

Recording, Placement and Presentation of Māori Place Names in a Spatial Information System

Mr Iaeon J. Cranwell
Dr George L. Benwell¹
Spatial Information Research Centre
University of Otago

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Abstract

This paper deals with matters relating to toponymy. The concept of indigenous place names is discussed. A view is presented, based on empirical evidence, that current processes for the official recording of names are detrimental to a fair and reasonable representation of indigenous names. Historical events in Aotearoa are examined as well as the existing place name recording process. Research is outlined as to what can be done to examine and redress this situation. A proposition is tendered whereby names can be recorded via a process which is people based and not government based. Research matters surrounding this concept are discussed.

¹ Address correspondence to: Dr G.L. Benwell, Director, Spatial Information Research Centre, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand. Fax: +64 3 479 8311 Email: gbenwell@commerce.otago.ac.nz

1 Introduction

Place names not only serve as spatial reference points to identify, locate and describe where people are on the land but are also important signposts of the historical and cultural influences and values of the people that name them. Māori place names relate and reflect every aspect of the influences on, and the activities of the early ancestors and the environment which governed their way of life. Many, but not all, Māori place names are descriptive of the terrain. Others describe the food resources available for harvesting at that spot, or other resources important in Māori traditional society such as timber, fibre plants or stone. The biggest single group of Māori place names were brought here by the Māori from Hawaiki. They may reflect historical events transplanted into a new landscape or record the names and activities of legendary explorers, early ancestors, or gods of creation. In Aotearoa there are four main categories of names:

- The Māori names derived from an oral tradition, which are regarded as taōka of the people and have traditionally been passed on through oral memory from generation to generation eg. Te Poho ō Tamatea (a Tūpuna name on a peak, Banks Peninsula, Canterbury).
- Māori names adopted and adapted by Europeans, often misplaced or misspelt or corrupted in some way eg. Te Umu Kaha became Temuka (small town in south Canterbury).
- Māori versions or transliterations of English place names eg. Atene = Athens, Ranana = London (locations on the Whanganui River).
- Those names brought by European explorers and settlers and their descendants.

One aspect of this paper is to propose a national process for the recording, placement and presentation of Māori place names in Aotearoa. The current process is 'top down' that is the New Zealand Geographic Board has the task of accepting or rejecting geographical names. The Board can receive submissions from any individual, group or the crown for a name change or registration. The real issue is one of power - the Board, as an instrument of the Crown, holds the power for recording. The normal practice of the Geographic Board is to record and place the names into databases, either as paper based textual records or digital gazetteers. In Māori society the place name is an oral record of the history of a particular area and information concerning the landscape of that area has been passed down from generation to generation through korero, purākau, whakatauki, moteatea, waiata and haka.

At present the New Zealand Geographic Board is unable to process all Māori place names. This is reflected in the fact that only 33% of current place names on the South Island are of Māori origin. The majority of South Island Māori place names have not

been officially recorded due to them either being lost from one generation to another, corrupted or for having been superseded by Pakeha names.

A process will be developed in which place names can be recorded in a spatial information system (SIS) and linked to a database so other related attributes can be recorded. Important reasons for the development are to halt the further loss Māori place names and to redress the neglect of the authentic Māori place names initially in Otago, but eventually in all of Aotearoa. The proposed process would allow for oral history to be recorded and linked to the place name. This would be achieved by providing a blank topographic map, stored in a portable computer and linked to a database. This will then enable those involved to have the facility to record place names on this base while traversing their lands and enable Māori to record their own place names from the 'people up' rather than the 'Crown down'.

2 Background: The Last 200 Years

The Māori people had lived in isolation for at least 800 years when the first European ship arrived under the captaincy of Abel Tasman in 1642. Following him, almost a century later, was Captain James Cook who reported that the South Island contained large seal colonies. This attracted seal hunters and brought on the advance party of colonisation, including whalers, navigators and traders [Walker, 1990, p9]. The initial visitors were welcomed by the Māori as they brought goods and materials for trade. Introduced items, such as pigs and potatoes became important items of trade with the Europeans and significant items for Māori included guns, hatchets, knives and blankets.

