

**‘Loose Notions About Heads’:
The Repatriation of Human Remains in New Zealand**

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Declaration

I certify that the work submitted herewith is my own and that I have duly acknowledged any quotation from the published or unpublished work of other persons.

Brian Hole**Date**

The title quote is taken from Maning (1863: 73), and appears in context on page 39.

Abstract

The scope of this dissertation is an analysis of the repatriation of human remains in New Zealand. The goal is to fill a gap in the historical record by detailing the collection of remains in New Zealand and then to achieve an understanding of why the repatriation of those remains is occurring today in a cooperative, low profile manner there, while in most other parts of the world it attracts high publicity, debate and antagonism.

Several methods of investigation have been employed. An extensive review of primary historical sources including historical accounts, journals and diaries provides a background to the current situation through details of how and why human remains were collected from New Zealand in the first place. The current situation in New Zealand is assessed through interviews with Maori elders and museum personnel and a survey of public opinion, carried out during two visits to the country in February and June 2006. Additional resources have included unpublished material supplied by contacts, and foreign language material translated by the author.

The dissertation proceeds through six stages. It first looks at the issue of repatriation worldwide and then at traditional Maori beliefs regarding death in order to set a context. This is followed by an historical analysis of the collection of human remains in New Zealand and historical Maori responses to it. The third stage describes the current situation of Maori, museums and archaeology in New Zealand with details of how repatriation is being carried out. The fourth section contains perspectives on repatriation gathered through two interviews with Maori elders and a survey of public opinion. The fifth section compares New Zealand with Australia, in order to highlight the reasons why the issue

is approached so differently there. Finally the sixth section presents the conclusions of the analysis and discusses the implications for other countries and museums worldwide.

The conclusion reached is that the situation in New Zealand is fundamentally different because aspects of Maori culture influenced the kind of remains sought, the way they were collected, and also the political and cultural development of the country, so that today Maori are in a much stronger position in their own country than are other indigenous populations around the world. The repatriation movement is thus to a large degree controlled by Maori, whereas other indigenous peoples often require media attention and government intervention in order to achieve their aims, if they are able to at all. It is argued that other colonial countries and their museums first need to solve fundamental issues involving internal intercultural relations before they will be able to move forward in a positive, cooperative manner with repatriation.

This dissertation addresses several distinct gaps in the literature on repatriation. It is the first time that the history of human remains collection in New Zealand has been drawn together in a comprehensive way, and this has uncovered the involvement of several key people who had not previously been known to have assisted in the collection process. The translation of several German-language texts which had not been referenced by the English-speaking literature up until now also has also helped to create a more complete picture, adding critical details to some of the country's best-known cases of collection. The interviews and survey on attitudes to collection in New Zealand are also the first time that such information has been researched, providing a unique view of the issue.

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Introduction

The repatriation and reburial of indigenous human remains is a contentious and often highly antagonistically debated subject in most colonial countries today. New Zealand however is a clear exception to this rule, where the issue is generally characterised by cooperation, respect and consensus, and is largely under the control of the indigenous people themselves. The central questions this dissertation seeks to answer are why, and to what extent is this true? What historical factors and processes have combined to produce the current environment where Maori, museums and archaeologists are working together in partnership, rather than against each other in conflict? A detailed analysis of the New Zealand situation both historically and today is required in order to gain insight into these questions, and to then be able to better understand the dynamics of possible solutions for other parts of the world.

The analysis begins by providing an overview of Maori traditions in relation to death and burial, followed by an historical investigation of why and how human remains from New Zealand were collected, which is essential to understanding the development of the current situation and has not been recorded in any comprehensive form before. It then looks at the relationship between Maori, museums and archaeology in New Zealand today, and how the repatriation and reburial issues manifest themselves there. This is then placed in an international context through comparison with Australia, highlighting the differences between the two countries.

Background

Before moving on to New Zealand specifically, it is useful to set the background by looking at why repatriation and reburial has come to be identified as a ‘major issue’ on a worldwide scale today. Networks of European collectors sourced indigenous human remains from colonial countries over a period from the late 18th century to the first half

of the 20th century (Fforde 2004a: 1), in the majority of cases without permission and against the determined resistance of indigenous peoples. Since then most of these countries have become independent, with a subsequent revival of cultural and political awareness culminating in native peoples reasserting control of their past and their heritage (Hubert and Fforde 2002: 2). Since the early 1970s this has included increasing calls for the repatriation of indigenous remains (IoI 2003: 1).

The standard definition of repatriation is to ‘restore (a person) to his or her native land’ (Concise Oxford Dictionary 1995). In the context of this dissertation, this can be extended as follows (Legget 2000: 29):

The return of an object of cultural patrimony from a museum collection to a party found to be the true owner or traditional guardian, or their heirs and descendants.

An obvious potential difficulty that stands out in the above definition is that of whether descendants can in fact be determined to the satisfaction of all parties, especially in the case of remains dating to more than 500 years ago. Archaeologists, museums and indigenous peoples often have very strong and conflicting views regarding the legitimacy of claims.

Worldwide, some museums have worked voluntarily with indigenous peoples on repatriation of remains in their care but many, including notable UK institutions, have been neither willing to disclose their holdings nor even to enter into discussions (FAIRA 2000). Some UK museums have maintained that they are prevented from repatriating remains by the British Museums Act (1963), although it is disputed that this is in fact the act’s intention (Fforde 2001: §2.5). In the US, congress has had to resort to legislation with the North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in order to force museums

to cooperate. The arguments put forward by museums, archaeologists and physical anthropologists in favour of retaining their collections usually emphasise their use for current and future research, and the permanent loss of data that reburial would result in (e.g. Robert Foley of the Leverhulme Center for Human Evolutionary Studies in IOI 2003: 6). The fact that newly developing techniques such as ancient DNA extraction could result in more information being won from remains is stressed (Turnbull 2002: 64). The value of science as the only rational and concrete means of improving the condition of society as a whole is emphasised, while indigenous spiritual beliefs are seen to be misguided, not in the interests of their holders, or even somewhat condescendingly ‘just another world view’ (IOI 2003: 6).

On the other side, the motivations of indigenous peoples making repatriation requests vary from culture to culture and are often mixed. In the majority of cases, there is a strong desire that the spirits of their ancestors be allowed to rest or to return to their place in the natural cycle of things. In some cases it is believed that the unsettled spirits of the dead will cause sickness and misfortune for their communities until they are accorded proper burial (Hubert 1989: 139). In all situations however there is a demand that the ex-colonial countries must show respect for indigenous cultures and allow them the dignity of maintaining control of their own ancestral remains and heritage.

Public opinion in the UK seems to support both points of view. In a recent survey, 70% believed that excavated human remains should be reburied, of whom 71% believed however that archaeologists should first determine that they had no further scientific or research use, and 25% thought that it should occur on request by the local community (Carroll 2005: 12). There is a history of opposition to grave-robbing in the UK itself, where there was a massive backlash against medical schools digging up bodies for dissection

in the early 19th century (Richardson 1988). In recent years there was similar public outrage over the discovery that Alder Hey hospital in Wales had retained the organs of 845 children who had died there (BBC Panorama 21.02.2000). The publicity given to efforts to locate, exhume and repatriate the body of executed British hostage Ken Bigley from Iraq in 2006, at great expense and risk from the middle of a war zone (BBC 22.04.2006), indicates that the public considers such acts to be of importance.

The last 30 years have seen the introduction of more pro-repatriation policies and legislation around the world. The first of these was the World Archaeological Conference (WAC) in 1986, which produced the Vermillion Accord, which is based on (Zimmerman 2002: 92):

... negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education.

This was followed by a Draft Policy Statement on Aboriginal Human Remains, published in 1987 by the Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies, which advocated the consultation of the Aboriginal community on all issues related to remains (Hubert 1989: 155).

The WAC Code of Ethics was published in 1990, which in the same year was in turn used as a partial basis for NAGPRA (Zimmerman 2002: 93). NAGPRA meant that federal agencies and museums in the US were now required by law to disclose their holdings to indigenous communities, to consult them on all issues regarding remains, and to affect repatriation where legitimate requests were made (McKeown 2002: 116).

In 1993 the First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples was held in Whakatane, New Zealand. This conference resulted in the Mataatua Declaration (UN-WGIP 1993), which states in paragraph 2.12:

All human remains and burial objects of indigenous peoples held by museums and other institutions must be returned to their traditional areas in a culturally appropriate manner.

In 2003 the Report of the Working Group on Human Remains was published (DCMS 2003), which made key recommendations to the UK government on repatriation and museums. It included a requirement that they disclose their holdings and seek consent to retain and to study them, also recommending that any legislation which could be argued to block repatriation should be changed (Fforde and Hubert 2006: 88). This has now happened to a certain extent, in that the 2004 Human Tissue Act §47.2 makes it clear that any institution holding remains over 1,000 years in age is now free to return them.

As a result of the above policies and legislation, archaeologists and museums in many have begun to change their behaviour and engage with indigenous groups. The extreme example of this is in the US where NAGPRA has forced full cooperation, but in other countries it has been more common up to this point that provisional compromise agreements have been reached. This can mean the removal of all human remains from display out of respect while claims are considered, as in the case of the Pitt Rivers museum (Hubert 1989: 157). To date the only major UK collection of remains to be returned has been from the University of Edinburgh (Fforde 2001: §1.3).

Methodology

The historical situation in New Zealand has been researched through an extensive review of primary sources including early journals, diaries and historical accounts. These have

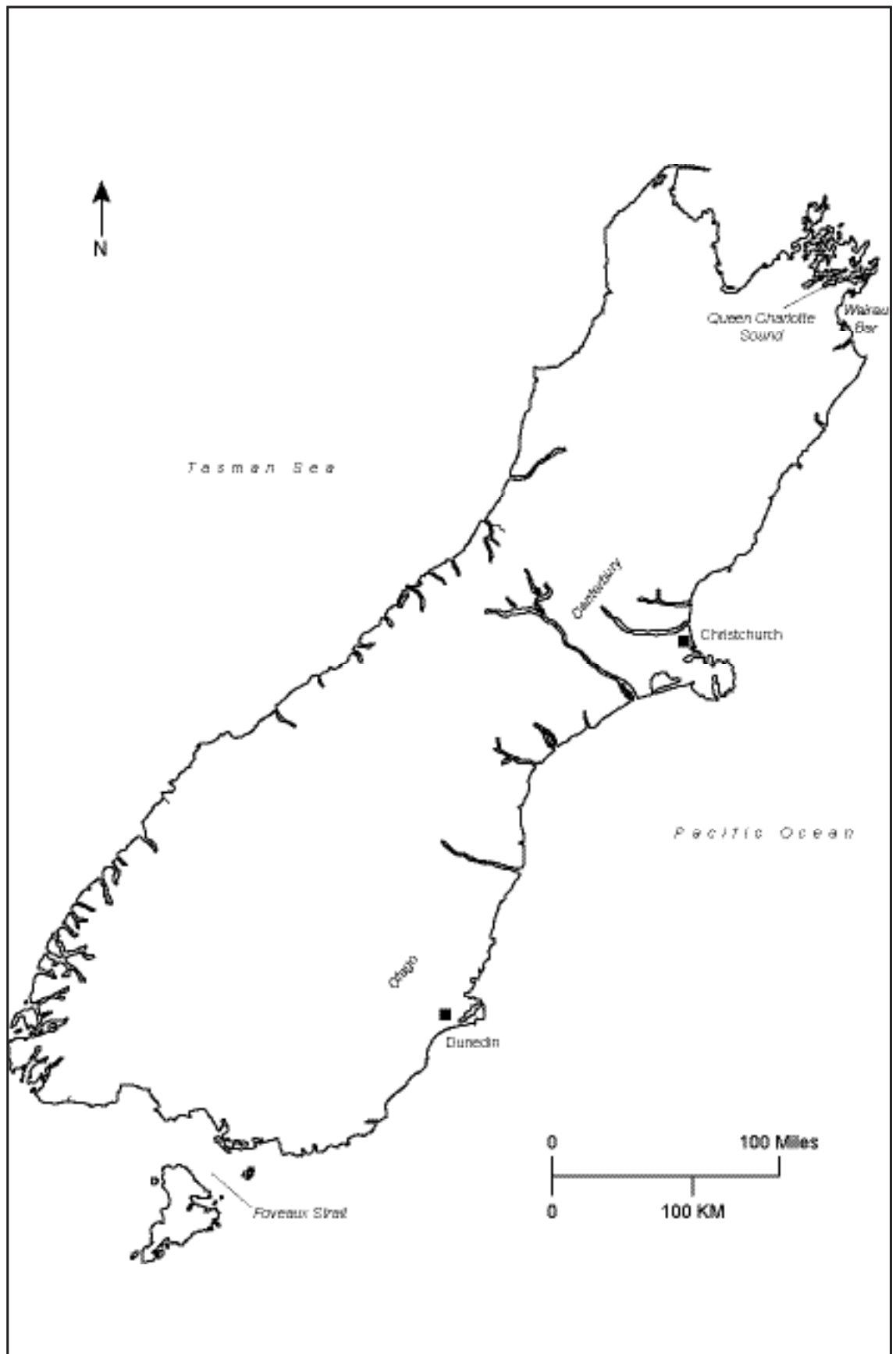
helped to establish the attitudes and motivations of both Europeans and Maori during the earlier phases of collection, and have uncovered the involvement of a wider cross section of agents on both sides than has been previously discussed in the literature. Care has been taken to understand the standpoints and worldviews of early writers referenced in chapters one to five, and to thus make appropriate use of the information provided by them.

The current situation in New Zealand has been assessed by interviews carried out with museum personnel and Maori elders held on two visits to the country in February and June 2006, and by a survey of public opinion carried out in Auckland during the latter trip.

Additional information used for both the historical and modern contexts has included unpublished material supplied by contacts (e.g. Paul Tapsell of the Auckland Museum), archival newspaper media and several key texts not previously referenced in the English-speaking literature (e.g. Aubrecht 1995; Kolig 1996; Reischek 1890), and translated by the author for this dissertation.



Map 1: North Island locations mentioned in the text.



Map 2: South Island locations mentioned in the text.



Map 3: Modern North Island *iwi* (adapted from Takoa Rua-mano and Mead 1984). *Iwi* mentioned in the text are highlighted in bold.



Map 4: Modern South Island *iwi* (adapted from Takoa Rua-mano and Mead 1984). *Iwi* mentioned in the text are highlighted in bold.

Chapter 1: Traditional Maori beliefs

This chapter summarises Maori spiritual traditions and beliefs relating to death in order to provide a background understanding to the Maori position both when remains were collected and also now when the return of those remains is being requested. First examining the pre-contact era, it looks at beliefs regarding death, the afterlife and associated concepts such as *mana* and *tapu*, including practices involving human remains. This is finally contrasted with modern beliefs and practices.

That the connection between the living and the dead has always been strong for Maori is demonstrated by the fact that the Maori word for tribe, *iwi*, also means both ‘people’ and ‘bones’ (King 2003: 78). However gaining a true breadth and depth of understanding of how Maori perceive these things is not easy for non-Maori. According to Oppenheim (1973: 12):

...it is hardly possible to speak of the meaning which death had for the Maoris of a century and a half ago without considering the whole of their world-view.

A large amount regarding Maori culture and the ‘Maori world view’ has been recorded since European colonisation, but a certain amount of depth and detail has not been able to be communicated, and nor should one expect it to be easily obtainable from elders today (Te Uira Manihera in Manihera, Pewhairangi and Rangihau 1992: 9):

...a lot of people say no. They would sooner take a knowledge of their own traditions with them than pass them on to the present generation. They believe that if it goes out to another person outside the family, in a short time it will have dissolved, absorbed by all the other people who have access to it.

