove any body or the remains of any body buried in a cemetery, Māori burial ground, or other burial ground or place of burial without license under the hand of the Minister.”¹²⁵

The specific inclusion of the reference to the Māori shows a clear interest in protecting the *tapu* (sanctity) inherent in their places of burial. No longer will the government turn a blind eye to the desecration of Māori burying places as they had in the nineteenth century.

The *Protected Objects Act*, passed in 1975, regulates cultural items. It outlines rules concerning the sale, trade, and ownership of *taonga tuturu* (defined by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage as all finished items made or used by the Māori).¹²⁶ While the Sydney Act of 1831 stopped the export of *mokomokai*, this broader law further considers the sanctity of other cultural objects. Additionally, the export of protected New Zealand objects and the unlawful import and export of protected New Zealand and foreign objects is controlled by this act.

Most recently, in 2014, the *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act* was enacted. Heritage New Zealand, the “statutory authority and lead agency for the promotion, identification, protection, preservation, and conservation of the historical and cultural heritage of New Zealand,”¹²⁷ is responsible for the administration of the legislation. The *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act* (HNZPTA) works largely to protect and identify archaeological sites. The HNZPTA defines an archaeological site as:

any place in New Zealand, including any building or structure (or part of a building or structure), that –
 i) was associated with human activity that occurred before 1900 or is the site of a wreck of any vessel where that wreck occurred before 1900; and

ii) provides or may provide, through investigation by archaeological methods, evidence relating to the history of New Zealand.¹²⁸

In providing this broad definition, the government further displayed their commitment to preserving their heritage. Moreover, the process of repatriation allows the Māori to take ownership and responsibility for their own cultural heritage.

XI. Conclusion: Ceremonial Repatriation

When human remains are returned home, a repatriation ceremony is performed. In this ceremony, the Māori lament the struggles of their ancestors and recite ancient incantations to clear a spiritual pathway for them to return home. The order of events and other details of the ceremony differ between different *iwi* (tribes). Still, a closer look at one specific ceremony, in Wellington, New Zealand in 2007, will offer further insight into the practice.

In 1893, at the beginning of the World's Fair, the Field Museum in Chicago purchased a collection of *mokomokai* from a New York collector.¹²⁹ After being held at the museum for 114 years, the heads were finally brought home in what was the first repatriation of Māori remains from a mainland museum in the United States.¹³⁰ While Western museums are not always involved in repatriation ceremonies, a delegation from the Field Museum came to Wellington to take part in the process. At the start of the ceremony, women called out to the remains, carried into the museum in crates draped with colorful cloth. Next, a troupe of bare-chested Māori warriors traditionally enacted a challenge toward the foreign party to ensure that they came in peace.¹³¹

What is perhaps the most moving part of the ceremony is the exchange of an important Māori greeting, called *hongi* (Figure 12).¹³² The *hongi*, during which two people

press noses and shake hands, symbolizes the breath of life. As the breath of the two people mixes, it is seen as a show of unity. In this case, the greeting between representative from the Field Museum and *Te Papa* can be seen to have an even deeper meaning. It is not simply the symbolic transfer of the breath of life, but a symbol of forgiveness and the first step in healing after generations of pain and disrespect. To this date, more than forty museums worldwide have cooperated with repatriation programs created by the Māori.¹³³ If these heads could talk, they would tell stories of colonization, domination, and violence. Through repatriation, these heads can also tell a story of cooperation and respect that defies geographical distance and cultural differences.

¹ Philippe Charlier et al., "Māori Heads (mokomokai): The Usefulness of a Complete Forensic Analysis Procedure." *Forensic Science, Medicine, and Pathology* 10.3 (2014): 371-379.

² Different sources have used a variety of names for these heads, but I have chosen to refer to them as *toi moko*, the term used by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and the *Te Papa Tongawera* Museum. This decision and other possible terminology will be discussed at greater length in the following pages.

³ Horatio Gordon Robley, *Moko; or Māori Tattooing*, (Southern reprints, 1987), 146.

⁴ Davidson 1984, quoted in *Koiwi Tangata Human Remains*. Vol. 8. (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga, 2014), 11.

⁵ *Ibid*, 11.

⁶ Steve Gilbert, *Tattoo History: A Source Book: An Anthology of Historical Records of Tattooing throughout the World*. (New York: Juno Books, 2000).

⁷ Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values* (Wellington, NZ: Huia Publishers, 2003), 54.

⁸ Oppenheim, *Māori Death and Customs* (Reed, Wellington: 1973): 16, quoted in Brian Hole. "Playthings for the Foe: The Repatriation of Human Remains in New Zealand." *Public Archaeology* 6.1 (2007), 6.