In the early nineteenth century the missionaries arrived, and were intent on, as they saw it, converting the Māori from heathenism to Christianity and from barbarism to civilisation. This was the start of cultural invasion [Walker, p81]. In 1835 a declaration of confederation and independence was signed by chiefs in the north of the North Island. This was organised by James Busby, who was appointed British Resident of New Zealand. One of the main reasons for this, was to neutralise his rivals in the Hokianga (west coast, North Island), including the French, lead by Baron de Thierry. He had intended to settle on land brought, and proclaim himself king [Walker, p88].

Before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the New Zealand Company arrived in Aotearoa. Its business was to purchase land at a ridiculously low price from the Māori, sell it to the land holders and merchants of Great Britain at a reasonable to high price. Before this, the whole country was held by tribes under customary title, meaning the land could only be owned by those who actually lived on it.

This was not the view of the New Zealand Company as Sinclair [1975, p126] points out;

The rights of the indigenous people were of secondary consideration to those of shareholders and settlers, and the land was often sold in Britain before it had been purchased in New Zealand. Nor were there any adequate safeguards for the rights of the indigenous people whose lands and customs were being trampled on in the same old fashion of imperial colonisation.

Captain Hobson was sent to Aotearoa with instructions from the Colonial Secretary Lord Normanby to obtain the surrender of the sovereignty of Aotearoa to the British Crown by the free and intellectual consent of the natives. He arrived in Aotearoa on the HMS *Herald* from Sydney on the 29th of January 1840. Hobson, Busby and two officers from the *Herald* drew up the first draft of the treaty. Busby completed his task by revising and editing parts of the treaty which he thought might excite Māori opposition. The Treaty of Waitangi was translated by missionary Henry Williams, who omitted Māori words which might still upset the Chiefs [Sinclair, p130]. Walker [1990, p90] points out;

The outcome of these combined efforts was four English versions and a translation into Māori which matched none of them. The English version from which the translation was made has yet to be found. Consequently, the official English version of the Treaty lodged with the Colonial Office does not match the Māori version which the chiefs of New Zealand signed (see Appendix 1 for the Māori and English texts).

In the Māori version under article One of the Treaty “Māori gave the Queen ‘te kawanatanga katoa’ - the complete government over their land”. While in the English version “Māori leaders gave the Queen all rights and power of sovereignty over their land”. Under article Two of the Treaty “Māori were guaranteed ‘te tino rangatiratanga’ - the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages, and all their treasures”. While in the English version “Māori leaders and people, collectively and individually, were confirmed in and guaranteed ‘exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties’”[Orange, 1989, p30].

From here until the early twentieth century, the Governor and his successors went about acquiring Māori land. In 1800s Māori owned the 26,560,000 hectares of Aotearoa compared to just over 1.2 million hectares today (see Appendix 2) [Asher, G. & Naulls, D. 1987]. This coupled with the decline in population, which decreased from

approximately 240,000 in 1768 to under 60,000 in 1857 [Sorrenson, 1956, p183] had detrimental effect on the future of Māori language and cultural practices. Once the British had replaced the Māori as the majority population, an attempt was made to substitute the Māori language with English. The main instrument for this was in the State education system. As compulsory schooling came into effect in the 1890, Māori children were forbidden to speak Māori at school. Coupled with this was the fact that teachers could only speak English and this had the effect of breaking down the Māori resistance by the 1920s [Benton, 1991, p12].

With the advent of New Zealand Geographic Board, a lot of English names have superseded existing Māori place names. This is what happened to Aboriginal people and their traditional names of Australia as Tunbridge [1987, p2] states;

As a powerless and suppressed minority group in a country which was once their own, they had to sit in silence, and their children learnt the new names in order to communicate in what became essentially a white man's world.

