

## **Dynamic and Interesting Events**

### THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MĀORI ELECTIONS



DESPITE TERRIBLE RAIN, on 15 April 1868 a large number of Māori were assembled outside the government buildings in Napier. There was barely enough room to move owing to the number of horses fastened to the fence in front of the council chamber. And the mood was definitely one of hustle and bustle.<sup>1</sup> This was one of the inaugural nomination meetings for the newly created 'Māori seats' in the New Zealand House of Representatives aptly known as Northern Maori, Western Maori, Eastern Maori and Southern Maori.<sup>2</sup> Northern Maori encapsulated the North Island from Cape Reinga down to the Manukau Harbour. Western Maori ran from the Manukau Harbour down into the Waikato, Western Bay of Plenty, through the middle of Lake Taupo, and continued down the Ruahine Ranges south to Cook Strait. It included all the areas of Taranaki, Wanganui and the Kapiti Coast. Eastern Maori was everything in the North Island not in Northern or Western Maori, and Southern Maori took in the whole of the South Island.<sup>3</sup> Southern Maori was particularly odd as its eligible voters numbered only in the low hundreds, whereas the other districts had voters in the thousands.<sup>4</sup>

The creation of the Māori seats and the ensuing elections was a political experiment. The Maori Representation Act 1867 extended the vote without any property qualifications to all Māori males 21 years and over.<sup>5</sup> This was something that Pākehā males would not be granted until 1879.<sup>6</sup> The Act was a temporary measure and was to remain in force for only five years.<sup>7</sup> However, it was renewed in 1872 and 1876, and eventually the main portion of it was incorporated into the Electoral Act 1893.<sup>8</sup>

When the Māori seats were first created it was hoped that Māori males would meet the property qualifications to enable them to register and then vote in the settler electoral districts and eventually the four Māori seats would disappear.<sup>9</sup> Theoretically Māori males had been granted the right to vote in 1852 so long as they, like members of the settler population, met specific legal property qualifications: if they had a freehold estate (freehold land) worth £50 or more; or at least a three-year leasehold estate (leasehold land) worth £10 or more; or at least a six-month tenement in a town (town rental) worth £10 or more; or a six-month tenement outside of a town (country rental) worth £5 or more.<sup>10</sup> But in practice this effectively excluded Māori as most of their

land was held as communal estates. However, Keith Sinclair noted that for provincial government elections, over 100 Māori voted in Auckland in 1853.<sup>11</sup> Also, Octavius Hadfield encouraged Māori near Otaki to enrol, though few were permitted by the courts to do so. In 1858 over 100 Māori tried to register to vote but only 12 were allowed to do so after evidence was heard on the value of their homes. When Māori males were granted the central government franchise under the Maori Representation Act 1867, the Māori seats came with their own unusual set of characteristics. Amongst them were the vast geographic expanses of the Māori electorates where the voters themselves comprised a complex amalgam of kin groups with their own world-views and personal and collective social interests. Essentially these electorates were pan-Māori with a myriad of whānau, hapū and iwi interests in play at election time.

In 1862 there was debate in the House of Representatives about giving fair representation to Māori in both Houses of Parliament, as well as on juries and in the courts. However, the motion was defeated by 20 votes to 17 votes. Again in 1863, the issue of Māori seats was discussed in a select committee of the House in relation to the granting of the franchise to gold miners in the South Island. But, it was Donald McLean, Member of the House of Representatives (MHR) for Napier, who brought the issue finally into the House as a measure for balancing the number of seats between the South Island and the North Island. There would be three seats in the North Island (Māori seats), and three seats in the South Island (one Māori seat and two goldfield seats). McLean also made the point that Māori were contributing a large amount of tax and therefore they should have seats in Parliament. The Maori Representation Bill passed in the House, but there was some objection to it as special legislation for Māori. Some felt that Māori people should wait until their lands were converted from a communal estate into a freehold estate, thereby enabling them to meet the voting requirements under the general voting system.<sup>12</sup> In the upper House (Legislative Council) such comments were repeated alongside racist talk by those such as John Hyde Harris, who objected that the vote was being given to 'a people utterly unable to appreciate it – a people who ... were, in fact not amenable to our laws, and who were only nominal subjects of the Crown: who were, in some cases, its open enemies; and who were totally incapable of legislating for themselves or others'.<sup>13</sup> However, the Bill was eventually passed by the Council by 17 votes to three.<sup>14</sup>