⁹ John C. Moorfield, "Tupuna," *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*, Te Whanake. 2016.

¹⁰ Maning, *Old New Zealand*, 1845, quoted in Horatio Gordon Robley, *Moko; or Māori Tattooing*, (Southern reprints, 1987).

¹¹ "Oceanic Mythology: Māori Mythology." *Mythology: Myths, Legends & Fantasies*. ed. Janet Parker and Julie Stanton. (Cape Town, South Africa: Struik, 2006), 402-22.

¹² Gell 1993, 225, quoted in Christina Palmer and Mervyn Tano, *Mokomokai: Commercialization and Desacrilization* (Denver: International Institute for Indigenous Resource Management, 2004).

¹³ Michael King and Marti Friedlander. *Moko: Māori Tattooing in the 20th Century*. (Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 1992).

¹⁴ Robley 1998, 11, quoted in Palmer and Tano, *Mokomokai*

¹⁵ Horatio Gordon Robley, quoted in Christina Thompson, "Smoked Heads." *Salmagundi* No. 152 (2006): 56-70. *JSTOR*.

- ¹⁶ Palmer and Tano, *Mokomokai*
- ¹⁷ King and Friedlander, *Moko: Māori Tattooing*.
- ¹⁸ Best, 1934, 223, quoted in Palmer and Tano, *Mokomokai*.
- ¹⁹ Starzecka 1996, 40, quoted in Palmer and Tano, *Mokomokai*.
- ²⁰ Blackburn 1999, 13, 15, quoted in Palmer and Tano, *Mokomokai*.
- ²¹ Robley, 1896, quoted in Newell, 'Human Remains from New Zealand: Briefing note for Trustees.'
- ²² John C. Moorfield, "Tapu," *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*, Te Whanake. Web. 2016.
- ²³ *Ibid*, "Mana."
- ²⁴ Oppenheim, *Māori Death and Customs*, 16, quoted in Hole, "Playthings for the Foe," 6.
- ²⁵ Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial past*. (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams, 2012), 144.
- ²⁶ John Wilson, 'European discovery of New Zealand: Abel Tasman', Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last modified December 9, 2015.
- ²⁷ Ian Barber, "Lost in Transition; New Research into Iconic, First-contact Violence between Europeans and Indigenous New Zealanders." (lecture at University of Otago's Winter Lecture Series. Royal Society of NZ Science House Lecture Theatre, Thorndon, Wellington. 22 Sept. 2010).
- ²⁸ Merata Kawharu, "Cook, Tupaia and Māori." *BBC*. BBC, 17 Feb. 2011, accessed 23 Jan. 2016.
- ²⁹ James Cook, *A New Authentic Collection of Captain Cook's Voyages round the World ... Written by Several Principal Officers, and Other Gentlemen, Who Sailed in the Various Ships*. (Mount Pleasant: R. Martin, 1790).
- ³⁰ Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchange between Māori and Europeans 1773-1815* (Viking, Auckland 1997), 68.
- ³¹ *Ibid*, 23.
- ³² *Ibid*, 22.
- ³³ John Hawkesworth, 1715?-1773, ed.: *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty...* (London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773).
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- ³⁷ Frances Larson, *Severed: A History of Heads Lost and Heads Found* (New York: Liveright Corporation, 2014).
- ³⁸ Patrick O'Brian, "Education." *Joseph Banks: A Life*. (Chicago: U of Chicago, 1997) 17-30.
- ³⁹ *Ibid*, 148.
- ⁴⁰ Joseph Banks. *The Endeavor Journal of Joseph Banks*. Ed. John Cawte Beaglehole. Vol. 2. (Australia: Angus and Robertson Limited, 1962): 11.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid*, 13.
- ⁴² "A Frontier of Chaos? The Boyd Incident." *New Zealand History*. The Government of New Zealand, 11 Mar. 2014, accessed 15 Jan. 2016.
- ⁴³ *Ibid*.
- ⁴⁴ Ormond Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke: A Quarter Century of Upheaval*. (Dunedin: J. McIndoe, 1985).
- ⁴⁵ Julie Evans. *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910*. (Manchester, UK: Manchester UP, 2003).
- ⁴⁶ Claudia Orange, 'Treaty of Waitangi', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last modified 7 December 2015.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid*.
- ⁴⁸ Horatio Gordon Robley, *Moko; or Māori Tattooing*, (Southern reprints, 1987), 178 .
- ⁴⁹ Jenny Newell and Jonathan King, 'Human Remains from New Zealand: Briefing note for Trustees', (The British Museum, 2006), 30.
- ⁵⁰ Horatio Gordon Robley, *Moko; or Māori Tattooing*, 169.
- ⁵¹ Hole, "Playthings for the Foe," 6.
- ⁵² Horatio Gordon Robley, *Moko; or Māori Tattooing*.
- ⁵³ Palmer and Tano, *Mokomokai*, 6.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 6-7.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 7.