3 New Zealand Geographic Board

Legislative provision for place naming in Aotearoa was initially under the auspices of the Royal Geographic Society in London until the Designations of Districts Act of 1894 gave the Governor-General the authority to alter or assign place names in the colony. One of the early reasons for the necessity of an authority on place names was to avoid confusion in the naming of post offices, railways stations etc. The job soon became too big, and in 1924, the Minister of Lands approved the formation of a board to adjudicate on questions generally concerning place and feature names in Aotearoa. The first board known as the Honorary Board, lacked the necessary power to implement its decisions and acted in an advisory capacity until 1946 when the present New Zealand Geographic Board was established under the New Zealand Geographic Board Act.

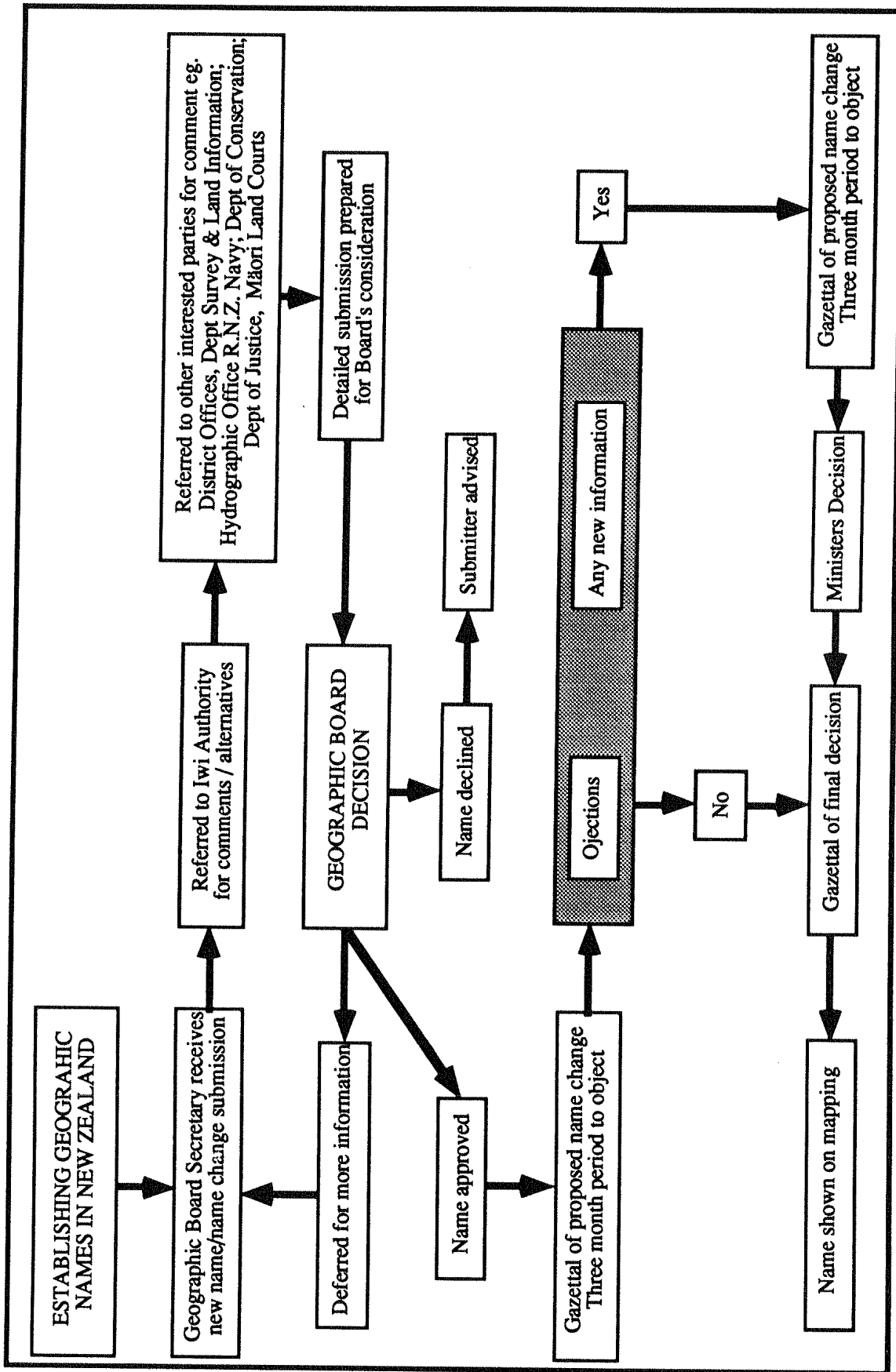


Figure 1: Name submission process for the New Zealand Geographic Board

The task of accepting or rejecting geographical names is carried out by the Aotearoa Geographic Board (Figure 1). The Board recognises that place names should be the product of careful and informed decisions. It is an independent body responsible to the Minister of Survey and Land Information. The function of the board is to adopt rules of naming, examine cases of doubtful spelling, investigate any proposed alteration of a name, and to make enquires and recommendations on any matter referred to it by the Minister.

The Board undertakes to assign place names for small urban settlements, localities, mountains, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, harbours and any other natural feature. The Board collects original Māori names for recording on official maps and also to determine what alien names appearing on official maps should be replaced by Māori or British names. An “original Māori place name” means any Māori place name that is recognised by the Tā_kata Whenua as one historically associated with a place within their tribal boundary.

4 The Importance of Places and Place Names

Māori tradition and culture as expressed in place names emphasise the spiritual value of the land and provide the basis of tribal identity and sentiment. They reflect the physical features of the landscape; the gods of creation; the legendary explores such as Rakaihautu, Kupe, Tamatea and others. Māori place names relate and reflect every aspect and the activities of early ancestors and the environment which governed their way of life [NZGB, 1990, p8]. In Māori society it is important to note that mythology and place names are bound together in a profound way and are inextricably entwined. Sinclair [1975, 116] supports this concept, and states;