The following sections can therefore provide only a summary of Maori beliefs and traditions pre- and post-contact regarding death and human remains, in order to give a basic

understanding and background to events. It should be noted that sources such as Best and Oppenheim, while established as authorities on their subjects by both Europeans and Maori, were not Maori, and did rely for a certain proportion of their information on early written sources, so they are not able to offer insight into the subject of death and spirituality to the extent that many Maori who still have a connection to their ancestral culture understand it. Maori sources such as Marsden, Te Rangi Hiroa and Dansey have therefore been used where possible.

There has never been a total unity of views among Maori regarding death and the afterlife as different tribes had differing traditions. In many pre-contact Maori traditions, after death one's *wairua* (spirit) came under the jurisdiction of the gods of the Po (the night realm) and went to dwell there, while other traditions held that some went to Rangi (the sky), to the stars, or also to Hawaiiiki, the legendary homeland from which the Maori had emigrated, but some *kehua* (ghosts) lingered for a time on earth and haunted the living instead (Marsden 1992: 130-133).

According to Oppenheim, there was however no expectation of immortality and the *wairua* '...gradually dwindled away until it once more became part of natural substance' (1973: 16). Despite this, he continued, the physical human remains still contained some essence of the departed:

The transference of things from natural to cultural, however, imbued them with special qualities which remained in them after they had been returned to nature.

Integral to Maori beliefs regarding both the living and the deceased were the concepts of *mana* and *tapu*. In basic essence, *mana* is the power, prestige, charisma and spiritual authority of a person, while *tapu* means that a person, place or thing is sacred and untouch-

able (Mahuika 1992: 45; Marsden 1992: 118-119). *Tapu* is a concept that was taken very seriously, and if ignored could lead to sickness and even death (Manihera, Pewhairangi and Rangihau 1992: 9).

The remains, property and burial places of the dead were permanently *tapu* (Openheim 1973: 15), as described by Marsden (1992: 123):

The *tapu* of the dead was particularly virulent and a person contracting such *tapu* through contact had to be purified and neutralized. The practice continues in modern times.

When contact with the dead went beyond controlled ritual and became transgression however, the consequences were severe. According to Best (1982: 23), ‘... to violate the sanctity of a burial place was about equal to committing suicide.’

As the most sacred part of the body for Maori, the head was especially imbued with both *mana* and *tapu*, and the preserved heads of relatives and friends were kept and exhibited on important occasions (Davidson 1984: 177), while it was also common ‘...to bring back the head of a detested enemy chief that he might be insulted and reviled in death by the widows and orphans he had created in life’ (Te Rangi Hiroa 1962: 299). It was also essential to retain these heads, as their return would be required in order to make peace eventually (Robley 1896: 138).

The amount of *mana* possessed by an individual (and thus the degree to which they were *tapu*) was a major determining factor in the way that their remains were treated. When a warrior was taken prisoner in battle for example, he lost all *mana*, and thus also all *tapu*, meaning that his captors could treat him as they wished (Openheim 1973: 16). While a tribe would almost certainly fight for the return of *tapu* ancestral bones, they would not

do so in the case of remains of members of their tribe who had been taken prisoner and thus lost all mana. This was a terrible situation for Maori to contemplate as the following account from Maning (1863: 68) makes clear:

Two brothers were flying for their lives down a hill-side. 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...

Cannibalism was a means of gaining mana from the enemy and thus also of gaining power over their gods. Marsden (1992: 128) relates also though how respect for the spirit and remains of the dead person were maintained:

'During Hongi Hika's last battle in the Houhora area in the far north against the Aupouri, one of the war leaders, Houtaewa, was finally slain. During Houtaewa's lifetime he was regarded as the greatest warrior of the Aupouri. He was famous for his speed and agility in battle, and it was commonly said that his mana resided in his thighs and legs. After his death, Houtaewa's legs were severed and cooked and certain portions eaten by Hongi and his warriors to gain his mana. The rest of his body was untouched out of respect for his bravery and because he was related to Hongi himself. His body was returned to the Aupouri by Poroa...'

The earliest anecdote of human remains being used for utilitarian purposes is in the legend of Maui, who in order to fish up the North Island '...produced his own hook, the barb of which was made from a fragment of his own grandmother's jawbone' (King 2003: 20). This was in fact a regular practice. Not only were the bones of non-*tapu* slaves used to make spear points, fish hooks and flutes, but those of slain enemies and those stolen from the burial grounds of rival tribes were also used to gain their *mana*. (Best 1976: 375; Gudgeon 1885: 195).

The desecration of burials was a common method of taking revenge and also a frequent cause of conflicts. This was for example a contributing factor in Hongi Hika's aggression towards the Whangaroa tribes, who had taken the bones of his wife's father to make into fish hooks (Openheim 1973: 73). In another clear example of revenge being taken to punish transgression, the French explorer Marion du Fresne met his end at the hands of a local chief for having regularly broken *tapu* despite repeated warnings. His bones '... were made into forks for picking up food, and the thigh bones were made into flutes' (Salmond 1997: 20). Once they had become artefacts bones were thought to be imbued with positive qualities, and were thus used for practical purposes. Human skulls and bones were placed in fields to ensure bountiful crops, skulls were employed as guardians for trees used for bird snaring, and bone flutes were used to aid childbirth (Best 1982: 132).

In contrast to outsiders, the remains of a person belonging to the local tribe were always *tapu* and handled and buried with great care. There were burial traditions common to all tribes, but the details of the burials varied quite widely both geographically and temporally.

Death was followed by a ceremony known as the *tangihanga*. This covered a period of several days from the time of the death during which the body was on display to mourners, and regulated contact between the living and the now highly *tapu* dead. During this period people would visit and hold speeches about the dead, and women would lacerate their faces with shells and obsidian flakes. In cases where the deceased possessed a high level of mana, their slaves might also be killed, and it was not uncommon for their wives to commit suicide as well.

The practices of the *hahunga* ceremony that followed the *tangihanga* varied between tribes and regions. Oppenheim acknowledges that there was variation, but stresses that excarnation via exposure of the bones then concealed burial was common to most areas (1973: 63). Te Rangi Hiroa (1962: 425) describes the tradition of the northern tribes:

The bones (*koiwi*) were then exhumed (*hahu*), scraped to remove any adhering skin or flesh, oiled, and painted with red ochre. Usually, a number were exhumed at one time and the bones of each individual were arranged separately on mats on the village marae. The people who gathered for the *hahunga* ceremony welcomed the arrival of the bones with wailing and tears, for the name of each individual parcel was made known.

According to Tehau Tutua, an elder of the Ngati Awa tribe (2006: pers. comm.):

We would leave the body in the trees for some time, then we'd clean them up and paint them with red ochre. Then we'd take them and bury them or hide them somewhere, along with their personal belongings.

Early European explorers also observed the secretive nature of burials. James Cook and Joseph Banks noted that in the north the location of burials tended to be guarded and underground, while in the south at Queen Charlotte Sound a weight was tied to the body and it was sunk at sea. Marion du Fresne also reported seeing both kinds of burial in the Bay of Islands in 1772 (Salmond 1991: 290). Similarly Cruise noted a wide range of burial methods during his travels in the early 19th century (Cruise 1820: 100).

This great variation in burial practices, even within one region, is well demonstrated by the fact that 13 different types of burial have been recorded within the Manukau area to the south of Auckland alone, these being cave burial, rock and fissure burial, rectangular pit burial, rectangular pit and mound burial, rock mound burial, trussed pit burial, circular pit burial, midden burial, swamp burial, tree burial, sand-dune burial, unit burial and cremation (Taylor 1984: 258-260). It has been postulated that some of this variation can be accounted for by the fact that early burials were mostly in or close to settlements (often

below the floor of a house), while over time a shift to a more mobile and conflict-rich culture prompted a corresponding change to centralised places known to the tribe but concealed from outsiders (Davidson 1984: 173-177). This alone cannot however account for the great diversity of burial methods mentioned above, with the most likely conclusion being that to a certain extent pre-contact Maori burial traditions were in equal measure diverse and fluid.

It is difficult to build a consistent picture of burial practices from the archaeological record as when sites with burials have been excavated, these have seldom contained more than an average of 5 individuals (Sutton 1977: 178). The overall sample size has been described as 'woefully small' (Davidson 1984: 176), and is further devalued by containing a disproportionate number of archaic 'moa-hunter' burials from the South Island, making it tough to compare the archaic and classic periods (Oppenheim 1973: 63). Despite these uncertainties, it is undisputed that by the classic period the hiding of bones to prevent desecration by rival groups was a widespread practice. Where burial caves were used, they were often shared by several *hapu* (sub-tribes), and only *tohunga* (priests) were allowed to enter. Should someone trespass in such a cave, retaliation would therefore follow from all of the *hapu* who shared it (Oppenheim 1973: 74).

An additional function of burial caves was that they both established and corroborated rights of the *hapu* involved to occupy the surrounding area. An historical example of this was the defeat of several northern tribes by the Ngati Awa tribe, who then claimed their land based on the fact that the bones of their dead were now buried there (Oppenheim 1973: 74). It thus follows that any removal of bones would also be an attack on a tribe's claims to land, as demonstrated by the following case put to Governor Grey (Grey 1855: 105) by King Te Wherowhero, due to:

...the sale of land where some of his relatives were buried. The land in question was given to his brother by a tribe named Ngatiwhatua, who subsequently sold it without even consulting the Waikato people. This of course, was a great insult; indeed, according to native usage, it was an open declaration of war.

Since the advent of European colonisation and its associated cultural and economic influences, the ways in which Maori both conceive of and practically approach death have been modified in many ways. The *tangihana* is still a regular and important part of life for most Maori, this being explained by Dansey (1992: 108, 116) as follows:

The Maori – and I am sure this still applies to most Maori – want to see their dead, and to have them with them until that ultimate committal to the earth... Our dead are very close to us in Maoridom. They do not lie alone in that short space between death and burial. We stay with them every minute and talk to them and sing to them.

Some aspects have however changed as a result of law, changes to lifestyles and technology, and the influence of Christianity. Bodies can now no longer be displayed for as long as previously due to 20th century health legislation (King 2003: 255). It is also no longer necessary to wait as long for mourners to travel to visit the body before burial, due to improved transport. Due to British and Christian cultural influences, self-laceration of women no longer occurs, as does neither the killing of slaves nor the suicide of wives. While exhumation and the hiding of bones was still occurring late in the 19th century, bodies are now buried immediately in the ground without primary excarnation, and headstones are often erected on Easter Sunday (Oppenheim 1973: 121-122). It is however still common practice to include grave goods with burials: '[I have] helped when the press of people had departed to put the possessions of the dead into the graves' (Dansey 1992: 112).

As the above sections have demonstrated, traditionally Maori have always had a very strong connection to the dead, the remains of whom have great social, economic and political significance, and were constantly protected to prevent desecration.

Chapter 2: Motivations for Collection

From the earliest contact with Maori, Europeans have sought to obtain human remains from them by a wide range of measures. These remains have included all parts of the skeleton, with skulls being especially prized, and also included preserved heads and even skins. At least six main motivations for collecting can be identified, these being profit, art, curiosity, a belief in racial hierarchies, to trade for other items, and ‘rescue collecting’.

The first and overriding motivation for many of the Europeans who directly sourced Maori human remains was profit. This included those who simply sought remains out on commission as well as those such as the naturalist Andreas Reischek, who intended to sell his collection for considerable profit on return to his native Austria (King 1981: 32).

The second motivation was artistic. Today many Maori cultural items are viewed around the world as highly aesthetic and valuable works of art, for example the *Te Maori* exhibition which toured major art museums in the United States for three years during the 1980’s. This was also the motivation for some 19th century collectors such as Horatio Robley, who specialised in preserved tattooed heads and became a major authority on Maori tattooing, which he described as ‘a remarkable work of art’ (Robley 1896: 13). He quotes Earle, the draughtsman on the *Beagle* (Robley 1896: 99):

A neighbour of mine very lately killed a chief who had been tattooed by Aranghie, and appreciating the artist’s work so highly, he skinned the chief-tain’s thighs, and covered his cartouch-box with it.

The main driving force behind the demand that they sought to meet was however directly related to major contemporary theories and perceptions of mankind and the world. As part of this the third motivation was curiosity. For the majority of the European public during

the early days of colonisation such items associated with death were however seen as fascinating representations of exotic worldviews, which emphasised the differences between 'primitive' and 'advanced' cultures (King 1981: 91), and were thus the target of 'curio collectors' (Te Rangi Hiroa 1962: 300). Barrow (1973: 44) for example depicts a tattooed head which was 'taken back to England as a curio' in the mid 19th century.

The fourth motivating factor was scientific. The public's perception of non-European cultures in this way reflected scientific opinion at the time, which strongly presumed that human populations were naturally to be ordered in a racial evolutionary taxonomy (IOI 2003: 3). Museums and universities were thus clamouring for specimens from every race around the world in order to demonstrate the correctness of this belief with their comparative anatomy collections. The Austrian naturalist Ferdinand von Hochstetter reminded both Julius von Haast of the Canterbury Museum and Andreas Reischek that Maori skulls in particular were missing from the collection of the museum in Vienna (King 1981: 93), and contrary to King's portrayal of Reischek as profit and status-driven, Kolig (1996: 132) argues that above all he was driven by the desire to complete such anatomy collections in the service of science. He stresses that this dedication to science is enough to explain the questionable methods employed (Kolig 1996: 123, trans. author):

... collectors like Andreas Reischek were as if hypnotised by the conviction that they were performing a valuable service to science by acquiring human skeletal material.

The fifth motivation, related to the last, was to use collected remains to obtain other items. Thomas Cheeseman of the Auckland Museum for example, organised the collection of large numbers of Maori remains for the express purpose of trading them with European museums in order to build up the museum's own collection with items from around the world (Tapsell 2003: 158).

The sixth and last motivation for many to collect Maori remains was a belief that as a people they were dying out (Walker 1990: 172). This was partly due to the influence of social Darwinism, and also because a range of factors including increased warfare and introduced diseases had caused a massive crash in the Maori population of over 75% during the 19th century (Stannard 1989: 48). Many Europeans who visited New Zealand were convinced that there was no other possible outcome, for example Hochstetter (1867: 221):

Compared with the fresh and full vigour, with which the Anglo-Saxon race is spreading and increasing, the Maori is the weaker party, and thus he is the loser in the endless 'struggle for existence.'

This was also the view of many of the settlers, such as Frederick Maning (1863: 217):

In that part of the country where I have had means of accurate observation they have decreased in numbers since my arrival rather more than one-third. I have, however, observed that this decrease has for the last ten years been very considerably checked, though I do not believe this improvement is general through the country, or even permanent where I have observed it.

Influenced by these views, some collectors such as Reischeck saw the collection of skeletal material as a 'rescue operation for science' (diary no. 2 p. 118, quoted in Kolig 1996: 118, trans. author). Similarly, Robley collected tattooed heads with the aim of saving aspects of the culture: '... the art will soon have to be studied in the dried Maori heads preserved in many museums and private collections' (Robley 1896: 122).

It is important to understand these motivations for collection in their historical context, because as will be shown in the following chapters, none except to some extent the second apply any longer in New Zealand and they are thus not employed in arguments against repatriation. This is a particularly important point to note when comparing New Zealand to other countries where some motivations are still relevant, as in the case of Australia which is discussed in chapter 8.

Chapter 3: Trading for Human Remains

The initial method by which Maori remains were procured was trade, beginning with first contact. Trading in preserved heads reached a peak in the 1830's and ended soon after, but the subsequent international museum trade meant that Maori remains continued to leave the country in large numbers well into the 20th century.