- ⁵⁶ Charlier et al., "Māori Heads," 371-379.
- ⁵⁷ Larson, *Severed*.
- ⁵⁸ Tim Walker, *Robley: Te Ropere, 1840-1930*, (Auckland: U of Auckland, 1985).
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Jennifer Wagele, *Māori Art in America: The Display and Collection History of Māori Art in the United States 1902-2006*. Diss. (City U of New York, 2007), 134.
- ⁶¹ Robley VUW 1507/2, quoted in Walker, *Robley: Te Ropere*, 49.
- ⁶² Personal communication with David Simmons; 1984–85, quoted in Walker, *Robley: Te Ropere*, 48.
- ⁶³ Robley, *Moko; or Māori Tattooing*.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Horatio Gordon Robley, *Pounamu: Notes on New Zealand Greenstone*. (London: TJS Guilford, 1915).
- ⁶⁷ John Patterson, *Exploring Māori Values*. (Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore, 1992), 63.
- ⁶⁸ Robley, *Pounamu*, vii.
- ⁶⁹ E. G. Allingham, *A Romance of the Rostrum, Being the Business Life of Henry Stevens Together with Some Account of Famous Sales* (1924) 204-205, quoted in Wellcome Library record no. 664088i.
- ⁷⁰ T.E. Donne, Alexander Turnbull Library, quoted in Walker, *Robley: Te Ropere*, 53.
- ⁷¹ The *hongi*, a traditional Māori greeting will be discussed at greater length in conversation with Māori repatriation practices.
- ⁷² Robley is not the only one to have brought his severed head to a banquet, as Josiah Wilkinson was recorded as bringing the head of Oliver Cromwell with him to breakfast parties in the 1820s. It is indeed possible that Robley's actions were inspired by the previous showmanship of Wilkinson. Interestingly enough, Joseph Banks, the first European recorded to have acquired a *mokomokai*, was asked to view the head in 1813 but refused (Larson, 2014).
- ⁷³ Robley-Taine: 1921 T.E.R. Hodgson Collection, Wellington, quoted in Walker, *Robley: Te Ropere*, 53.
- ⁷⁴ Walker, *Robley: Te Ropere*, 56.
- ⁷⁵ Liverpool Daily Post 14/122/1898 quoted in Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Tim Walker, *Robley*, 59.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁸ Robley 1898, quoted in Ibid 58.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid, 58
- ⁸⁰ Ibid, 61.
- ⁸¹ *Colley Cibber: The Tragical History of Richard III.*, altered from Shakespeare, from E. Cobham, *Brewer's Phrase and Fable*, accessed via bartelby.com search: "Off with his Head! So much for Buckingham", Feb. 07 2016.
- ⁸² The large-nosed dandy Lunatic, often referred to as "Judy's Lunatic Contributor," was a reoccurring character in *Judy, the London Serio-Comic Journal*.
- ⁸³ It is unclear whether or not this particular individual had the status of a chief or was only referred to as such by Captain Hadlock to bolster the status of his exhibition.
- ⁸⁴ Raymond Corbey. "Ethnographic Showcases 1870-1930." *Cultural Anthropology* 8.3 (1993), 352.
- ⁸⁵ Stefan Goldmann, *Wilde in Europa* (Reinbek, Rowohlt: 1985): 256, quoted in Ibid.
- ⁸⁶ "Wembley: An Historic Ceremony." *The Times* 24 April 1924: 13. Microfilm, quoted in Anne Clendinning, "On The British Empire Exhibition, 1924-25."
- ⁸⁷ Lawrence, G. C. ed. *Official Guide to the British Empire Exhibition* London: Fleetway, (1924), 126 quoted in Clendinning, "On The British Empire"
- ⁸⁸ Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair* (U of Chicago Press, 1984), 24.
- ⁸⁹ Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases," 347.
- ⁹⁰ Plakate 1880-1914, quoted in Ibid. 348.
- ⁹¹ Jennifer Wagelie, "Māori Art in America: The Display and Collection History of Māori Art in the United States 1902-2006," Diss. (City U of New York, 2007), 88.
- ⁹² The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission. *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, 1906* (Washington: Govt. Print Off., 1906): 227.
- ⁹³ Michelle Sit, "The Pilipino 'exhibit' at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, Missouri." *Santa Cruz Report 2* (2008): 2 *MAI Review*, accessed February 23, 2016.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid.