The Māori loved his land and identified with it perhaps more closely than any other race. His close, spiritual relationship with the land stemmed from his traditional concept of the basic origin of mankind deriving from the loving union of the earthmother, Papa tu a nuku, with skyfather, Rangī nui e tu nei. The union was bountiful, and by a series of evolutionary processes, the heavens were filled with their hosts of gods and attendant spirits . . . The number of Māori names that have survived commemorate a mass of long-remembered history, mythology and imagery that illustrates the close relationship maintained with the land. Every natural feature bore names that spanned long centuries of Māori occupation. The primeval ruptures of the landscape were named to identity the titanic feats of gods themselves.

The most important role of place names in an oral society is that they remind and describe events of the past, including voyages, migrations, tribal events and the exploits of Māori ancestors. They also describe the land physically and identify its resources, as mentioned in NZGB [1990, p7]

Almost every stretch of river or swamp that afforded some kinds of food or area of bush that afforded others, every hill or valley, headland or beach, where some event happened in the past, was named.

For these reasons, Māori place names are part of the oral tradition in Aotearoa, as they assist in the describing the history of places and are critical in the transmission of Māori mythology (ie. Māori knowledge) from generation to generation.

5 The Issues

“To give an indication of the ratio of Māori place names to European place names in Aotearoa, a sample count of nearly 3,000 geographical features on the 1:1,000,000 series of maps revealed that in the South Island 67% of names were European and 33% were Māori names while in the North Island 21% were European names and 79% were Māori names”². In the province of Otago, only 12% of place names are of Māori origin, representing a huge loss of original names in the official recording process.

A substantial amount of Māori place names have not been recorded and may not be recorded in the future if a process is not developed which would facilitate their preservation and retention. Having incorporated all of the above resources into one process, a considerable amount of information would be available for the recording and placement of place names. With the advent of a SIS the presentation of this information would not only be on a map (ie. two dimensional) but could also be viewed spatially on a computer (ie. three dimensional). The great advantage of this electronic data processing is that, unlike a printed map, the information is both vivid and flexible. It can take the hills, rivers, lakes, and other features of our contemporary landscape and display them, graphically, from varying angles.

Emerging from this background are a number of issues. Two are paramount; “Why has a situation occurred where the number of Māori names is proportionally under represented?” and second, “Do Māori, coming from their oral historical tradition, want to

² Report on the 6th meeting of The United Nations Divisional Group of Experts on Geographical Names, Appendix I, pp3, 2.4, Sept 1992.

record their place names in non traditional ways?”. These are complex questions to be addressed and ones that will require considerable thought.