Trade during first contact

James Cook's first voyage to New Zealand in 1769-1770 included numerous instances where the members of the crew traded for remains both out of curiosity and scientific and ethnographic interest. This early trade took place with relative frequency, ease and lack of friction because the type of remains involved were not of great concern to the Maori, being mostly skeletal remains of enemies left over from cannibalism, which Europeans collected as evidence of that behaviour. The *Endeavour's* naturalist, Joseph Banks, recorded the following situation in his journal on January 16th 1770 at Totara-nui (Queen Charlotte Sound), when the crew met a small group Maori on a beach and noticed some bones in their food baskets (Hooker 1896: 210):

On asking the people what bones they were, they answered: "The bones of a man." – "And have you eaten the flesh?" – "Yes." – "Have you none of it left?" – "No." – "Why did you not eat the woman whom we saw to-day in the water?" – "She was our relation." – "Whom, then, do you eat?" – "Those who are killed in war." – "And who was the man whose bones these are?" – "Five days ago a boat of our enemies came into this bay, and of them we killed seven, of whom the owner of these bones was one." The horror that appeared on the countenances of the seamen on hearing this discourse, which was immediately translated for the good of the company, is better conceived than described.

Cook then traded for one of the bones, and Banks did the same the next day when offered one from a passing canoe (Salmond 1991: 243-245). That the Maori were willing to give access to one type of remains but were careful to restrict access to others was evidenced

several days later when they enquired about a memorial in a local village (Banks' journal from January 24th 1770 in Hooker 1896: 214):

...we were told that it was a monument to a dead man; maybe a cenotaph, as the body was not there. This much they told us, but would not let us know where the body was.

This was not a problem for the Europeans at first, as their curiosity about cannibalism was still enough to occupy them. A month later on February 24th, Banks recorded that trade with the crew in bones of eaten enemies had become a constant occurrence (Hooker 1896: 214), these being 'sought-after souvenirs' (Salmond 1991: 249).

On this voyage at least four preserved heads were also traded for, but in all cases this was with a great deal more reticence on the part of the Maori, as at that point in time even the heads of the enemy were still required to make peace with other tribes, and although the introduction of the musket later on would change this substantially, the value of what they were offered in return was not sufficiently high to interest them. The first Maori head ever collected was by Banks on January 20th 1770, although the '... natives showed the greatest reluctance to sell the head, and could not be induced to part with another at that time' (Robley 1896: 167). On another occasion Banks was willing to use more force to achieve his objective (Journal entry from 1770 in Hooker 1896: 247):

... an old man, whom we supposed to be the chief of an Indian town very near us, bringing at our desire six or seven heads of men, preserved with the flesh on... The old man was very jealous of showing them; one I bought, but much against the inclination of its owner, for though he liked the price I offered, he hesitated much to send it up; yet, having taken the price, I insisted either on having that returned or the head given, but could not prevail until I enforced my threats by showing him a musket, on which he chose to part with the head rather than the price...

Private traders during the following hundred years

Subsequently New Zealand became home to settlers in rapidly increasing numbers, and was also frequented by traders and whalers. Before the organised colonisation of the country by the New Zealand Company, many of those who came to live there were escaped convicts from Australia, or were whalers or labourers who had jumped ship while in port (King 2003: 116-117). Reischek (1952: 115) describes the earliest European inhabitants of the country as leading:

... a wild life, founded on the law of the fist; and drunkenness and debauchery, robbery and murder, were the order of the day... [for] spirits and tobacco they traded with the Maoris for women and food; also for skulls, for which there was an excellent market in 'civilised' countries.

Visitors to the country in the early part of the 19th century were already being offered remains in return for muskets and gunpowder. Cruise recorded two occasions on which he was offered heads (Cruise 1820: 47, 90-1) during his ten months stay in 1820.

Traders visited the country relatively sporadically at first, but there was a boom from 1820 onwards when the government of New South Wales made a concerted effort to develop the flax trade (King 2003: 126). Men such as Captains Brind and Jack, Joe Rowe, Eric Craig and James Carruth all sought to augment their incomes through a professional trade in Maori remains, some of them through frequent visits to the ports and others by actually establishing premises and businesses in the country for the purpose. Because of this it was not uncommon to find Maori heads for sale on the streets of Sydney, as evidenced by the following account from the Sydney Gazette of a man who met another with a head in the street (quoted in Robley 1896: 171-172):

I asked the man if what he showed me was really a human head, when the man replied that it was the head of a New Zealander, which he had purchased from a person lately arrived from that country, and that he was going to dispose of it for two guineas to a gentleman who was about to embark for England.

Of the many trading schooners travelling between New Zealand and Australia, those captained by Brind and Jack were the most notorious. The missionary Samuel Marsden recorded the following encounter with Brind in New South Wales (letter to Dandeson Coates of the Church Missionary Society, April 18th 1831 in Elder 1932: 498):

You will have heard of the conduct of Captain Brind; he has been the cause of much bloodshed. Many have been killed to the southward in consequence of what took place in the Bay of Islands, and the heads of chiefs have been brought up to Port Jackson by the Europeans for sale. When the chief who is with me went on board the Prince of Denmark he saw fourteen heads of chiefs upon the table in the cabin, and came and informed me... The chief knew the heads; they were his friends; when he retired he said, 'Farewell my people, farewell my people!'

Some Europeans established themselves in New Zealand as middlemen in the trade of remains, often having premises and running the business quite openly. Joe Rowe traded heads from his store in Kapiti (Robley 1896: 178), and is mentioned in more detail in chapter five along with Captain Jack, due to the response that both of them met from the Maori after trading for some time.

James Carruth and Eric Craig were involved in trade with museums and foreign collectors. Carruth sourced remains from around the country and traded them to the Auckland museum, as evidenced by a letter to the director, Thomas Cheeseman in 1878 (quoted in Tapsell 2005: 159):

It is probable, I think, that a few more skulls may yet be got... I have not seen any of the gum diggers myself, but have sent a message to one, stating that if the skulls are brought to me I shall pay for them – I may mention that the gum diggers are very shy about the matter as they have a good deal of intercourse with the Maoris. Indeed it would not do at all for them to take the skulls to the settlement, and pack them for Auckland.

Eric Craig established a private collection and shop next to the Auckland Museum in the late 1800's, which he stocked through trade with those who, like Carruth, supplied

the museum. Most of the items he sold ended up in overseas collections (Tapsell 2005: 160).

As can be seen therefore, New Zealand museums were becoming actively involved in the trading of Maori remains during the latter half of the 19th century. In addition to Cheeseman in Auckland, Julius von Haast of the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch and James Hector of the Wellington Museum were also seeking to expand their recently established collections to international standards by trading with foreign museums, for whom the most sought after items were the remains of ‘primitive’ peoples for use in comparative collections and displays. Cheeseman received letters requesting Maori skulls from institutions including the British Museum and the Smithsonian and also proactively offered them for trade, as in the following letter to Giglioli of the Florence Museum (19 September 1877, quoted in Tapsell 2005: 158):

Dear Sir, On 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... Ethnological specimens relating to the Maori race – also a set of their crania etc...

The trade by museums alone resulted in large numbers of Maori remains leaving the country, with consignments of 30 skulls at a time not uncommon.

The role of middleman in the international human remains trade was not limited to Museums and men like Brind. Although not well known, there is evidence that some of the most prominent Europeans in the country were involved as well. Despite a reputation as the beloved protector and friend of the Maori people, Governor Grey sent a Maori skull from the Ati Awa in Taranaki to private collector Joseph Barnard David in Britain in around 1854 (Fforde 1997: 53), and also attempted to purchase remains from a burial cave in Kawhia through an intermediary (King 1981: 95, see chapter four). The head of

the Church Mission Society, Samuel Marsden, is recorded as having traded for heads on several occasions, including one from the chief Pomare in 1814 (Butler 1927: 194), and three in the following incidents noted by the Reverend Butler in his diary on August 23rd 1821 (Butler 1927: 166):

... when Mr Marsden was here with the “Dromedary,” he informed me that a gentleman at the University of Oxford had applied to him for native head or heads, and he signified his desire for obtaining a skull or two without hair. I must confess (tho’ I said nothing), it appeared a strange and unnatural thing to me. However, he employed Mr. Wm. Hall to go to the village of Rangee Hoo to see if he could purchase such a thing. I am credibly informed that before he left New Zealand he purchased two native heads.

One head he purchased of one of my native sawyers, who journeyed with him to New Zealand. I saw the head in the native’s possession before he took it on board, and when he came back I asked him what he had done with the head, and he said that he had sold it to Mr. Marsden for an axe. He then showed me an axe, which he said he got in payment for the head.

I make no comment on these things; I leave them for others.

There was some animosity between Butler and his superior Marsden, who did report him for disobedience in 1819 (Oliver 1990: 272), but it is unlikely that Butler would go to such lengths as fabricating this story in his diary in order to discredit Marsden.

The association of men such as Grey and Marsden who are widely respected and accepted as having acted in the best interests of Maori where possible is important, as it indicates that they considered the trade in remains to have been fairly conducted in as far as they were involved.

Maori involvement in the trading of remains

Much of the trade in remains in the first half of the 19th century took place with Maori cooperation and the remains traded were primarily those of enemies. Marsden’s diary of October 8th 1819 (Elder 1932: 195-196) provides an exception:

An old chief with a very long beard and his face tattooed all over had accompanied us from where we slept last night. He wanted an axe very much. At last he said if we would give him an axe he would give us his head. Nothing is held in so much veneration by the natives as the head of their chief. I asked him who should have the axe when I had got his head. He replied I might give it to his son. At length he said, 'Perhaps you will trust me a little time, and when I die you shall have my head.'

While still desired by the Maori, axes were not generally seen as valuable enough to exchange heads for, especially once their novelty value had worn off. An increasing trade in heads was ensured however because while demand for preserved heads was high on the European side, this was matched on the Maori side by growing demand for muskets. Tribes that did not possess them were at a critical and often fatal disadvantage to those who did, as in the case of the Te Arawa (Tapsell 1998: 64):

...the 1823 attack by Hongi Hika's warriors, armed with muskets, turned Te Arawa's world upside down... In the aftermath of the devastating defeat, the surviving rangatira realised that Te Arawa must rapidly modify their understanding of the world or face extinction.

Trading in heads was one of the quickest ways for Maori to obtain muskets, as in comparison the price per musket was one ton of flax (Robley 1896: 138; Walker 1990: 83).

In order to obtain as many muskets as possible, some chiefs had their slaves tattooed and then executed for market the moment their faces were healed (Te Rangi Hiroa 1962: 300). Raiding of enemies to obtain heads for trading also increased. When '...met by Rutherford in 1820-21, the chief Pomare showed him several heads of enemies he had killed, and told him that these would be taken to the Bay of Islands and traded for arms and powder there' (Robley 1896: 173). This inter-tribal arms race known as the Musket Wars lasted between 1818 and 1833 (Belich 1986: 20). The Nga Puhi chief Hongi Hika in particular was quick to see the importance of muskets, and acquired 500 on a trip to England in 1819 (King 2003: 137), the result of which was devastating for other tribes.

Marsden reported that he returned from one campaign with 70 trophy heads (Elder 1932: 173), many of which would have been traded.

Under normal circumstances Maori would not have traded heads to a great extent, and it required a fight for survival to induce them to do so. The heads of enemy were taken not only as objects for derision, but also so that, by their return, peace could be made with the opposing tribe either during an ongoing conflict, or in future to prevent a new one from occurring (Robley 1896: 138). It was thus only in circumstances where a tribe feared that it could not defend itself without muskets, and where it was certain that it would never in future intend or need to make peace with the tribe from whom the heads had been taken, that it would trade those heads.

In no circumstances would a tribe trade the heads of their own chiefs however, as being parted from these would be too unbearable. The inalienable value of these heads can be seen in the fact that when involved in bargaining for land with a chief who could not be persuaded to part with it, his mind could be changed by offering in return the head of an ancestor (Weiner 1992: 57). As the trade in heads became widespread, the practice of preserving the heads of friends and relatives was correspondingly dropped, to avoid the possibility of their being obtained and sold by others (Robley 1896: 170). Being tattooed now also meant heightened risk, as described by Polack (1840: 284):

For a person to tell a chief that he would cut off his (the chief's) head and sell it to the Europeans, would be an opprobrious curse that could not meet with forgiveness. The chief would attempt by every possible means to possess the head of the speaker...

An end to trading

Four main factors were responsible for a rapid decline in the number of heads being traded by around 1840. The first of these was a Government Order issued in 1831 by Gov-

ernor Darling of New South Wales, who also had jurisdiction over British subjects living in New Zealand at the time (Buller 1878: 250). As a result of increasing publicity over the head trade between New Zealand and Sydney, the order forbade the trade and required that any heads still in circulation be returned to their point of origin (Robley 1896: 180).

The second factor was the end of the Musket wars around 1836, by which point the tribes were greatly reduced in numbers and tired of fighting (Walker 1990: 84). There was now also a balance in the distribution of muskets, so no one had any significant military advantage (Belich 1986: 20). No longer requiring an increased number of muskets, Maori motivation to take part in the trade also lessened.

The third factor was that the practice of sacrificing slaves was discontinued as they both became scarcer and their value as agricultural workers for produce traded with the growing European population increased (Polack 1840: 79).

The fourth factor was the introduction of European law and culture. The missionaries discouraged the tattooing and the keeping of heads (Oppenheim 1973: 20), and this was reinforced by the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. In addition to extending the rights of British citizenship to all Maori, the new government in New Zealand determined to forcibly suppress 'savage practices', including human sacrifice and cannibalism (Orange 1987: 30) and effectively ended all trade in human heads as well (Tapsell 2005: 157).

The only remaining channel of trade which was tolerated was then that utilised by the museums, which reached a peak during the late 19th century before coming to a virtual end in the 1920s as demand from European museums dried up, with theories of racial hierarchies having proved unsuccessful (Fforde 2004a: 40).

Chapter 4: Skulduggery

A large number of the human remains collected in New Zealand were obtained by methods other than trade, without the consent of the owners. Theft and grave robbing had been resorted to in some measure from the early 1800's, but became much more frequent once trading opportunities were limited.

Collection by theft

Maori regarded theft very seriously, and while other punishments were sometimes decided upon death was not uncommon, even when everyday items were involved (Firth 1929: 339). Those who desecrated burial sites would invariably have met with the harshest of outcomes. According to Robley (1896: 169), the ‘... first head taken to Sydney, of which there is any record, was brought from Fouveaux Straits in 1811. It was obtained by theft, and a boat's crew was nearly cut off for *utu* (revenge).’

As Maori took great care to hide and guard the remains of their ancestors, the easiest targets for theft were the heads of enemies, often displayed on poles around villages. Maning (1863: 65-73) noted an encounter with an agent commissioned by the captains of trading schooners to collect such heads, whom he describes as ‘... one of that class who never could remember to a nicety how they had come into the country, or where they came from...’, being most likely either an escaped convict or runaway seaman. Having caught the agent in the act of collection (he notes that many of the heads are now in European museums), he recounts the following conversation:

“Looking at the ‘eds, sir?”... “Yes,” said I... “Eds has been a-getting scarce” says he. “I should think so,” says I. “We ’an’t ‘ad a ‘ed this long time,” says he. “The devil!” says I. “One o’ them ‘eds has been hurt bad,” says he. “I should think all were rather so,” says I. “Oh no! only one on ‘em,” says he; “the skull is split, and it won’t fetch nothing,” says he. “Oh, murder! I see now,” says I. “Eds was werry scarce”, says he, shaking his own ‘ed. “Ah!”

said I. “They had to tattoo a slave a bit ago,” says he, “and the villain ran away, tattooin’ and all!” says he. “What?” says I. “Bolted afore he was fit to kill,” says he. “Stole off with his own head?” says I. “That’s just it,” says he. “Capital felony!” says I. “You may say that, sir” says he. “Good morning,” said I. I walked away pretty smartly. “Loose notions about heads in this country,” said I to myself...”

Collection by grave-robbery

The sanctity of graves was not a foreign concept to Europeans in New Zealand, this being evidenced by the following entry in Cruise’s journal (Cruise 1820: 108):

June 9th, Friday. At twelve, died John Taylor, seaman; and to prevent the possibility of his remains being disturbed by the natives, they were interred in the evening in an adjacent wood, with every possible privacy.