- ⁹⁵ Paora Tapsell. "Māori and museums"
- ⁹⁶ Paul Tapsell, "Out of Sight Out of Mind: Human Remains at the Auckland Museum" *Looking Reality in the Eye: Museums and Social Responsibility* ed. Robert R. Janes, Gerald T. Conaty, Museums Association of Saskatchewan, U of Cambridge press, 2005): 157
- ⁹⁷ Ibid, 157.
- ⁹⁸ Letter extract: Cheeseman to Prof. Joseph Henry, Smithsonian, 30 April 1878, quoted in Ibid, 159.
- ⁹⁹ Letter extract: Cheeseman to Giglioli, Florence Museum, 19 September 1877, quoted in Ibid 158-9.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰² Paora Tapsell. "Māori and museums – Ngā Whare Taonga"
- ¹⁰³ Svetlana Alpers, "The Museum as a Way of Seeing." *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington: Smithsonian, 1991. 25-32.
- ¹⁰⁴ 'Te Māori exhibition opens in New York', (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), last modified June 8, 2015, nzhistory.net
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁸ David Butts, 'Māori and Museums: The Politics of Indigenous Recognition.' Unpublished paper, 2001. quoted in "Te Māori Exhibition." *Tai Awatea / Knowledge Net*. Te Papa Tongawera, accessed March 1 2016.
- ¹⁰⁹ Hirini Moko Mead, *Magnificent Te Māori: Te Māori Whakahirahira*, (Auckland, Heinemann: 1986).
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- ¹¹¹ "Whina Cooper Leads Land March to Parliament," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, last modified 17 September 2015, nzhistory.net
- ¹¹² Ibid.
- ¹¹³ "Occupation of Bastion Point begins" Ministry for Culture and Heritage, last modified March 1 2016, nzhistory.net
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ Ann Sullivan, 'Tōrangapū – Māori and political parties', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last modified September 25, 2013.
- ¹¹⁶ "Māori becomes official language," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, last modified 18 June 2015, nzhistory.net
- ¹¹⁷ Palmer and Tano, *Mokomokai*.
- ¹¹⁸ Dorota Starzecka, former Assistant Keeper, Oceania, 1992, quoted in "Briefing Notice for Trustees."
- ¹¹⁹ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992, 1992 N.Z. Stat. No. 19, 9.
- ¹²⁰ "The Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Program," Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawarea, accessed February 2, 2016, tepapagovt.nz.
- ¹²¹ Charlier et al, "Māori Heads," 371-379.
- ¹²² "The Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Program," Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawarea.
- ¹²³ Elaine Gurian, "What is the Object of this Exercise?" *America's Museums* 128.3 (1999): 45
- ¹²⁴ "The Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Program," Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongawarea.
- ¹²⁵ Section 51 and 55 of the Burial and Cremation Act 1964, quoted in *Koivi Tangata Human Remains*. Vol. 8. (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga, 2014): 6.
- ¹²⁶ *Koivi Tangata Human Remains*, 6
- ¹²⁷ Ibid, 8.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid, 6.
- ¹²⁹ "Wellington Repatriation 2007" Online video. Pacific Anthropology at the Field Museum. Originally aired on "The World." BBC, PRI, and WGHB Boston, 7 September 2007. Web. March 27, 2016.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid.
- ¹³¹ Ray Lilley, "U.S. Museum Returns Tattooed Māori Head, Bones to New Zealand." *Wellington Associated Press*, 11 Sept. 2007, accessed March 31 2016, nbcnews.com.
- ¹³² Mark Derby, "Māori manners and social Behaviour – ngā mahi tika - Welcome and hospitality," Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, last modified December 13, 2013.
- ¹³³ "Repatriation of Historic Human Remains," Library of Congress, The Law Library of Congress, last modified September 06, 2015.