The creation of the Māori seats must therefore be seen as a pragmatic gesture by the colonial government that achieved a number of goals. From a democratic angle, having a large population of disenfranchised Māori was troublesome in a fledgling democracy such as New Zealand. Māori were also contributing large amounts to the colonial tax revenue, as pointed out by McLean, so from

another democratic angle they deserved representation if they paid taxes. The creation of three of the four Māori seats in the North Island also coincided with the creation of goldfield electoral districts in the South Island which clearly met a North and South Island electoral balance.<sup>15</sup> The creation of the Māori seats can also be seen in the light of two historical contexts. The first is the land wars in the North Island in the 1860s. A number of Māori in the Taranaki, Waikato and Bay of Plenty regions had already been involved in war with the colonial government in that decade,<sup>16</sup> and channelling Māori aspirations into an elected body with their own representatives could help control Māori angst within colonial institutions. Secondly, bringing Māori males into the franchise was part of the ongoing development of integrating Māori into other British institutions in New Zealand, such as formal religion and judicial structures. The creation of the Māori seats was therefore part of the assimilation of Māori within Pākehā society.

In the first 1868 elections the numbers of Māori voters were negligible, which reflected unfamiliarity with the practice of voting. But the numbers began to dramatically increase with each election.<sup>17</sup> By the 1899 general election, 13,628 Māori voted in the Māori elections. When the total number of the Māori population was 41,993 in 1891 and 39,805 in 1896 respectively, the number of actual Māori voters in the elections for much of the later nineteenth century was very significant.<sup>18</sup> Māori were interested in who was going to represent them in the colonial Parliament, and the interplay between the Māori voters and the Māori parliamentary candidates involved dynamic relationships. The aspiring Māori parliamentary leaders had to subject themselves to constant judgment from the voters every three or so years. At a fundamental level, candidates had to have money and other resources to fight elections. Re-elections were never guaranteed, and candidates had to use everything in their power to encourage their supporters to vote for them. To add further reality to the elections, the Māori voters and Māori parliamentary candidates were subjected to the clash of many Māori interests at the whānau, hapū and iwi levels of their society which covered huge geographical expanses. As Table 1 shows, 11 electoral cycles took place from 1868 to 1899, together with seven by-elections. This 30-year period encapsulated the time after the major Māori land purchases of the South Island and lower North Island of the 1840s and 1850s, the Māori land confiscations in Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Taranaki in the early 1860s and the Māori land wars, the political experiment of provincial government from 1852 to 1876, the advent of political parties in New Zealand politics by the late 1880s and early 1890s, and the rapid increase and dominance of the European population over the Māori population. These developments meant that Māori voters could be swayed to either go to the

polls or stay at home on voting day by a variety of current social and political matters, including rapid land loss and a myriad of land grievances,<sup>19</sup> the Kīngitanga<sup>20</sup> and Kōtāhitanga movements,<sup>21</sup> and religious influences.<sup>22</sup>