It was also very clear to all collectors active in New Zealand that the disturbing of graves was of the greatest offence to Maori (e.g. Reischek 1952: 62-65, 215; Buller 1895: 148). Nevertheless, Maori graves were plundered systematically throughout New Zealand, by a range of collectors such as the amateur naturalists Andreas Reischek and Walter Buller, travellers like John Carne Bidwill, and countless others such as museum supplier C. Tohill, the majority of whom however remain unnamed in history.

Andreas Reischek

While a range of collectors will be mentioned here, the exploits of Andreas Reischek in particular will be described in detail, as they provides an excellent case study in behaviour and motivation, also providing some further insight into Maori involvement with collecting. An Austrian taxidermist resident in New Zealand from 1877 to 1889, Reischek was primarily employed by the country’s museums to prepare natural history displays (Reischek 1952: 19). During this time he also made nine collecting expeditions throughout the country (Aubrecht 1995: 19), collecting primarily zoological but also ethnological specimens, and whenever possible, human remains. Working with all of the main muse-

ums in New Zealand, Reischek would have supplied them with a range of specimens, including Maori remains (handwritten manuscript in the collection of G. Reischek, quoted in Aubrecht (1995: 25), trans. author.):

The museum directors Professor Hutton in Dunedin, Dr. Haast in Christchurch, Professor Hector in Wellington and Dr. Cheeseman in Auckland were most friendly to me, which made it possible for me to carry out my research.

Reischek's actions as a collector have been largely vilified in New Zealand in recent times (e.g. King 1981), but defended in his native Austria (e.g. Kolig 1996; Dimt 1995; Aubrecht 1995). The following section will detail Reischek's collecting activity, and then seek to explain it by looking at his context and motivations. While New Zealand authors to date have not made use of his journals and notebooks or other German language material written about him (King 1981: 11), these will be referenced here in an attempt to provide a balanced view. It is particularly important to understand the motivations of collectors such as Reischek, in order to determine whether any of these reasons can be used by modern-day museums and scientists as arguments against repatriation.

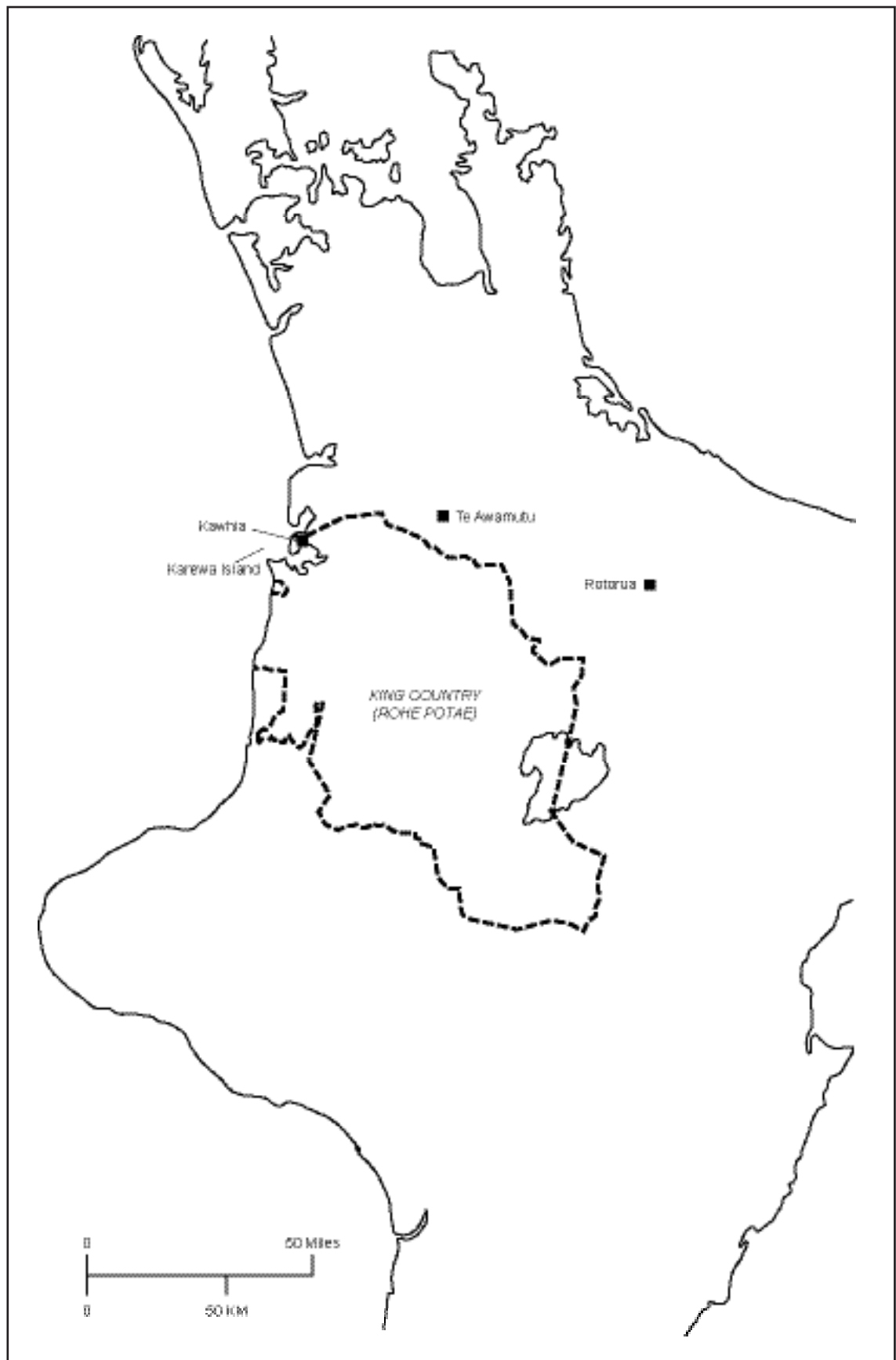
In his narrative of his time in New Zealand, *Yesterdays in Maoriland* (published posthumously by his son), Reischek lists twelve separate occasions over a period from 1879-1881 on which he disturbed burial grounds and removed human remains. On August 5th 1879, he took some broken bones from a burial site that had been disturbed by sailors at Aratapu, and records the following event from later that day (Reischek 1952: 62):

Another excursion took me to Mr. Webb's farm along the river, where the farmer's son escorted me to another burial ground – leaving me, however, to investigate alone, as the natives threaten every violator of the grave-tapu with death. Here in the first cave I found four complete skulls and many broken bones, but for all my pains could not succeed in piecing a complete skeleton together. Digging, I came across an ornament carved out of a leg bone, on one side of which was represented a face, and on the other, the head of a lizard. In one hole I found the half-rotten remains of a stretcher made of manuka branches bound together with mats, with a pile of bones.

Despite clearly understanding the sacredness of the grave and the possible consequences, he took all of the bones and artefacts with him (King 1981: 54). Similarly on August 14th he did the same thing at a *pa* at Te Awamutu. Once again he was warned by his guide not to remove any of the items, but ‘... I determined to do so alone, when I had the opportunity, which was a few days later...’ After evading local Maori who were suspicious of his intentions he records that: ‘I crept into the fallen hut. Within lay two rotted and carved coffins, and close by were cases of death-offerings, wooden clubs, stone axes, tuki-tuki, etc. I took the stone and wooded tools with me and went outside...’ (Reischek 1952: 79). It is likely that despite neglecting to mention it, he also took the coffins and bones, as a ‘burial box complete with bones collected by Andreas Reischek’ is shown in Barrow (1973: 66), and nowhere else does he record such a burial site.

From September 1879 to March 1881, Reischek collected numerous Maori bones and skulls from caves, rock fissures and earth burials in Aratapu, Waipu, Matakoho, Karewa Island, Eckerts Bay and Padom River (Reischek 1952: 69, 73-74, 102, 110-111, 215). On all of these occasions he did so while maintaining friendly relations with the local Maori, who despite their suspicions and attempting to catch him out on more than one occasion, were unaware of the systematic nature and the scale of his collecting.

It was during a visit to the King Country in 1881 that Reischek’s daring and audacity reached its peak, and this example of collection will be given in full as a good example of the lengths and deception that collectors were willing to go to in order to obtain their specimens. The King Country was an area encompassing approximately 7,000 square miles in the middle and western part of the North Island, and was closed to all Europeans between the years 1858 to 1890 (Belich 1986: 306). It was in early 1882 while the region was still closed, that Reischek was granted permission to enter it by the Maori King,



Map 5: The King Country in 1884 (adapted from Binney 1995: 269).

Tawhiao. This was an expression of trust and generosity on Tawhiao's part, but he could not have been more wrong about Reischek's honour or intentions. Reischek knew exactly what he wanted from the King Country, and sought it out with stealth and determination. Ferdinand von Hochstetter, Reischek's patron back in Austria, had spent nine months carrying out geological surveying for the New Zealand government in 1858 (Aubrecht 1995: 15), and in 1867 he published an account of the trip which included the following excerpt about a visit to an area of the King Country before it had been sealed off (Hochstetter 1867: 329):

A second cave was pointed out to me as a cemetery of the Nga-titoo-tribe, to which the famous Maori chief Rauparaha belonged. It is said to be crowded with Maori corpses, shrivelled and dried up like mummies. This cave, however, is, as yet, strictly tapu, and no admittance granted to it.

The cave in question was called Hautapu, and it and neighbouring caves had been used by several *hapu* over the centuries, including the Ngati Te Wehi, Ngati Toa, Ngati Hikairo and Ngati Kiriwai. Hochstetter's mention of the caves meant that they were well known by the 1880's, and Governor Grey had even made an offer to buy their contents via a local cattle dealer, 'price no object', but had been turned down (King 1981: 94-95). Reischek wanted to please Hochstetter and had been personally reminded by him of the cave's location and the desirability of obtaining more remains for the museum in Vienna (Kolig 1996: 131).

Once inside the King Country, Reischek repeatedly requested from Tawhiao and other high-ranking chiefs that he be allowed to access the area where the cave was located, Kawhia, but was rebuffed three times. Eventually he decided to go anyway, and some weeks later, having ingratiated himself with the Maori living around the Kawhia area, Reischek managed to make two contacts who led him to his target (Reischek 1952: 215):

Two Maoris, who had already become sufficiently Europeanised to be willing to renounce their national and religious principles for gold, led me one night to a cave near Kawhia. There I found four mummies, of which two were in a state of perfect preservation. The undertaking was a dangerous one, for discovery might have cost me my life. In the night I had the mummies removed from the spot and then well hidden; during the next night they were carried still further away, and so on, until they had been brought safely over the boundaries of Maoriland. But even then I kept them cautiously hidden from sight right up to the time of my departure from New Zealand. Now both these ancestors of the Maori adorn the ethnographical collection of the Imperial Natural History Museum in Vienna.

This account shows once again that Reischek was in no doubt as to what the consequences of his theft being detected would have been. His diary from January 5th 1883 contains an outline of a letter to Hochstetter in which he gives further information about the operation, including he also had the help of a local chief (Kolig 1996: 107, trans. author):

... I persuaded two half casts and a Maori chief to help me by means of generous payment... It rained the entire time we were underway and we had to hide the mummies in swamps during the daytime in order to avoid suspicion... should you find it interesting to publish my superficial account of the discovery of the four mummies, it is at your disposal to do so...

This is an important passage which is very revealing of the nature of Maori involvement with collectors, and has not been referenced in the English-speaking literature before. That a chief could be influenced to participate in such an act of collection shows clearly that Maori involvement was pervasive and complicated.

The chief Reischek mentions here is not identified, but the two local men who assisted him were Irish immigrant John Ormsby and Tommy Green, who was half German, half Maori (King 1981: 99). The remains were probably from the Ngati Wehi *hapu*, including the 17th century chief Tupahau (King 1981: 97). This case demonstrates both Reischek's willingness to betray the trust of his hosts and cause them great offense, and the complexity and contradiction in the way in which the Maori approached human remains.

Tapsell (2005: 161) argues that the willingness of Ormsby and Green to assist Reischek can be seen as a result of the breaking down of traditional Maori society after the 1860's wars against the crown and the actions of the Native Land Court, which effectively abolished communal ownership of land and forced many Maori into debt as a result of high survey and court costs (Orange 1987: 186). The fact that both men as well as the chief mentioned by Reischek in his journal were well paid (in the case of the former £200 each - King 1981: 99) lends some credence to this view, but the King Country had not been under the New Zealand government's jurisdiction for around 25 years, and thus the Native Land Court would have had little or no influence there. Due to migrations and conflict, the area had been occupied by five different *hapu* over time, with the result that the various caves located there contained remains from each of these. The Ngati Te Wehi had been there in the 17th century, but had long been absent by the 1800's (King 1981: 94).

It is therefore likely that neither Green nor the chief desecrated the graves of their own ancestors. This does not mean that most local Maori who were equally distantly related to the Ngati Te Wehi were not deeply offended and angered when the theft was discovered, but it does demonstrate the fact that there was still for some a difference in the reverence paid to one's own ancestors and those of other tribes, whether they be enemies any longer or not. As will be seen in chapter seven, this variety of attitude still holds today.

There is no debate today as to whether Reischek acted in a morally sound manner, or with anything other than feigned respect towards the Maori people. Having first published Reischek's memoirs in German in 1929, his son published a biographical version 36 years later that contained all of the other material from the earlier book but completely left out all references to human remains (Reischek 1955), indicating that this had in between come to be seen as something to be less proud of and better kept quiet. Reischek's lack of ethics are still seen in a bad light in New Zealand (Kolig 1996: 153, trans. author):

Especially when looking back from today's moral standpoint, he appears in a somewhat controversial light, and so a part of his scientific legacy has been the cause of continuing discord between Austria and New Zealand.

While not denying that it would be unacceptable today, there is a strong feeling in Austria that Reischek's behaviour should be viewed in the context of his time, for example Dimt (1995: 7, trans. author):

His efforts to deliver to distant Europe a picture of New Zealand's at the time not so well-known nature, 'savages' and 'cannibals', have to be seen through the eyes of the closing years of the 19th century.

Kolig (1996: 15) in particular attacks King's New Zealand biography of Reischek for '... lacking an understanding of Austrian language, culture and history...' (trans. author), arguing that Reischek was no different to other men of science at the time in Austria, believing according to Social Darwinism that extinction of primitive cultures was unavoidable. Reischek did in fact express this view in a lecture given at the Anthropological Society in Vienna after returning from New Zealand (Reischek 1890: 99, trans. author):

The influence of civilisation will soon displace this intelligent, once powerful people also. The Maori is dying out, as he does not evolve his culture and cannot adapt.

Although in his notebooks Reischek himself termed his excursions '*Beutezügen*' (thieving sprees), it is arguable that he saw the 'mummies' and other remains as vital and endangered scientific artefacts, and that for him the procuring of them for science was of the highest priority, with the ends justifying the means (Kolig 1996: 110).

Sir Walter Buller

Reischek corresponded with other naturalists around New Zealand, including fellow ornithologist Walter Buller. As the following excerpt from an outline of a letter to Buller from Reischek's diary on October 17th 1883 (Kolig 1996: 148) intimates, they shared a passion

for collecting more than just birds: ‘... got mummies, collection of weapons, Maori clothing, Musical instruments and Playthings’. Publicly, Buller rejected allegations that he was a dealer as ‘unpalatable and distasteful’ (Bagnall 1966), but he and his son were heavily involved in collection, as described in a lecture given to the Wellington Philosophical Society on November 28th, 1894 (Buller 1895: 148):

This very thick brain-case was obtained from that “necropolis”... on the small wooded island in the Papaitonga Lake, and it may fairly be assumed that its original owner was one of the ancestors of the Muaupoko people, now residing at Horowhenua...