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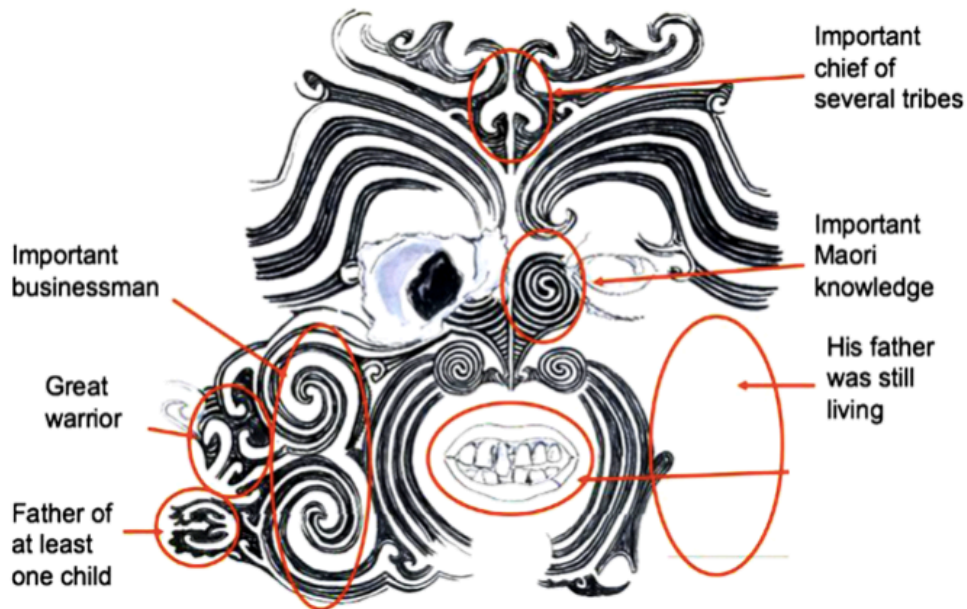


[FIG. 174.—Specimen in Auckland Museum, N.Z.

(Figure 1) Image taken from Horatio Gordon Robley's *Moko; or, Māori Tattooing*, 231.



(Figure 2) George Steinmertz, *Traditional Moko of Māori Activist Tame Iti*, 1995.



(Figure 3) Biographical Interpretation of the *ta moko* on the *mokomokai* at the Museum of Natural History, Rouen (according to Mark Kopua), taken from Charlier, et al. "Māori Heads," 7.



(Figure 4) Unknown Māori carver, *Korere* (feeding funnel), 1700-1850, Northland, Te Papa Tongawera Museum, image from tepapa.govt.nz.



(Figure 5) Details from "Major General Horatio Gordon Robley with his Collection of Tattooed Māori Heads," 1895.



(Figure 6) Graphic (London, England). Artist Unknown: Relics of Captain Cook, collected by him during the voyage of the "Endeavour" and recently acquired by the New South Wales Government. The Graphic, October 1, 1887, [page] 356. Ref: A-433-012. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.



(Figure 7) “Ante-mortem (*left*) and post-mortem (*right*) tattoos [*mokomokai* from the Natural History, Rouen and the National Museum of Natural History (A), Paris, Respectively,” image taken from Charlier, et al “Māori Heads,” 2.

in war, when fighting was carried on at close quarters, but to

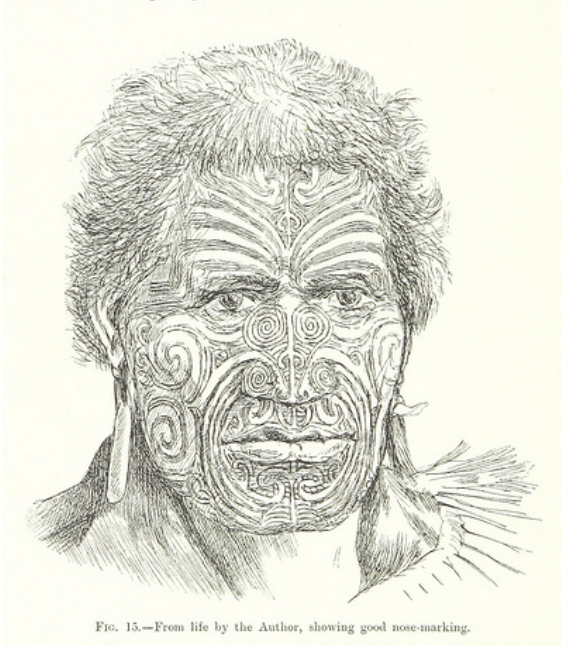


FIG. 15.—From life by the Author, showing good nose-marking.

(Figure 8) Horatio Gordon Robley, “From life by the Author, showing good marking,” Image taken from Horatio Gordon Robley’s *Moko; or, Māori Tattooing*, 50.



(Figure 9) *Hei-tiki* figure made of *pounamu*, New Zealand, c. 1810, Powerhouse Museum, Web. Feb 14 2016.



(Figure 10) Stevens, Henry. *Major General Horatio Gordon Robley with His Collection of Tattooed Māori Heads*. 1895. Wellcome Library, London.



(Figure 11) *Judy*, the *London Serio-comic Journal*, July 18, 1894. Hathi Trust. Web. Feb 2, 2016.



(Figure 12) Frans Lemmens, Getty Images, *National Geographic Traveler*, Web. 23 Feb 2016.