| <b>Election</b>     | <b>Northern<br/>Maori</b> | <b>Western<br/>Maori</b> | <b>Eastern<br/>Maori</b> | <b>Southern<br/>Maori</b> |
|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1868                | Frederick<br>Nene Russell | Mete Kingi<br>Paetahi    | Tareha Te<br>Moananui    | John<br>Patterson         |
| 1871                | Wi Katene                 | Wi Parata                | Karaitiana<br>Takamoana  | Hori Kerei<br>Taiaoroa    |
| 1876                | Hori Tawhiti              | Hoani Nahi               | Karaitiana<br>Takamoana  | Hori Kerei<br>Taiaoroa    |
| 1879<br>by-election | -                         | -                        | Henare<br>Tomoana        | Ihaia Tainui              |
| 1879                | Hone Tawhai               | Wiremu Te<br>Wheoro      | Henare<br>Tomoana        | Ihaia Tainui              |
| 1881<br>by-election | -                         | -                        | -                        | Hori Kerei<br>Taiaoroa    |
| 1881                | Hone Tawhai               | Wiremu<br>Wheoro         | Henare<br>Tomoana        | Hori Kerei<br>Taiaoroa    |
| 1884                | Ihaka<br>Hakuene          | Te Puke Te<br>Ao         | Wi Pere                  | Hori Kerei<br>Taiaoroa    |
| 1885<br>by-election | -                         | -                        | -                        | Tame Parata               |
| 1886<br>by-election | -                         | Hoani Taipua             | -                        | -                         |
| 1887<br>by-election | Wi Katene                 | -                        | -                        | -                         |
| 1887                | Hirini<br>Taiwhanga       | Hoani Taipua             | James Carroll            | Tame Parata               |
| 1890                | Hirini<br>Taiwhanga       | Hoani Taipua             | James Carroll            | Tame Parata               |
| 1891<br>by-election | Eparaima<br>Kapa          | -                        | -                        | -                         |
| 1893                | Hone Heke<br>Ngapua       | Ropata Te Ao             | Wi Pere                  | Tame Parata               |
| 1896                | Hone Heke<br>Ngapua       | Henare<br>Kaihau         | Wi Pere                  | Tame Parata               |
| 1899                | Hone Heke<br>Ngapua       | Henare<br>Kaihau         | Wi Pere                  | Tame Parata               |

**Table 1:** List of Elected MHRs for the Four Māori Electorates 1868–1899

A number of authors over time have expressed their opinions on the establishment of the Māori seats. Ranginui Walker viewed the creation of the seats extremely cynically, viewing the seats as a way to control Māori. After all, as a result of their population Māori should have been entitled to up to 20 seats instead of the paltry four seats. Alan Ward thought that Māori representation simply ‘stumbled into being’, and Claudia Orange claimed that, like the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori representation involved a ‘thread of idealism’.<sup>23</sup> This is in line with Paul Moon’s explanation that the Maori Representation Act 1867 was driven by various motives.<sup>24</sup> In 2005 John Martin commented on political participation and electoral change in nineteenth-century New Zealand but he considered the Māori elections too difficult to analyse and left them out of his commentary.<sup>25</sup> The only detailed analysis of the nineteenth-century Māori elections is part of Keith Sorrenson’s solid work for the 1986 Electoral Commission. Yet even he bemoaned the scant information available at the time for the nineteenth-century Māori elections.<sup>26</sup> Tiopira McDowell’s doctoral thesis in 2013 cast new light on the elected Māori members of Parliament in the nineteenth century, but there is scant analysis of individual elections.<sup>27</sup> McDowell correctly observes that there is more information about the Māori elected members from 1868 to 1938 than Sorrenson suggested, yet too often ‘these men are only dealt with in a sentence or two’.<sup>28</sup> He praises Paul Moon for his biography on Hone Heke Ngapua, who until recently was largely ignored in New Zealand’s historiography but who was nevertheless an important MHR for Northern Maori from 1893 to 1909. The strength of McDowell’s thesis is that he provides some biographical discussion of the Māori MHRs in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century; however, more work is needed on the contribution of the Māori MHRs to New Zealand society.<sup>29</sup>

This article seeks to analyse various aspects of these nineteenth-century elections in more detail than has been done previously. It also highlights some of the ethnographic aspects of elections, such as how Māori voted, where they voted, how they physically lined up to vote and how they actually cast their vote. As will be seen, there were social aspects of elections such as the use of ribbons and colours worn by Māori to depict their support for certain candidates, the use of food and drink to sway electors, and dances and balls in honour of candidates. This article aims not only to add to the historiography but also to point out that the Māori elections generated much enthusiasm amongst a number of Māori communities throughout the country. They were dynamic and interesting events, which involved the clash of Māori interests across geographical regions. The high level of unpredictability in the election outcome also added an extra edge and excitement to the political contests for

the candidates and voters alike. Each electorate had its own political story to tell along with their colourful political characters and events that shaped these nineteenth-century Māori democratic contests.