6 Research

The research being formulated to address the above and numerous other issues is at its embryonic stage. The structure of the research is being formulated to test the hypothesis that it is appropriate to create a name recording process that;

- is ‘bottom up’, not ‘top down’. The present process is controlled by the Crown and legislation. While it may not be advisable to entirely dispense with the legislative aspects, the notion of Crown control should be challenged. It may be more appropriate and culturally correct to devise a process that is initiated by Māori and owned and administered by them. The consequence of this is that further questions are posed. Are there existing examples of ‘bottom up’ processes - and do they work? Would such a revised structure imply that there may be a dual system? The duality may be in the form of a crown system (which it may own and call *official*) existing in parallel with a Māori system (which they may own and call *official*). Another duality may occur in a form similar to the French Provinces in Canada where names in French and English co-exist (for example in Aotearoa - Taranaki and Mt Egmont)
- is supported by a computer based information system. It could be argued that several place names’ databases already exist in the form of gazetteers - these do exist and are either paper based textual records or digital gazetteers derived from a particular scale national mapping program. Any *new* systems or process could embrace current or emerging technology. This would include spatial information systems, temporal databases and multi-media systems. The system may have to be integrated with other systems (as outlined above) and partly used by people who at times may be considered ‘computer illiterate’, so will have to be user friendly and robust.
- contains the following data (non-exhaustive at this stage);
 - place name
 - authentication of place name
 - name of authenticator
 - owner of name
 - meaning of the name
 - story attached to name
 - story that the name tells
 - variants of the name
 - previous spellings

- history of the name
- kai and tāk_ukata associated with the place of the name
- informants of the name
- dissensions
- reasons for dissensions
- location
 - point
 - feature
 - zone
 - temporal
 - view
 - co-ordinates
- security
- tapu
- rahui
- mana
- herenga waka
- muru
- māra
- is cognitive of, and in resonance with, cultural matters. Many previous authors, and particularly Māori themselves are increasing critical, and vocal, on matters relating to Māori research. The research should be founded upon well established methodologies so that data collection does not suffer from ethnocentric bias. It is believed that this can be achieved by adopting methods which reflect the Māori way of doing things. For example, any formulation of methodologies should be discussed and endorsed via a consensus process. The vehicle for this could well be several hui on marae and the genuine involvement of Māori in every step of the research. This is further facilitated by respect, mana and the involvement of a Māori as one of the researchers.

Given this background the research can be divided into the following categories;

- establish a dialogue with Māori, one built on mutual trust
- collate literature of associated research
- understand the national and international toponymic processes
- design new processes
- design and test computer based recording system
- test design and processes against verifiable criteria
- modify design and processes
- document.

During all the phases of these categories it will be necessary to continue to undertake discussion with Māori. This concept is purposely stressed as it considered fundamental to the success of the project.

7 Conclusion

This paper has highlighted some of the historical events leading to the present day situation where Māori place names are under represented in Aotearoa. The research involved with the formulation of new processes for the recording of places names has been presented. In addition matters relating to current and future research have been discussed.

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Appendix 1

Te Tiriti o Waitangi - Maori Version

Ko Wikitoria, te Kuini o Ingarani, i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me Nga Hapu o Nu Tirani, i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou rangatiratanga, me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te ata noho hoki, kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga tangata maori o Nu Tirani. Kia wakaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini, ki nga wahi katoa o te wenua nei me nga motu. Na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona iwi kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei.

Na, ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te kawanatanga, kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata maori ki te pakeha e noho ture kore ana.

Na, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau, a Wiremu Hopihona, he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawa, hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani, e tukua aianei a mua atu ki te Kuini; e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga Hapu o Nu Tirani, me era Rangatira atu, enei ture ka korerotia nei.