Continuing his lecture, he demonstrated quite clearly that he did not have any respect for the Maori’s wishes that their burials be left intact, if anything finding it rather annoying:

The other specimen is part of a Maori skull... This relic was collected by my son in 1878 from a wahi tapu or sacred grove some six or seven miles up the Opotiki river, on the East Coast... The bones of the dead had been deposited within the tree from an aperture about 12ft. from the ground, and the internments had been continued from time to time, till the hollowed tree was completely filled up with human remains... At the time of my son’s visit... the place was so strictly tapu that it was considered unsafe for any European to trespass upon it, to say nothing of interfering with the human relics. My son had therefore to content himself with only a hurried inspection, and, in order to bring away the remarkable specimen now exhibited, had to break off and leave behind the major part of the skull.

Similarly to Reischek, Buller seems to have been able to rely on assistance from some individual Maoris, with the label on the cut-away bottom of a Maori coffin in his collection for example stating that it was ‘... robbed by a half-caste from an ancient burial place at night’ (Kolig 1996: 121, trans. author).

Thomas Cheeseman

As well as commissioning the collecting of remains, Cheeseman himself also went into the field for them, as shown by a letter to De Quatrefages of the Paris Natural History Musuem from July 3rd 1877 (Tapsell 2005: 158):

My Dear Sir,... During the approaching spring and summer months I hope to visit many of the old burial caves of the Maoris to the north of Auckland, and will send you a more extensive collection and also a number of the weapons and tools...

It is likely that other museum directors such as von Haast and Hector were also active collectors, but there are no publicly available records of this.

Other grave robbers

The number of people involved in the systematic robbing of Maori burial sites in the 19th century was not insignificant, but almost all other than Reischek and Cheeseman have remained anonymous in the literature until now. Museum directors relied on a network of collectors to supply their trading programmes, and Cheeseman of the Auckland Museum employed from time to time a certain C. Tohill, as evidenced by a letter to him from Cheeseman on May 4th 1885, which refers to a continuing programme of collection (Tapsell 2005: 160):

Dear Sir... the box of skulls had turned up a few days previously. What I have got altogether will satisfy the orders that I have and leave a balance over, but it is just possible that there may be more demands...

Although John Carne Bidwill makes no mention of it anywhere in his travel diary (Bidwill 1841), he was reputed to be collecting remains unscrupulously around Rotorua at the time it describes (King 1981: 61). There are several mentions of grave robbing where the participants are left unnamed, such as this unsuccessful attempt described by Polack (1840: 113):

We remember some instances of Europeans being discovered in opening a tomb. They had been unable to affect their object unseen, and had scarcely time to gratify their curiosity, when a hue and cry was raised by a girl who had remained alone in the village. On the news reaching the chiefs... both parties were obliged to pay, what was accounted for among the people a large sum, in muskets, powder, and blankets.

A great many other collectors were probably involved simply for quick money and not for science, and had no interest in their names being attached to remains that they would have had no personal interest in, nor to being traced in relation to their deeds. This has been noted by Fox in regard to burial chests and associated remains of unknown origin: ‘Many of them reached the major museums in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin by purchase from collectors who were active in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and who had little interest in the original places of discovery’ (Fox 1983: 3).

Recent Newspaper reports from repatriations that have taken place have mentioned names of other small-scale collectors such as ship’s surgeon David Ramsay (NZPA 13.01.05) and settler George Mellish (Stokes 25.06.04). This highlights the fact that there are many more details of collectors in the records of provenanced museum collections around the world. The British Museum for example has Maori remains collected by F. H. Meintzhagen, Dr Rickward and Lord Eskine in its inventory (BM 14.10.05).

An end to theft and grave robbery?

The sourcing of remains through theft, illicit robbing of graves and as a consequence of development no longer takes place to any degree in New Zealand. It can be argued that collection via archaeological excavation does still occur, but under a new set of rules, as will be shown in chapters five and six.

Theft of heads from public areas essentially ended once the Maori realised their value and started trading them themselves, removing existing remains to avoid their being stolen. This combined with the end to trading meant that while the collection of heads peaked between 1810 and 1830, it had largely ended by 1838, when a United States expedition to New Zealand had to go to great lengths to find any to purchase (Robley 1896: 181-4).

While it was still possible to collect heads in New Zealand as late as 1870 according to Barrow (1973: 44), these were certainly exceptions to the rule.

Grave robbing ended due to three main factors. Firstly, the number of caves and burial sites was limited, and after a systematic programme of collection there was very little left. Secondly, this was compounded by Maori removing and reburying remains from many of the locations once they realised what was happening. The third factor was that in addition to belief that Maori had not changed since arrival in New Zealand (Sutton 1977: 176), it eventually became clear that the Maori were not dying out at all, so the justification of 'rescuing specimens for science' became inapplicable.

The fact that in many cases grave-robbing occurred only with the assistance of individual Maori is very important, as it demonstrates that Maori were not simply passive victims of European actions, but did in fact maintain some control of the process according to cultural factors such as strength of kinship ties.

Chapter 5: Legalised Excavation and Maori Responses to Collection

Although theft and grave robbery were becoming rare in the early 20th century, museum and university collections continued to be supplied with remains as a result of archaeological excavation of graves and other sites beginning in the early 1900's and the acceleration of development throughout the country.

Collection via archaeology and development

By 1900 the supply of remains from burial caves around the country had come to an end and much of the land containing burials was no longer in Maori hands, with 83% of the country now belonging to either the government or people of non-Maori descent (King 2003: 258).

Archaeologists have often been insensitive to Maori sensibilities. George Graham of the Auckland Museum wrote the following reply to Maori who were concerned about excavation of an ancestral graveyard on December 21st, 1932 (Tapsell 2005: 163):

To Paerimu Mu &c., Greetings: Your letter to hand has been read and considered. Listen hereto: As to your complaints about transgressions on your people's urupas – you are correct in part. But be reasonable. How can the pakeha tell what is tapu, what is noa - & what is urupa, & what is not.... As the Pakeha is a meddlesome, inquisitive person, he respects not ancient dead remains & belongings of former people found in long disused urupas... new times bring new manners, & the rigidity of tapu is now non-existent, nor possible to perpetuate.

These excavations in the early part of the 20th century were more or less a continuation of museums collecting for trade, and while archaeology has since become an established discipline in all of the country's universities, the recording and analysis of human remains has played a very limited role (Phillipps 1980: 149; Sutton 1977: 176).

Archaeologically sourced collections in New Zealand are comparatively small. Two excavations in particular have yielded large amounts of skeletal material, these being Paliser Bay with 16 individuals (Sutton 1979) and Wairau Bar with 57 (Houghton 1975), this being the largest single sample ever taken (Brewis 1988: 73). These are however exceptionally large. Sutton (1977: 5) calculates the average number of individuals recovered from sites in New Zealand between 1859 and 1969 to be only five. The overall low numbers of individuals in archaeological collections can be seen from that fact that a study of prehistoric Maori fertility was only able to sample 59 female pelvic bones, despite having the material of all four main museums and the Otago medical school to draw on (Phillipps 1980: 151).

Four main reasons for the small size of New Zealand collections of archaeological human bone, these being the separation between the disciplines of archaeology and physical anthropology in New Zealand, the fact that the archaeological sequence is relatively short and therefore has not been expected to yield valuable evidence, the view that human remains are not worth studying based on a belief that the Maori have remained unchanged since arrival in New Zealand, and that the small sample sizes gained from Maori sites cannot yield useful results (Sutton 1977: 176-177).

A significant amount of Maori human remains have also found their way into museum and university collections as a result of being discovered inadvertently through development activities. Such remains were usually taken directly to the institutions, sometimes being simply left on the steps in paper bags (Tapsell 2006). In the Auckland area alone, 30 generations of burials had been destroyed by the 1950's, belonging to iwi including the Horouta, Kurahaupo, Te Arawa, Tainui, Mataatua, Aotea, and Ngati Whatua (Tapsell 2006).

The immediate Maori response to collection

The Maori response at the time of collection came in various forms depending on the time and the circumstances, involving on occasion *utu* (revenge), preventative measures, and appeals to government. Early traders often underestimated the anger and resentment their actions would create among Maori, and were sometimes lucky to get away with their lives, as in the example below of an incident involving Captain Jack and his cargo of heads in the Bay of Islands (Robley 1896: 179):

A number of natives who came on board the vessel were shown the heads, and Jack poured them out of a sack on the ship's deck. The greatest commotion ensued, and such was the indignation aroused that Jack had to hasten away with his vessel, and was fired at soon after when met on the coast.

There were occasions however, when Maori were able to exact revenge for the sale of their ancestors, effectively turning the tables on the traders, as in the following case from 1831 (Robley 1896: 178):

Amongst the heads which Joe Rowe had purchased were two of Taupo chiefs. These were seen at his store at 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 Powers to turn him out, but knowing more of the natives, Rowe proceeded to do so himself, and the Maori promptly killed him with a blow to the head... Rowe's head and that of another of the men were steeped and dried in the usual way for sale.

Once it became clear that the remains of their ancestors were now of great value to both Europeans and other Maori (especially in the case of tattooed heads), many Maori began to take actions to prevent those remains falling into the hands of others. It is likely that many ancestral heads were buried so that they could not be stolen or sold (Buck 1962: 300), and bones were removed from caves and buried elsewhere. This was the case when a number of burial chests and bones were removed from a cave called Piwakawaka in the Hokianga in 1902. The bones were reburied in the local Maori churchyard, while the

chests were taken to the Dominion Museum in Wellington (Fox 1983: 6). The events following Reischek's theft from Kawhia took a similar track. When the violation was discovered several years later, all of the remaining bodies were removed and reburied in secret to prevent a repetition (King 1981: 103). The Waikato and King Country tribes refused to cooperate with local archaeologists up until the 1960's, and one local resident recalled that from then on Reischek was always referred to as the 'taurekareka [unscrupulous] Pakeha and other choice epithets... I cannot remember any reference to him that was not underscored with scorn and contempt' (E. A. Aubin quoted in King 1981: 106).

In some cases Maori attempted to seek justice through official channels, and were willing if necessary to raise such matters with the government. In 1932 the Native Affairs Minister, Sir Apirana Ngata, wrote to Archey of the Auckland Museum (Tapsell 2005: 163):

Dear Sir, Complaints have reached me from the Natives that you are desecrating a graveyard... The Natives claim that their dead have been desecrated and the officer, who says the place is riddled with excavations, located human bones that have evidently been unearthed. I should be glad if you would at once desist from offending the susceptibilities of the Natives and cease from excavation on the ground in question.

Ngata's intervention was unsuccessful in this case, but there were occasions when Maori were able to have their concerns addressed. Acting on a complaint in the 1890's for example, the Attorney General ordered the curator of the Canterbury Museum to remove a Maori head from display (Robley 1896: 181).

These cases demonstrate Maori opposition to the collection of remains and their willingness to use official channels to seek redress. It was mainly when Maori presence and influence in government became stronger from the 1980's onwards, along with other factors such as the *Te Maori* exhibition, that the New Zealand repatriation movement came into being.

Chapter 6: Maori, Museums and Archaeology Today

During over 200 years of collecting and trading, Maori remains became distributed in both institutional and private collections not simply throughout New Zealand, but the entire world. This chapter first summarises the scope of this distribution, then it looks at how New Zealand is approaching the repatriation of those remains today. To explain this it is necessary to look at the country's cultural situation in regards to how Maori and *Pakeha* (New Zealanders of non-Maori descent) stand together 166 years after the country's colonial era began, focusing both from an ethnic perspective and on New Zealand's museums and archaeological community.

The distribution of Maori human remains today

It is currently believed that there are over 200 preserved Maori heads in foreign institutions (NZPA 13.01.05), along with a similarly large number of bones. The 2003 Working Group on Human Remains report lists a minimum of 187 items of Maori remains held in 21 institutions in the UK alone (DCMS 2003: 12). The two largest collections currently to be found outside of New Zealand are the American Museum of Natural History in New York, which contains the remains of 37 individuals (NZPA 16.11.05), over 20 of which were originally Robley's collection (Te Rangi Hiroa 1962: 301). While one of Reischek's two 'mummies' was returned in 1985 (Kolig 1996: 114), the Völkerkunde Museum in Vienna still contains the other as well as the rest of his collection of 37 skulls and other skeletal material (Reischek 1952: 308), and skulls from other New Zealand sources (Kolig 1996, 105).

In comparison, because of the lucrative export trade the number of heads still in New Zealand collections by the 1930's was as few as ten (Elder 1932: 10). Little is known about the contents of institutions in Eastern Europe and the ex Soviet Union states, and it

is possible that a significant number of remains still exist in private collections (Rangiiria Hedley 2006: pers. comm.; Kolig 1996: 118). It can also be surprising in which locations items from New Zealand are now located, such as Salem Massachusetts, which owes its rich collections to having been the home port for many of the early whalers (Barrow 1964: 94).

The Maori situation today

Maori people in New Zealand today are still at an overall disadvantage to *Pakeha* according to statistics relating to health, economic opportunity and crime. Despite this, they are recognised as being in the best position of any indigenous people in the world when it comes to rights and self-determination (Vince Collison 2006: pers. comm.).

The reasons given for this belief are various, including the facts that New Zealand is a bicultural, bilingual and respectful country (Rangiiria Hedley 2006: pers. comm.), in which Maori form a comparatively high proportion of the population and have a relatively strong political presence and support (Vince Collison 2006: pers. comm.).

In large part the reason for this goes back to the strength of Maori when Europeans first began to attempt the colonisation of the country. Hochstetter noted the resilience of Maori language and culture in 1867 as evidenced by ‘... their indifference to the English language... While in other British colonies the natives are made to learn the language of their lords, upon New Zealand the Englishman is compelled to study the Maori tongue’ (Hochstetter 1867, 215). In 1974 the Maori Affairs Amendment Act made Maori an official language (Watkin 2004), and New Zealand thus officially bilingual.

The Maori situation has improved significantly over the last 30 years due to recent treaty settlements and ethnicity-based legislation, which has redressed many (though by

no means all) of the inequalities resulting from colonisation. In 2001, people of Maori descent comprised 18.4% of the New Zealand population (King 2003: 499), while in 1996 12.5% of members of New Zealand's parliament were Maori (Walker 2004: 342). Additional statistics show that in 1996 50% of Maori owned their own home, in 2001 21.2% possessed a tertiary qualification and in 2003 only 10% were unemployed (Watkin 2004: 19). All of these statistics represent a level of empowerment not experienced by other indigenous peoples around the world, as will be shown in chapter eight, and resulting in a greater ability to influence policy, negotiate and directly affect change.

New Zealand museums today

The Te Maori exhibition that toured the United States in 1983-5 resulted in enlarged Maori involvement in museums, so that in 1995 Maori visitors to museums comprised 9% of the total (G. O'Regan 1997: 65). Figure 1 shows the corresponding increase in Maori museum staff numbers since then.



Fig. 1: The increase in Maori staff in New Zealand's seven largest museums between 1980 and 1995 (adapted from G. O'Regan 1997, 70).

Te Maori also meant that elders were asked to focus on the Maori content of museums for the first time (S. O'Regan 1990: 103). This was the genesis of the repatriation movement in New Zealand, as Maori then began to question how *taonga* (treasures) had come to be in Museums in the first place (Tapsell 1998: 148).

Of the four main metropolitan museums, all now have *iwi* involvement to some level (G. O'Regan 1997: 10), although this varies in some key aspects that are of importance to the success of repatriation efforts. In a 1997 survey of 350 New Zealand museums, almost all expressed a strong commitment to work with *iwi* to find a solution to repatriation requests, and only one would not cooperate (G. O'Regan 1997: 54).

This chapter focuses on the two largest museums, The Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa, in Wellington, and the Auckland War Memorial Museum (AWMM), Tamaki Paenga Hira. Both of these museums have bicultural policies and active repatriation systems, but with some key differences that determine the success with which they are able to work with Maori communities to return remains.

The Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa

The old Dominion Museum in Wellington had from time to time been described as a 'colonialist' and 'monocultural' institution (Henare 2005: 270). In 1998 it reopened its doors in a new location on Wellington's waterfront as Te Papa Tongarewa, with a new mission of representing a bicultural New Zealand, involving Maori staff and cultural participation, and housing a functioning marae (communal meeting place where visitors are welcomed by *tangata whenua*), the only museum in New Zealand to do so (Williams 2005: 84).