### **Northern Māori Elections 1868–1899**

The first nomination meeting for the Northern Maori seat was held at the residence of Robert Barstow, the resident magistrate, at Russell on 15 April 1868. The scant newspaper information at the time recorded that the number of Māori in attendance ‘was low’. Frederick Nene Russell was nominated by Rawiri Paru and seconded by Pori, which secured him the nomination as well as the position as the inaugural MHR as no other names were put forward. There were, however, other names that were considered for the nomination, such as Aperahama Taonui,<sup>30</sup> but for whatever reasons their names were not put forward.<sup>31</sup> After a lacklustre first term Frederick Nene Russell did not stand for re-election in 1871, but there was a growing interest in the elections in parts of the Northern Maori electorate. The missionary Edward Marsh Williams, who was the returning officer in 1871, gave an account of the excitement among Māori at the nomination meeting at Waimate.<sup>32</sup> They began to gather early and the polls opened at 9 o’clock with a steady stream of voters. Williams observed that by midday there were several hundred Māori present, including women and children. This was a social day for Māori, and food was made available for all those whānau who had travelled a distance.<sup>33</sup> There is no reported 1871 election result for Northern Maori, except that Wi Katene was the elected member.<sup>34</sup> But from 1876 all the races in Northern Maori were hotly contested with multiple candidates (see Table 2). A particular characteristic of the Northern Maori seat was the considerable change between MHRs. Other than Hone Mohi Tawhai’s terms in 1879 and 1881 and Hone Heke Ngapua’s election in 1893, there were otherwise constant changes amongst the Northern Maori MHRs. Two MHRs did not seek re-election (Russell in 1871 and Hone Mohi Tawhai in 1884), two MHRs died in office (Ihaka Hakuene in 1887, and Hirini Taiwhanga in 1890), and three MHRs, Wi Katene, Hori Karaka Tawhiti and Eparaima Kapa, were defeated in their re-election bids.

| <b>Election</b>                | <b>Results*</b>  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1868 <sup>35</sup>             | <b>Frederick Nene Russell</b> (elected unopposed)  |
| 1871 <sup>36</sup>             | <b>Wi Katene</b> , Hirini Taiwhanga, Hoane Pate, Fourth candidate unknown (no vote counts available)                                   |
| 1876 <sup>37</sup>             | <b>Hori Karaka Tawhiti</b> (335); Timoti Puhipi (277); Rei Tetai (252); Wi Katene (226); Mitai Pene Tauī (218); Hirini Taiwhanga (17)  |
| 1879 <sup>38</sup>             | <b>Hone Mohi Tawhai</b> (397); Hirini Taiwhanga (332); Timoti Puhipi (303); Heta Te Hara (233); Hori Karaka Tawhiti (204)              |
| 1881 <sup>39</sup>             | <b>Hone Mohi Tawhai</b> (557); Hirini Taiwhanga (489); Hare Rewiti (166)   |
| 1884 <sup>40</sup>             | <b>Ihaka Hakuene</b> (363); Hirini Taiwhanga (316); Wharerau (75); Raipangari (10)   |
| 1887 by-election <sup>41</sup> | <b>Wi Katene</b> ; Hirini Taiwhanga; Nikawai Ihaia   |
| 1887 <sup>42</sup>             | <b>Hirini Taiwhanga</b> (785); Wi Katene (484); Timoti Puhipi (411); Wharerau (148); Pomare (88); Arapata (25)                         |
| 1890 <sup>43</sup>             | <b>Hirini Taiwhanga</b> (661); Timoti Puhipi (394); Wi Katene (192); Wiremu Mikihana (107)   |
| 1891 by-election <sup>44</sup> | <b>Eparaima Kapa</b> (623); Timoti Puhipi (515); Wi Katene (300); Haki Rewiti (194); Kawitupu (7); Te Whatanui (1)                     |
| 1893 <sup>45</sup>             | <b>Hone Heke Ngapua</b> (952) ; Eparaima Kapa (445); Poata Uruamo (277)  |
| 1896 <sup>46</sup>             | <b>Hone Heke Ngapua</b> (1333); Eparaima Kapa (372)  |
| 1899 <sup>47</sup>             | <b>Hone Heke Ngapua</b> (1453); Eparaima Kapa (367); Henry Papa Ururoa (Henry Flavell) (225); Keritoke Te Ahu (126); Poata Uruamo (94) |