Ko te Tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga, me nga Rangatira katoa hoki, kihai i uru ki taua Wakaminenga, ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira, ki nga Hapu, ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani, te tino Rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga, me nga Rangitira katoa atu, ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te wenua, ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini. Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani. Ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikinga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

(Signed) William Hobson

Consul and Lieutenant-Governor

The Treaty of Waitangi - English Version

Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, regarding with Her Royal Favor the Native Chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property, and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order, has deemed it necessary, in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand, and the rapid extension of emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress, to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorized to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands. Her Majesty, therefore, being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the Native population and to Her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and authorize me, William Hobson, a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, Consul, and Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be, or hereafter shall be, ceded to Her Majesty, to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the First

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the Individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third

In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her Royal protection, and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British subjects.

W. Hobson
Lieutenant-Governor

Appendix 2

Māori Land - A Chronological Summary

Major event/legislation	Amount of land in Māori title	Continuing developments
1840 Treaty of Waitangi signed. First NZ Company settlers arrived in Wellington area.	26,709,342 ha (66,400,000 acres)	From 1835-1850s the Māori rapidly adopted and adapted elements of European culture; Christianity, trade, commercial agriculture, the English language. The Māori population was providing food for the settlers and producing half the colony's exports by the mid 1850's.
1842 Land Claims Commissioners' Courts established to adjudicate on fairness of land claims between settlers and the Māori		
1844 Crown's pre-emptive right to buy land from the Māori waived by Governor Fitzroy. Private sales between Pakeha buyers and Maori sellers allowed.		
1845 Captain (later Sir) George Grey became Governor		Between 1845 and 1853 Grey purchased 32 million acres under Crown pre-emption for 50,000 pounds, including most of the South Island.
1846 Crown pre-emption resumed.		
1850 Pakeha population reached 25,000.		
1852 Constitution Act gave settlers the first institutions for self-government.	34,000,000 acres approx. still in Māori hands.	From 1856 on the agricultural depression and consequent fall in prices seriously affected Māori commercial enterprises.
1860 Pakeha population at 79,000 surpassed declining Māori population. The land wars began.	21,400,000 acres still in Māori hands.	
1864 Confiscation of 3.25 million acres in North Island began. Approx. half of this was later returned.		
1865 Main campaigns of the war over. Native Land Courts established. Crown pre-emption ceased, private sales began again.		The beginning of the attempt to convert traditional Māori multiple ownership to individual title. In 1865, blocks in multiple ownership could have no more than 10 owners listed on the title. Fragmentation of ownership began as European succession laws were applied to Māori people dying intestate. Children inherited land equally from both parents-leading to smaller shares in the land as each generation inherited.

Major Event/legislation	Amount of land in Māori title	Continuing developments
1871 Government became a major land purchaser again. Private sales continued.		Tribes extensively involved in land-selling declined in population more rapidly than those who were not.
1873 Native Land Act. All Māori owners had to be listed on the title and their signatures obtained before sale.		Throughout the 1870's, Māori agriculture, farming and trade with the Pakeha continued, although not on the same scale as before the wars of the 1860's.
1883 Sales of Māori land in the King Country began to allow surveying for the main trunk railway.		Māori interest in education and learning English carried on through Māori school system. First co-operatives and incorporations formed.
1891 Liberal Government gained power.	11,079,486 acres still in Māori hands; of this 10,829,486 in the North Island, 250,000 in the South Island.	By 1900, 753,175 acres of the original 1,844,780 acres in Māori hands in the King Country had been brought by the Crown.
1892 Government resumed control of buying Māori land.		Intensive dairying began in the North Island, creating more pressure for alienating Māori land. The Liberal Government brought 3.6 million acres between 1891-1911.
1894 Native Land Court Act passed. This became the basis of present-day Māori incorporations.		Māori incorporations now had a legal basis and started becoming large-scale developments with the Ngati Porou tribe on the East Coast.
1896 Māori population reached lowest point in the 19th or 20th centuries (42,113)		Period of "smoothing the pillow of the dying Māori" attitude to Māori affairs.
1900 Māori Lands Administration Act encouraged leasing of Māori Land. Government stopped purchasing land.		Māori-dominated councils set up to encourage leasing of Māori land. But pressures for increased settlement of Māori land brought return to policy of encouraging and making it easier to sell the land than to lease it.
1905 Māori Land Settlement Act. A new wave of Pakeha land-purchasing began.		