Due especially to the efforts of *tangata whenua* (local or home tribe) elder Dr Maui Pomare of the Te Ati Awa *iwi* and Ngati Toa hapu, the museum also contains an 'ances-

tral remains vault', or *wahi tapu*, which is the only place in New Zealand specifically intended to hold unprovenanced Maori ancestral remains (Tapsell 1998: 148). Because of this, Te Papa is the receiving museum for the majority of remains returned to New Zealand, and has a proactive programme of researching and requesting the repatriation from overseas institutions (NZPA 16.11.05). According to James Te Puni, Director of Maori Strategy, the museum has identified 200 such institutions (Thompson 27.02.2006), and the *wahi tapu* is reported to contain the remains of over 100 individuals (NZPA 16.11.05), including around 55 preserved heads (NZPA 13.01.2005).

Despite success so far in achieving the return of remains from overseas, Te Papa has up until now failed to return a significant number of these to their source communities (Tapsell 2006: pers. comm.), this being due to fundamental problems with the way in which they have pursued their bicultural strategy. For tribal elders throughout New Zealand it is essential that any repatriation situation be approached by forming partnerships with the museum in question's *tangata whenua* (Tapsell 2002: 289). In modern Maori culture where relationships between *iwi* are highly cooperative, *tangata whenua* take their responsibility for the spiritual care of any *taonga* or remains from other *iwi* that exist within their territory very seriously, and from a reciprocal point of view it would be highly disrespectful for other *iwi* not to deal with them regarding such matters. This is not something that has been well understood by Te Papa to date, and it manifests itself in three main ways.

The first problem is that there is no legislative requirement for the museum to either employ or be governed by members of the *tangata whenua* (G. O'Regan 1997: 10), in this case the Te Ati Awa *iwi*. Because of this the visiting tribes do not feel comfortable dealing with Maori staff at the museum, as they feel it is disrespectful to the *tangata whenua*

(Tapsell 1998: 186). The offence of this is clearly expressed by Te Ati Awa elder Ngatata Love, who was interviewed by Tapsell (1998: 200) in 1997:

... the Musuem has not made appointments to back up recognition of mana whenua... The Crown has stepped right across mana whenua issues. I see this as a fundamental error... It therefore boils down to property rights – possession, versus actual value which comes from the people. Without this it is worth nothing. So museums need to see management of taonga as a shared right, shared ownership... As long as the tangata whenua are excluded the Museum will not be fulfilling their obligation under the Treaty.

There is also a strong feeling that Maori staff who do not represent the *tangata whenua* often have their own agendas, which conflict with those of Te Ati Awa, as expressed in an interview with the *iwi's* Ngati Toa hapu during the same year (Tapsell 1998: 198):

In our opinion it is outsider Maori, usually working in high-paid government positions as Maori advisors, who are confusing the Pakeha. They have come in with their own agendas, confused the Museum and everyone else and in the process walked all over our mana.

The second area of difficulty surrounds the *marae*, which was built specifically for the museum and has no attachment to the *tangata whenua*, existing in a 'kind of customary non-space' (Williams 2005: 85). Because a marae customarily is the place where *tangata whenua* and visiting tribes interface, this further alienates the Te Ati Awa and adds to the unease of other *iwi*.

The third issue is that Te Papa's involvement of Te Ati Awa on an external basis has also been minimal and inconsistent. In some cases the museum has worked with one of the *iwi's* two *hapu* only, causing offence to the other, and neither have been sufficiently involved in the care of the *wahi tapu*, despite this being something established with the integral involvement of the *tangata whenua*, and being something for which they feel highly responsible. There is the concern on the part of the Te Ati Awa and other *iwi* that if

they are not included to a greater degree, the human remains in the vault may cease to be spiritually protected (Tapsell 1998: 209).

Because of the above issues, while Te Papa has been successful in securing the return to New Zealand of Maori remains from foreign institutions, it has not been able to secure the return of any significant number of these remains to source communities, its ultimate goal. An interesting case study in contrast is that of the Auckland Museum.

The Auckland War Memorial Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira

As with Te Papa, the AWMM comes customarily under the care of its *tangata whenua*, the Ngati Whatua, who feel a strong obligation to other *iwi* to care for the museum's taonga (Tapsell unpubl.). Unlike Te Papa, the relationship of Ngati Whatua to the museum is established in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act 1996, through which a Maori advisory committee known as the Taumata-a-Iwi was created. The Taumata-a-Iwi is appointed by Ngati Whatua, and in turn appoints a member of the Museum's board. The AWMM is thus the only museum in the world with a legislated indigenous advisory committee (Tapsell 2006: pers. comm.), and the *tangata whenua* are thus assured of stable and ongoing integration with it. This close relationship with the Ngati Whatua is unique among New Zealand museums and likely to become a model for others in future (Kawharu 2002: 301). Because of this other *iwi* feel comfortable dealing with the museum, and it is recognised as a serious and dedicated partner for issues such as taonga management and repatriation.

The AWMM human remains database contains 1,317 discreet remains (Tapsell 2006: pers. comm.), of which 90% are provenanced, largely due to the meticulous record keeping of Thomas Cheeseman (Fforde 2005: pers. comm.). Because it does not house a *wahi tapu* specifically designed to contain unknown remains on an ongoing basis, the museum

does not seek the return of unprovenanced remains in the way that Te Papa does, and therefore expects to be able to return all Maori ancestral remains in its collection by mid 2007 (Thompson 27.02.06), as part of its Ancestral Human Remains Return to Source Project initiated in 2001 (Tapsell unpublished). At least seven repatriations have been carried out through the *tangata whenua* to date, and any unprovenanced remains left at the end of the process will be given to Ngati Whatua to care for (Tapsell 2006: pers. comm.). The museum's policy is to automatically comply with all requests for repatriation from tribes that can substantiate their connection to remains, and return them with both as little delay and publicity as possible (Tapsell 2006: pers. comm.).

That the AWMM's partnership with Maori through the Taumata-a-Iwi is sincere is demonstrated by the fact that recognition of Maori ownership of all human remains also extends to the granting of access to them and to any associated information. When information from the archives relating to specific repatriations was requested for the writing of this dissertation, the Taumata-a-Iwi were consulted and access was withheld on the basis that all researchers should first obtain the permission of the *iwi* to whom the remains belong. Due to time constraints and the fact that elders had already been very generous with their time giving interviews the *iwi* were not then approached again in this case, but this very clearly demonstrated that there has been a clear transfer of ownership.

New Zealand archaeology today

Broadly speaking, New Zealand museums are many steps ahead of archaeology (in the case of New Zealand this refers mostly to university archaeology departments) in regard to the forming of partnerships with Maori communities. While at one point for example remains in the AWMM were studied freely by archaeology students from the University of Auckland, the students are now required to first approach the *iwi* to whom the remains belong for permission first. This has effectively put a cap on such research, with the last

request for access having been in 2001. In this case either the students were rebuffed by the *iwi*, or did not trust themselves to approach them, and the museum heard nothing further (Tappsell 2006: pers. comm.). That no more contact has been made in the following five years indicates that universities currently prefer to turn to easier ways of access if interaction with Maori, the people whose remains they intend to study and therefore better understand, can be avoided.

Although Trotter and McCullough (1997: 94) write that ‘... it is not uncommon for archaeologists to have opportunities to examine bones of the prehistoric dead with the approval, and often interest, of Maori leaders,’ many Maori still have very negative images of archaeology and see archaeologists as uninterested in forming relationships that benefit both parties (Butts 1990: 114). This has been changing over the last 20 years however, and as in the case of the AWMM it is the involvement of *tangata whenua* that is making the difference. In many cases today mediation between archaeologists and *iwi* is provided by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, which now includes representatives of the *tangata whenua* on Maori advisory and archaeological committees (S. O’Regan 1990: 100).

Another positive sign from the perspective of Maori is that the two largest archaeological collections of remains are now being returned. Negotiations between the Ngati Hinewaka hapu and Te Papa for the return of remains from Palliser Bay and the Palliser coast began in 2005 (NZPA 03.06.05), and in 2006 the Canterbury Museum has agreed in principle to return the remains of 53 individuals from Wairau Bar to the Rangitane *iwi* (NZPA 03.05.06). Seeing that modern scholars are willing to return remains and work with *tangata whenua* means that over time more Maori will come to differentiate archaeologists from fossickers and be willing to cooperate and engage more with them.

The following story related by Paul Tapsell of the AWMM (2006: pers. comm.) illustrates the crossroads that archaeology is at, with increasing cooperation from *tangata whenua* on the one hand and yet many archaeologists still not feeling able to form partnerships with them on the other. During 2005 an archaeological investigation by the University of Auckland anthropology department outside of the Auckland region uncovered human remains. The first mistake made, due to unfamiliarity with Maori culture, was to contact only one of the four local hapu to request permission to remove the bones temporarily for study. The second mistake was to then take the bones to Auckland without first consulting Ngati Whatua. This is an essential, as ‘... to accept into one’s territory unknown ancestral remains represents spiritual dangers which most elders do not wish to contemplate’ (Tapsell 1998: 148), and the *tangata whenua* must be allowed to perform ceremonies to ensure that no danger is posed, and to assume ultimate responsibility for the bones while in their territory. The other three hapu from the burial region then found out about the remains having been removed and demanded their immediate return.

These events prompted Ngati Whatua to establish a policy and set of procedures together with the university senate to ensure that they would be appropriately involved in any such situation in future. The culturally respectful thing for the anthropology department to have done next was to hand over the remains to Ngati Whatua, who would perform a ceremony and then return them to their originating hapu. At this point however frustration got the better of a senior member of the anthropology department, who simply drove the remains back by himself. This chain of events demonstrates that while progress is being made, some sections of the archaeological community still require time to adapt.

The overall trend in New Zealand is one of increased involvement and control of the collection and return of Maori remains by *tangata whenua* groups, essentially a reassertion of Maori sovereignty in areas of Maori culture.

Chapter 7: Current Perspectives on Repatriation

As in other countries, the repatriation movement in New Zealand is based on current cultural beliefs, not traditional ones, although in many areas these are the same (Hubert 1989: 161). This chapter looks at Maori perspectives on repatriation, summarising two interviews with Maori elders, then discusses a survey of general public opinion on the topic.

Maori perspectives

As mentioned in the preceding chapters, it is very important for Maori communities to ensure that their ancestors have received a proper burial on tribal land and to be able to continue to look after them. Where remains have been acquired through grave robbery, archaeology or development in the past, there is usually no question that they should be returned at some point. In scenarios where remains were traded, either by individuals or by other tribes into whose possession they had come, there is also a belief that the case for repatriation is still strong due to contemporary aims (Henare 2005: 48), such as relieving the suffering of modern descendants and establishing good inter-community and community-institution relationships. Remains may have been sold as objects, but for Maori they contain mana, spirit, and effectively the ancestors themselves, none of which can be sold (Clavir 2002: 219). Because these things are intertwined, it is necessary to repatriate remains so that the ancestors can be taken care of. For Maori it is the case that the current generation is in fact owned by their ancestors, and that they have a responsibility to look after them (Tapsell 2003: 246).

While it would be an exception for a Maori community not to want the return and reburial of a direct or communal ancestor, there are some cases both individual and communal

where this is the case. In some cases Maori communities have been so disrupted by the colonisation experience that they are not currently in a state to be able to make consensual decisions and take measures to care for remains adequately. While in these cases it is still desired that the remains come back one day, the community may prefer to wait until it has regained enough strength. This is expressed by Tapsell (2003: 246):

No one wants their grandparents.. to come home to find their place now in a mess, the children fighting or even worse run away, and those left behind unwilling to provide them with long-term care.

Instead the top priorities for his own *hapu*, Ngati Whakaue, are education, housing, health, employment, capital development, Treaty of Waitangi claims, local government taxes, access to geothermal waters and marae sustainability (Tapsell 2003: 246).

In the case of preserved heads, for some the return of the heads of slaves is not desirable. Te Rangi Hiroa (1962: 301) for example, noted that Robley's collection of heads in New York had been offered for sale, but that New Zealand had declined to purchase them:

Perhaps it is better that they did not come home, for some of the specimens with blurred and hastily executed details bear eloquent witness to one of the effects of the white man's encouragement of native art for commercial purposes.

There is a counter-view however, that such heads should be returned but not reburied, instead being made available to modern artists to study for the purpose of reviving the art form (Te Hau Tutua 2006: pers. comm.).

A final and less direct motivation for repatriation is political. While almost all successful repatriations in New Zealand are accomplished quietly as a result of coordination between *tangata whenua* and institutions, some louder, more provocative calls come from urban marae that are not aligned to *tangata whenua* and have more political, non-traditional agendas to promote by raising the issue (Tapsell 1998: 147).

Interviews – Joe Malcolm and Te Hau Tutua

In order to gain more insight into current tribal perspectives on repatriation, two Maori elders who have recently been involved in repatriation from the AWMM were interviewed on July 1st 2006. Joe Malcolm, of the Te Arawa *iwi* and Ngati Pikao *hapu* was interviewed at his home in Rotorua, while Te Hau Tutua, of the Ngati Awa *iwi* and Ngati Hikakino *hapu*, was interviewed at the Whareroa marae in Tauranga.

The repatriation of remains to Ngati Pikao occurred when Joe proactively learnt that the AWMM contained remains from the *hapu*. He wrote to the museum to request their return, received a quick response, and was able to take a small delegation to collect the remains almost immediately. There was no press surrounding the repatriations, with only those within the *hapu* who were particularly concerned about the remains being involved, these including relatively few young people. The ceremonies to welcome and rebury the remains were very moving, even traumatic for some members of the community:

I asked one fellow to help out at the ceremony, and at the right point asked him to go and pick up the bones. He went over but when he got there he just froze. He was petrified. I had to go and take over.

In the case of the Ngati Hikakino, Te Hau's *hapu* were contacted first by the AWMM. They also kept a low profile during the repatriation process, and limited the reburial ceremony to a small group of *hapu* members.

When it comes to their attitudes to ancestral remains, both elders are generally in agreement but diverge from one another in certain aspects. Joe would only request the return of remains that belonged to his *hapu* or his wife's, and would not accept remains from other *hapu* or that were unprovenanced, as he has no association with those. He would definitely request the return of remains from overseas if he knew of them, saying '...those

are our bones. They are our property.’ Te Hau in comparison does not want all remains to be returned, unless they are offered, and even if from within his own *hapu*, he would only want to repatriate named individuals. The difference between the two viewpoints is really one of degree – Te Hau must know exactly who the ancestor from his hapu was, while for Joe it is enough to know that they are from his or his wife’s *hapu*.

On the topic of reburial, Joe believes that all remains should be reburied, but Te Hau prefers that tattooed heads be kept:

What do they want these heads back for? Only to bury them and then they are gone. I’d rather they were there to be studied. A lot of artists are reviving the art of tattooing now and it would help them to study them.

On the topic of museums, both men once again diverge. Te Hau does not have a problem with museums holding remains for study, as long as they are not displayed: ‘I don’t think these bones in the museums are a problem. I don’t have a problem with them there at all.’ Joe on the other hand feels that museums should fully divest themselves of all remains, and that his *hapu* ‘... can’t sleep well if we know that the bones are up there in the boxes.’ He would prefer that the remains were not available for study: ‘I would rather they didn’t. I can understand students wanting to study them, but there has to be another way.’

Similarly, in regard to archaeology Joe believes that reburial of uncovered remains should be immediate, while for Te Hau the important thing is that *iwi* should be notified straight away so that they can remove the *tapu*, but then it is all right for archaeologists to remove the remains for study, as long as they are returned later.

These interviews show that there is a range of opinion among Maori with regard to the handling of ancestral remains and their study. As a rule only close ancestors of a particular *hapu* or *iwi* are accepted for return, but the definition of ‘close’ can vary. This

is essentially a continuation of the beliefs held by earlier generations of Maori, which determined which remains they were willing to trade or assist in the collection of, as described in chapters three and four. This interest in the return of remains only from own kin groups means that repatriation cases are always of very clearly provenanced remains, and thus without the possibility of opposition from scientists who dispute their ancestry with regard to the community involved. This is often not the case in other countries such as Australia, as will be shown in the next chapter.

Survey of public opinion

In order to ascertain the opinion of the New Zealand public on repatriation issues in regard to archaeology, an informal survey was carried out in the Auckland Domain (a large park surrounding the AWMM) over four days in June 2006. For purposes of comparison with the UK, the survey was based on one conducted by Cambridgeshire Archaeology in 2005 (Carroll 2005). While additional demographic questions were added to the New Zealand survey to ensure that all respondents were New Zealand citizens and to track ethnicity, as well as an international repatriation component, the core questions on reburial were kept the same. The core questions to both surveys and the comparative results are shown on the following page in table 1, and the entire New Zealand survey is available in Appendix 3.

Question	NZ Response	UK Response
Were you aware that skeletons excavated by archaeologists are frequently kept after the fieldwork?	58%	85%
Do you think that skeletons should be reburied?	82%	70%
If YES, at what point in time:		
Immediately after excavation	21%	5%
If requested by the local community	65%	25%
A set time after the excavation (say two years)	4%	27%
When archaeologists decide the skeletons have no further scientific or research use	11%	71%
Other (please state)	0%	2%
Human skeletal remains can aid future scientific study. Do you think it is appropriate to keep skeletons for future scientific work?	32%	88%
Do you think that the buried person's religion should make a difference to how the skeleton is treated?	83%	56%
Do you expect to see human skeletons displayed in museums?	53%	79%
Do you think this is appropriate?	29%	73%

Table 1: A comparison of public opinion in New Zealand and the United Kingdom regarding reburial of human remains (extended with NZ data from Carroll 2005: 12).

As can be seen, opinions were nearly the reverse in New Zealand compared to the UK. New Zealanders are more likely to think reburial is the correct thing to do, and to take religion and the feelings of the local community into account, rather than the requirements of archaeologists. In an additional section of the Auckland survey, 70% were in favour of repatriation from overseas museums (see appendix 3 for full details). These results indicate considerable public support for Maori repatriation efforts and reflect the degree to which the country has become bicultural, with growing respect for Maori values and for *tangata whenua* in New Zealand communities.

Chapter 8: New Zealand in Contrast: Australia

In comparison to virtually every other colonial country, the repatriation of human remains is taking place in New Zealand in a spirit of cooperation, with minimal media attention and largely under the control of the indigenous people. The preceding chapters have detailed the background and practice of collection in New Zealand from both Maori and European perspectives, and explained the way that bicultural partnerships are being formed and repatriation issues resolved. This chapter compares this to the situation in Australia, where indigenous Australians often face heated opposition, public debate and the need for federal intervention, emphasising the differences in historical and intercultural development which have produced such disparity.

The intercultural contact which occurred early in Australian history was very different to that described in the preceding chapters, as observed by Hochstetter (1867: 221):

I have long since come to the conclusion, that the modern Englishman is as cruel and unprincipled a scoundrel as the world has ever seen. – In simple truth, we pay the Maori large sums for his land, because he is an acute and powerful savage, we swindle the Australian out of his birthright, because he is simple and helpless.

Hochstetter's assessment of the Aboriginal peoples as simple is unfair, but he is correct that the colonists tested the limits and got away with as much as they could in both places, but with very different results. Indicative of the difference was that the Treaty of Waitangi that granted Maori British citizenship was signed in 1840, 70 years after first contact (Orange 1987: 6). In Australia, the Aboriginal peoples were effectively first recognised as citizens when added to the national census in 1967 (Richardson 1989: 12), 197 years after Cook declared sovereignty over New South Wales.

In all of the areas that were identified as key Maori success in regard to repatriation, indigenous Australians are significantly disadvantaged by comparison, as shown in table 2 below.

Statistic	Maori		Indigenous Australians	
	Year	%	Year	%
Percentage of total population	2001 ¹	14	2001 ³	2.2
Percentage with tertiary qualification	2001 ¹	21.2	2001 ³	0.03
Unemployment level	2003 ¹	10	2001 ³	75.5
Percentage home ownership	1996 ¹	50	2001 ³	9
Political representation (percentage of politicians at national/federal level)	1996 ²	12.5	2000 ⁴	0

Table 2: A comparison of Maori and Indigenous Australian statistics. Compiled from: ¹ Watkin 2004; ² Walker 2004; ³ ABS 2001; ⁴ Saunders 2000.

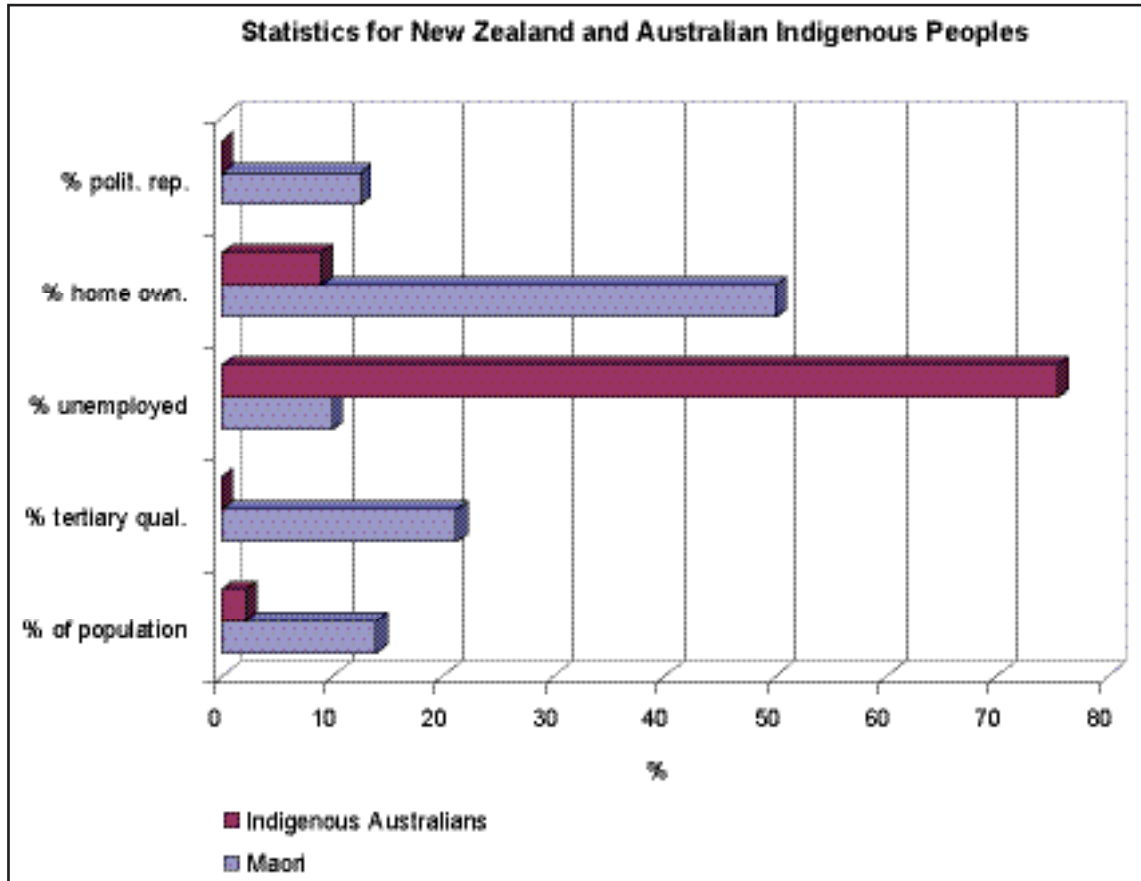


Fig. 2: A comparison of Maori and Indigenous Australian statistics, based on table 2.

Indigenous people in Australia and other colonial countries such as Canada are also disadvantaged by a lack of cultural recognition, respect and integration (e.g. bilingualism) compared to Maori (Clavir 2002: 218).

Aboriginal people were disenfranchised by colonialism right from the beginning, with Australia being declared to be *terra nullius*, or unoccupied land, in order for Great Britain to justify its claim of sovereignty in the 18th century (Mason 1997: 294). It was a long time before they received any legislative protection against human remains collectors. While the trade in preserved Maori heads was effectively halted by the Governor of New South Wales in 1831, it was not until 1913 that the export of Aboriginal remains was forbidden by the Australian government (Fforde 1997: 35), finally putting an end to a trade that even the 'Protectors of Aborigines' such as Roth and Moorhouse were heavily involved in (Fforde 1997: 51).

As with NAGPRA in the US, in the last 30 years it has been necessary for the Australian Government and courts to force museums, archaeologists and physical anthropologists to return remains, with pivotal Supreme Court injunctions in the early 1980's being followed by amendments to legislation in the early 1990's (Fforde 1997: 130). In contrast to New Zealand, Museums Australia is still ambiguous on the point of whether Aboriginal people own the remains in museums, and the Australian Museum is still legally forbidden to return 'legally acquired' remains (Turnbull 2002). Despite this the Australian Museum and other institutions are today actively returning other remains through agencies such as FAIRA and the New South Wales Aboriginal Land Council (Fforde 1997: 129). It is indicative of the different cultural power-balances in the two nations that this process is being driven by legislation and government agencies, rather than by indigenous groups themselves, as in the case of Maori *tangata whenua*.

The core motivations for collecting human remains were different in Australia to New Zealand. Because Europeans believed that the Aboriginal peoples represented the lowest rung in their racial hierarchies, they were therefore also the most sought after as specimens to help prove the differences between primitive and advanced peoples. For example Bowes (1914: 153; cited in Fforde 1997: 70) wrote that the Australian Aboriginal:

... is today, so to speak, the most valuable product in the human market for scientific purposes; for he may fairly claim to be the most primitive living representative of prehistoric man among the surviving tribes.

The belief that the indigenous peoples were soon to be extinct was much stronger in Australia, compounded by the fact that the Tasmanian Aboriginals in fact were by 1876 (Fforde 1997: 70), which had the affect of accelerating collection.

The methods of collection of remains differed in Australia also, partly because there was an international scientific demand for 'soft' Aboriginal body parts. As a result of this, Aboriginal remains were removed directly from morgues and coroner's offices and sent overseas (Fforde 1997: 42). Even more disturbing was the number of remains which found their way into collections through violent means (Turnbull 1998: 168). Many Aboriginal people were shot during 'punitive raids', and it was not uncommon for their remains to be collected, as well as those of individuals who had been hung (Fforde 1997: 47-48). Sometimes expeditions to kill Aboriginals took on the nature of a hunt, as in the case of Carnam-baygal, a well-known Aborigine who was killed and his head collected in the following manner (Turnbull 1998: 163):

... they procured two native guides. He was then traced to his den and, being placed at bay, he died manfully having received five shots before he fell.

Foreign collectors such as Amalie Dietrich were so desperate for Aboriginal remains that they would request the shooting of victims (Richardson 1989: 186). The disregard for

Aboriginal people as human beings was even shared by the director of the Australian Museum, as evidenced by the following letter from 1892 (quoted in Turnbull 1997):

The shooting season is over in Queensland and the 'Black Game' is protected now by more humane laws than formerly. So it is impossible to obtain reliable skulls & skeletons.

A significant number of Australian archaeologists and physical anthropologists are strongly opposed to repatriation and reburial. As some Aboriginal remains are many thousands of years older than those of the Maori, scientists argue both that their international research value is much higher, and that the line of descent is too vague for any group to claim them as ancestors with certainty (Turnbull 2002: 63). Passions have become sufficiently inflamed that one prominent museum official described the proponents of reburial as 'possessed of the same mentality that sparked the European witch-craze and the fascist book-burnings' (Turnbull 1997). There is as a result a great deal of antagonism between some archaeologists and indigenous communities (Fforde 1997: 121). One result of these diametrically opposed positions has been the compromising by the indigenous communities on 'keeping places', where the remains are returned to indigenous control but not reburied (Richardson 1989: 187), keeping alive the possibility of future research. By comparison, Maori have not been under comparable pressure and have not compromised in any of their aims.

The argument about not being able to trace fossil remains directly to modern populations does not change the desire of indigenous Australians to rebury them. Because they have been disenfranchised to a much greater extent than the Maori there is an extra dimension to repatriation for these communities, this being a great need to reinforce group definition and identity by means of common ancestors (Fforde 1997: 159), regardless of antiquity.

Ancestors are sacred to both cultures, but Aborigines in contrast to Maori traditionally do not like to speak of theirs in public (Te Hau Tutua 2006: pers. comm.). Despite this, while in New Zealand *iwi* have sought to avoid publicity over repatriation, due to a lack of political power Australia's indigenous peoples have been forced to use press coverage and lobbying for public support as a last resort (Richardson 1989, 187). This has been a double-edged sword, allowing opponents of repatriation such as leading Australian pre-historian John Mulvaney to claim that repatriation calls are politically motivated attempts to draw more attention to land claims (Turnbull 1997; 2002: 65). The campaign for the reburial of the last Tasmanian, Truganini, is an example of how much publicity has at times been necessary, as it required protests in 1947, 1950, 1953, the late 1960's and 1970 to raise enough support for his remains to be finally reburied in 1976 (Fforde 1997: 109-112).

Fforde (1997, 172) concludes that in Australia:

Reconciliation through repatriation occurs not only because appropriated items are returned, but because this process accords recognition and respect to the legitimacy of modern Aboriginal society.

This is essentially the reverse of the New Zealand situation, where repatriation has instead occurred because of a long-term reconciliation of cultures, starting from a more even base where recognition was already given, and building on Treaty relationships to forge a comparatively more respectful and bicultural society.

Conclusions

Why New Zealand is different

This dissertation both brings together the history of human remains collection in New Zealand and demonstrates that the repatriation of those remains today taking place in a fundamentally different way to other colonial countries such as Australia. Tracing the issue back to its beginnings with first contact between Europeans and Maori, chapter two has demonstrated that the main motivations for collection which held in the 19th century are no longer relevant in New Zealand, while chapters three and four have shown that certain aspects of Maori culture such as kin group affiliation of the deceased influenced both which remains were available to collectors and the way and degree to which they were collected. In chapter six the relatively high political, economic and cultural strength of Maori was shown to be reflected in the increasing involvement of *tangata whenua* groups in museums and archaeology, with repatriation occurring successfully under Maori control. Chapter seven demonstrated that Maori are committed to the return of remains to originating communities, but not of unprovenanced remains, while there is a very high level of public support for their position. All of these factors have made the repatriation of human remains in New Zealand less of an issue and instead more a step along the road of developing partnerships between Maori, museums and archaeologists. This was underlined in chapter eight, where the circumstances in Australia were shown to be nearly the reverse in all of the above areas.

Essentially New Zealand is now moving ahead in a spirit of cooperation and biculturalism on issues such as repatriation because it has been willing to approach and to a great extent resolve the causes of such problems, for example the systematic addressing of treaty grievances by the Waitangi Tribunal since 1984 (Orange 1987, 249). In countries such as

Australia and Canada, the indigenous peoples are still at a significant disadvantage to the rest of the population that will take several generations to overcome, assuming that there is the political will to do so. The fact that these peoples do not currently possess effective political influence indicates that this is unlikely to happen more quickly. Unfortunately unless this balance is first redressed and historical injustices dealt with, the populations of these countries, including their museums and archaeological communities, will not be moved towards bicultural attitudes and repatriation will continue to be a flash point for conflict and antagonism.

The future of museums in the wake of repatriation

When many archaeologists and museum personnel around the world view repatriation and reburial of human remains to be a threat to their institutions and the very knowledge they stand for, they are in fact missing a critical and exciting opportunity. By repatriating remains they are taking an important step towards redressing serious issues of cultural ownership and breaking down the barriers that have been constructed over centuries between themselves and the very cultures they claim to represent and interpret.