Major event/legislation	Amount of land in Māori title	Continuing developments
1907 Titles to Māori land in the Urewera country ascertained by special tribunal.	7,137,205 acres (approx.) remain in Māori hands.	By 1920, 90% of the 650,000 acres of land in the Urewera area sold to Pakehas. No major area of land now left in Māori hands.
1911	7,137,205 acres (approx.) remain in Māori hands.	Selling of Māori land intensified during the period 1912 to 1920. Land was wanted to settle returning soldiers from World War 1. Intense land speculation from 1916-1924. Māori land was one of the few sources of available cheap land. 2.5 million acres sold between 1911 and 1920.
1912 Reform Government gained power.	4,787,686 acres remain in Māori hands.	First concerted and adequate government financial aid to develop Māori land and commercial enterprises. Beginning of...
1920	4,787,686 acres remain in Māori hands.	...extensive Māori small-scale dairying and farming. 500,000 pounds spent 1929-1934.
1929 Native Land Amendment Act	4,028,903 acres remain in Māori hands.	Period of believing that the Māori economic future lay with developing the remaining land holdings. Population pressures determined otherwise: from 1936-1961, the Māori urban population increased from 10% to 40% of all Māori. Māori land unable to support the increasing numbers of Māori.
1936 Māori population double that of the 1896 (82,326). Pakeha	1961 Hunn Report published. Māori population doubled again from 1936. Now 167,086.	Creation of the Māori Education Foundation stimulated provision of Māori housing and attempted to deal with fragmentation of ownership problems.
1939 World War II began.	1965 Prichard-Waetford Report on Māori Land Courts published.	Prichard-Waetford Report tried to solve fragmentation of ownership and make it easier to transfer Maori land into general (European) title.

Major event/legislation	Amount of land in Māori title	Continuing developments
1967 Māori Affairs Amendment Act passed, making it easier to transfer Māori land to a general title.		Throughout 1960's, general Māori concern that attempts to solve fragmentation of ownership problems were dispossessing people of their direct link with the land. That is, owners of small land-shares were being forced by legislation to sell their "uneconomic" shares. There was renewed concern that too much land was passing out of Māori hands.
1974 Māori Affairs Amendment Act. Reviewed 1967 Act and made provision for re-transferring former Māori land, now under general title, back to Māori freehold land.		This legislation reflected a growing Māori viewpoint which wanted to retain as much remaining land as possible as Māori freehold land.
1975 Waitangi Tribunal formed to make recommendations on claims relating to the practical application of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, but excluding grievances arising prior to 1975 Māori Land March.	3 million acres (1,323,564 ha) are remnants of the tribal estates.	
1981 Māori population reaches 279,252. Pakeha population 2,896,485.		Māori urbanisation had increased to just under 80% by 1981. Unemployment increased steadily throughout late 1970s and 1980s, accompanied by a renewed determination to establish a viable economic base for Māori development. Māori International set up, federation of Māori economic authorities proposed.
1985 Waitangi Amendment Act passed, allowing the Waitangi Tribunal to recommend on claims dating right back to the Treaty's enactment in 1840.		

Glossary

haka	war dance, song accompanying a dance
Hawaiki	ancestral home of the Māori
herenga waka	traditional area for waka to land
kai	food
kōrero	talk, speech, history, story
mana	authority, power, prestige, psychic force
māra	cultivation
moteatea	lament
murū	confiscate, cleanse, plunder
purākau	ancient legend, myth
rahui	prohibition, closed season
runanga	council, assembly
ta _k ata	person, human
tā _k ata	people, humans
tā _k ata whenua	people of the land
tapu	sacred, prohibited, unclean
tao _k a	treasure, possession, gift
tūpuna	ancestors
waiata	song, chant
waka	canoe, vessel
whakatauki	proverb
whenua	land, afterbirth, earth, country