By using repatriation as a first step, museums can form partnerships with representative groups of those cultures (such as *tangata whenua* in New Zealand), and ultimately reinvigorate and maintain the relevance of their collections. When a museum enters into an exchange of knowledge with indigenous groups, both sides stand to gain substantially. Museums can obtain deeper, contextual interpretation of their collections, and include reference to the modern descendants of those who made them, increasing the relevance of the collection to the world today. Indigenous groups can regain knowledge of the meaning, use and manufacture of objects and aspects of their cultures that are no longer common, and ensure that their cultures are presented to the rest of the world appropriately. In New Zealand there is the hope that such partnerships could also be a way to reconnect

community members who have become alienated from their ancestral culture, further strengthening that community (Tapsell 1998, 154):

Perhaps one day Metropolitan museums, with the support of the *tangata whenua*, re-empowered tribal trusts and visitor tribal marae, will provide a vehicle to bridge urban-born descendants with kin group elders. Tribal interaction at museum level could allow young Maori to learn that museum-held taonga symbolise specific relationships between lands, ancestors and *tangata whenua*.

Unless museums begin to reflect the increasingly global world in which cultures are mixing and learning to work together on a scale never seen before, they run the risk of losing their relevance in the present, becoming little more than showcases of outdated world-views in themselves.

Possible areas for future study

While this dissertation is the first time the history of human remains collection in New Zealand has been drawn together in a comprehensive form, this history could be extended by researching the provenance information in museum archives throughout the world, and especially by focusing on collections in European and ex-eastern bloc countries that have largely been neglected by English speaking researchers up until now.

More in-depth case studies of New Zealand museums could be carried out, including in particular the success of Te Papa's international repatriation programme and its relationships with *tangata whenua* groups. The future development of the Auckland Museum once it has completed its planned repatriations and begins to consider the future of other items of cultural importance in its collections in conjunction with Maori groups will be of great interest. On an international level, it would be particularly interesting to examine a major world institution such as the British Museum and assess exactly how it might evolve were it to engage in partnership all of the communities around the world whose cultural property it contains.

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Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
BM	The British Museum
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
FAIRA	Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action
IOI	Institute of Ideas
NZH	New Zealand Herald
NZPA	New Zealand Press Association
UN-WGIP	United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples

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Appendix 1: Glossary

Unless otherwise specified, the definitions below are taken from Williams 1971 *Dictionary of the Maori Language*.

Hahunga

Funeral ceremony (secondary) - ritual preparation and display of scraped and painted remains (Tapsell 2005: 170).

Hapu

Section of a large tribe, clan, secondary tribe.

Iwi

Bone, strength, nation, people.

Kehua

Ghost, spirit.

Koiwi

Bone, corpse, descendants, line of issue.

Mana

Authority, influence, prestige, power, vested with effective authority.

Marae

Community meeting place.

Mauri

Life principle, thymos of man.

Noa

Free of ancestral presence, restriction or sanctions (Tapsell 2005: 170).

Pakeha

A person of predominantly European descent.

Pa

A fortified settlement.

Po

Night, place of departed spirits

Rangatira

Chief, person of good breeding, well born, noble

Rangi

Sky, heavens, abode of supernatural beings.

Tangata Whenua

People belonging to any particular place, natives.

Tangihanga

Funeral ceremony (primary) - death mourning ceremony on a marae lasting several days (Tapsell 2005: 170).

Taonga

Property, anything highly prized.

Tapu

Under religious or superstitious restriction.

Tohunga

Wizard, priest.

Tupuna

Ancestor, grandparent.

Urupa

Fence around a grave, burying place.

Utu

Return for anything, satisfaction, ransom, reward, price, reply.

Wahi tapu

Site usually associated with burial, battle or special occasion (Tapsell 2005: 171).

Wairua

Spirit.

Appendix 2: Biographical Notes

Brind, William Darby 1794?-1850

A whaler and schooner captain based in the Bay of Islands. Often accused of licentious behaviour and trouble-making, he was involved in the trading of arms to Maori, and accused of having caused the 'Girl's War' in 1830, in which many lives were lost. (Oliver 1990).

Buller, Walter Lawry 1838-1906

Began his career as an interpreter at the Magistrates Court in Wellington in 1855. Was then a resident magistrate in Manawatu and Wanganui, and later a very successful barrister. A keen ornithologist, he was the author of *A History of the Birds of New Zealand* (Oliver 1990: 53-54).

Grey, George 1812-1898

Appointed governor of New Zealand in 1845. Under Grey a successful system was set up for the government to purchase land from the Maori, then sell it on to settlers at a profit. Was highly regarded by Maori, and worked to improve their situation. He negotiated with the Maori tribes in the King Country in 1861. His appointment was terminated in 1868, as he began to evade carrying out the instructions of the British government in favour of his own judgement (Oliver 1990: 160-164).

Haast, Johann Franz Julius von 1822-1887

Geologist who surveyed Nelson, Canterbury and Westland, becoming Provincial Geologist in 1861. Founded the Canterbury Museum in 1861 and the Philosophical Society Institute of Canterbury in 1862. Became director of the Canterbury Museum in 1868 (Oliver 1990: 167-169).

Hector, James 1834-1907

Appointed director of the Geological Survey of Otago in 1861. Appointed director of the Geological Survey and Colonial Museum in Wellington in 1865. Managed the New Zealand Institute (later the Royal Society of New Zealand) from 1867-1903 (Oliver 1990: 183-184).

Hongi Hika 1772-1828

Chief of the Nga Puhi tribe. Visited England in 1820. Acquired a large number of muskets on the trip, with which the Nga Puhi subsequently began a merciless military campaign against the other North Island tribes, sparking the arms race and 'musket wars' (Oliver 1990: 201-202).

Marsden, Samuel 1765-1838

Missionary who visited New Zealand on seven occasions and established the post of the Church Missionary Society there. He was largely responsible for the early conversion of Maori to Christianity, which would otherwise have been long delayed (Oliver 1990: 271-273).

Tawhiao, Tukaroto Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero ?-1894

Son of Te Wherowhero and became the second Maori king on his father's death in 1860. His reign of 34 years spanned the most turbulent era of Maori-Pakeha relations. He and his people lost over a million acres of land when government troops invaded the Waikato in 1863. Regarded as a visionary and prophet, and a fundamental pacifist who renounced Maori-Pakeha warfare. Opened the King Country to Pakeha in 1881 (Orange 1993: 509-510).

Te Wherowhero, Potatau ?-1860

Chief of the Waikato tribe. Refused to sign the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Became the first Maori king in 1858. A friend and confidant of Governor Grey early on, relations became increasingly strained in later years as the number of land disputes grew (Oliver 1990: 526-528).

Appendix 3: Survey Details

The Survey Form

The survey consists of three sections. Section 1 collects demographic data (only those who were New Zealand citizens were surveyed), section 2 is based on the UK survey, and section 3 focuses on international repatriation.

Section 1: Questions focusing on demography

1. Are you a New Zealand Citizen?
2. Male or female?
3. To which ethnic group do you belong?
 - a) Maori
 - b) European / Caucasian
 - c) Samoan
 - d) Cook Islands
 - e) Tongan
 - f) Niuean
 - g) Tokelauan
 - h) Other Pacific Islander (please specify)
 - i) Chinese
 - j) Indian
 - k) Other Asian (please specify)
4. What is your age group?
 - a) under 20
 - b) 21-30
 - c) 31-40
 - d) 41-50
 - e) 51-60
 - f) 61-70
 - g) over 70
5. What is your educational background?
 - a) Left school at earliest opportunity
 - b) Stayed on at school only
 - c) Went on to tertiary education
6. When is the last time you visited a museum?

Section 2: Questions focusing on reburial, based on (Carroll 2005)

7. Were you aware that skeletons excavated by archaeologists are frequently kept after the fieldwork?
8. Do you think that skeletons should be reburied?
 - If YES, at what point in time:
 - a) Immediately after excavation
 - b) If requested by the local community
 - c) A set time after the excavation (say two years)
 - d) When archaeologists decide the skeletons have no further scientific or research use
 - e) Other (please state)
9. Human skeletal remains can aid future scientific study. Do you think it is appropriate to keep skeletons for future scientific work?
10. Do you think that the buried person's religion should make a difference to how the skeleton is treated?
11. Do you expect to see human skeletons displayed in museums?
12. Do you think this is appropriate?

Section 3: Questions focusing on international repatriation

13. Human remains from New Zealand are also held in foreign museums. Do you believe that these remains should be returned?
 - If YES, then to what end:
 - a) For reburial immediately after return, regardless whether an originating community can be identified
 - b) For reburial only if requested by an identified originating community
 - c) For reburial a set time after return (say two years)
 - d) For reburial only when archaeologists decide the skeletons have no further scientific or research use
 - e) Other (please state)
14. Are you aware of any media reports on the return of remains to New Zealand and Maori from foreign museums in recent years?

Question	Respondents															
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3a	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
3b	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
3c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
3d	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3e	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3i	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3j	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4a	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
4b	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
4c	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
4d	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
4e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4g	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5a	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5b	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
5c	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
6	5	2	2	1	3	5	5	0	2	5	1	1	0	5	5	3
7	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
8	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
8a	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	X
8b	1	0	1	0	X	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	X
8c	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X
8d	0	1	0	1	X	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	X
8e	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X
9	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
13	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
13a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X
13b	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	X	1	1	X	1	0	1	X
13c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X
13d	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	X	0	0	X	0	1	0	X
13e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X
14	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0

Question	Respondents															
	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
3a	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
3b	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
3c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
3d	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3i	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3j	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
4a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4b	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
4c	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
4d	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
4e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
4f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5a	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5b	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
5c	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
6	3	3	1	2	1	2	5	1	5	5	0	3	1	5	5	3
7	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
8	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
8a	0	X	X	0	1	X	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
8b	0	X	X	1	0	X	1	1	1	X	X	1	0	0	X	1
8c	1	X	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
8d	0	X	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	X	0	1	1	X	0
8e	0	X	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
9	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
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12	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
13	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
13a	0	X	X	0	1	X	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
13b	0	X	X	1	0	X	1	1	1	X	X	1	0	0	X	1
13c	1	X	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
13d	0	X	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	X	0	1	1	X	0
13e	0	X	X	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0

Question	Respondents															
	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
3a	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
3b	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
3c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3d	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3i	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3j	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4b	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4c	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
4d	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
4e	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
4f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
4g	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
5b	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
5c	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
6	1	2	10	2	6	5	3	1	2	2	1	5	5	5	3	1
7	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
8	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
8a	0	0	1	1	X	0	0	X	X	X	0	0	0	X	1	0
8b	1	0	0	0	X	1	1	X	X	X	1	1	1	X	0	1
8c	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	X	X	X	0	0	0	X	0	0
8d	0	1	0	0	X	0	0	X	X	X	0	0	0	X	0	0
8e	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	X	X	X	0	0	0	X	0	0
9	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
10	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
11	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
13	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
13a	0	0	0	1	X	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	1	0
13b	1	0	0	0	X	1	1	X	X	1	1	1	1	X	0	1
13c	0	0	1	0	X	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
13d	0	1	0	0	X	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
13e	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Question	Respondents															
	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
3a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3b	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
3c	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
3d	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3i	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
3j	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4a	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4b	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
4c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
4d	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
4e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
4f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
5b	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
5c	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
6	2	3	1	3	2	0	2	5	5	5	10	1	5	8	10	2
7	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
8	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8a	X	X	0	X	0	X	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
8b	X	X	1	X	1	X	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
8c	X	X	0	X	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8d	X	X	0	X	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8e	X	X	0	X	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
10	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
12	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
13a	X	X	0	X	0	X	X	0	0	X	X	0	0	1	X	0
13b	X	X	1	X	1	X	X	1	1	X	X	1	1	0	X	1
13c	X	X	0	X	0	X	X	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
13d	X	X	0	X	0	X	X	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
13e	X	X	0	X	0	X	X	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	0
14	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1

Question	Respondents															
	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
3a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
3b	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
3c	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3d	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
3e	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3i	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3j	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4a	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4b	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4c	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
4d	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
4e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
4f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
5b	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
5c	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
6	3	5	1	3	0	2	5	2	2	1	5	2	1	10	1	5
7	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
8a	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0
8b	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	X	1	1	1
8c	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	X	0	0	0
8d	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	X	0	0	0
8e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
10	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
11	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
12	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
13	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
13a	1	X	0	1	0	0	1	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	0
13b	0	X	1	0	0	1	0	1	X	1	0	0	X	1	1	1
13c	0	X	0	0	1	0	0	0	X	0	1	0	X	0	0	0
13d	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	1	X	0	0	0
13e	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	0
14	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

Question	Respondents															
	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
3a	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3b	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
3c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
3d	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3i	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3j	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4b	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
4c	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
4d	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
4e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
4f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4g	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
5b	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
5c	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
6	5	1	3	2	5	5	1	1	5	4	3	5	1	6	3	3
7	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
8a	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	1	1	X	1	0
8b	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	X	1	1	0	0	X	0	1
8c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
8d	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
8e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
9	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
10	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
12	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
13	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
13a	0	1	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	1	1	X	1	0
13b	0	0	X	X	1	1	1	0	X	1	1	0	0	X	0	1
13c	1	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
13d	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
13e	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Question	Respondents															
	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
3a	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3b	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
3c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
3d	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3i	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
3j	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
4b	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
4c	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
4d	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
4e	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4f	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5b	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
5c	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
6	2	2	5	5	1	2	5	2	5	1	10	3	5	2	5	3
7	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8a	0	1	1	0	1	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
8b	1	0	0	1	0	X	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
8c	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8d	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
8e	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
10	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
11	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
12	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
13	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
13a	0	1	1	0	1	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	1	0	0
13b	1	0	0	1	0	X	1	1	1	1	X	1	1	0	0	0
13c	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0
13d	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	1	1
13e	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Question	Respondents															
	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
3a	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3b	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
3c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
3d	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3i	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3j	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4b	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4c	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
4d	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
4e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
4f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
5b	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
5c	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
6	0	1	5	2	10	1	0	4	5	10	1	10	5	5	8	10
7	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
8	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
8a	0	X	0	0	0	X	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	X	0	0
8b	1	X	1	1	0	X	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	X	1	0
8c	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
8d	0	X	0	0	1	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	1
8e	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0
9	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
10	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
11	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
12	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
13	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
13a	1	X	0	0	0	X	1	0	0	X	0	0	X	X	0	0
13b	0	X	1	1	0	X	0	1	1	X	1	1	X	X	1	0
13c	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	X	X	0	0
13d	0	X	0	0	1	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	X	X	0	1
13e	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	X	X	0	0
14	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0

Question	Respondents								Total	%
	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200		
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	200	100.00
2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	84	42.00
3a	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	28	14.00
3b	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	125	62.50
3c	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	5.00
3d	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	3.50
3e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1.50
3f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
3g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
3h	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
3i	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	17	8.50
3j	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2.00
3k	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3.00
4a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	5.50
4b	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	15.00
4c	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	53	26.50
4d	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	62	31.00
4e	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	28	14.00
4f	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	5.50
4g	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2.50
5a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	6.00
5b	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	110	55.00
5c	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	78	39.00
6	1	5	5	1	3	5	5	1	639	-
7	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	115	57.50
8	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	164	82.00
8a	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	20.73
8b	1	X	1	0	1	1	1	1	106	64.63
8c	0	X	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	3.66
8d	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	10.98
8e	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	63	31.50
10	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	165	82.50
11	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	106	53.00
12	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	28.50
13	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	140	70.00
13a	0	X	X	1	0	0	0	X	28	20.00
13b	1	X	X	0	1	1	1	X	88	62.86
13c	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	8	5.71
13d	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	16	11.43
13e	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	0.00
14	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	29	14.50