\* Final votes or partial final votes (if available) are recorded in brackets after the candidate's name. The winner is highlighted in bold.

**Table 2:** Election Results of the Northern Maori Electoral District 1868–1899

Between 1876 and 1891 a splitting of votes between multiple candidates meant it was particularly difficult for candidates to make judgments about where to campaign and devote resources. For example, in the 1876 election Hori Karaka Tawhiti won by securing barely 25% of the votes cast. The other 75% were split amongst the other candidates. And this trend of a majority of the votes being split did not abate until Hone Heke Ngapua's election in 1893.

He had landslide victories for the 1893, 1896 and 1899 elections with 57%, 78% and 64% respectively. Timoti Puhipi received significant votes in the 1876, 1879, 1887, 1890 and 1891 elections. His presence in the races made it extremely difficult for candidates to consolidate both anti-incumbent voters as well as their own natural supporters in order to win the seat. Puhipi had strong whakapapa (genealogy) ties to the northern area of the electorate that covered the Pārengarenga, Ahipara and Mangōnui areas. Other candidates struggled to gain support in those areas when he was on the ballot, as seen by the individual polling booth data from the 1876 election (Table 3).

|              | <b>Hori<br/>Karaka<br/>Tawhiti</b> | <b>Timoti<br/>Puhipi</b> | <b>Rei<br/>Tetai</b> | <b>Wi<br/>Katene</b> | <b>Mitai<br/>Pene<br/>Tau</b> | <b>Hirini<br/>Taiwhanga</b> |
|--------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Kororāreka   | 1                                  | 4                        | 0                    | 2                    | 2                             | 2                           |
| Whāngarei    | 15                                 | 0                        | 0                    | 18                   | 21                            | 4                           |
| Helensville  | 2                                  | 2                        | 30                   | 0                    | 0                             | 0                           |
| Auckland     | 3                                  | 0                        | 10                   | 1                    | 0                             | 0                           |
| Hokianga     | 173                                | 0                        | 105                  | 12                   | 1                             | 0                           |
| Ōhaeawai     | 9                                  | 0                        | 3                    | 135                  | 113                           | 2                           |
| Whangaruru   | 6                                  | 0                        | 0                    | 0                    | 0                             | 0                           |
| Te Ngaere    | 23                                 | 0                        | 0                    | 5                    | 39                            | 1                           |
| Kaeo         | 36                                 | 4                        | 2                    | 3                    | 35                            | 0                           |
| Ahipara      | 0                                  | 152                      | 37                   | 0                    | 0                             | 7                           |
| Mangōnui     | 11                                 | 81                       | 2                    | 0                    | 0                             | 1                           |
| Pakia        | 56                                 | 0                        | 63                   | 50                   | 7                             | 0                           |
| Pārengarenga | 0                                  | 34                       | 0                    | 0                    | 0                             | 0                           |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>335</b>                         | <b>277</b>               | <b>252</b>           | <b>226</b>           | <b>218</b>                    | <b>17</b>                   |

**Table 3:** Individual Polling Booth Results of the Northern Maori Electoral District in the 1876 General Election<sup>48</sup>

It is fortunate for historians that some individual polling booth results exist for the 1876, 1879 and 1881 contests. The Northern election results from 1876 can be used to illuminate the following points. First, the candidates had to win by large margins amongst the voters where they had natural pockets of support. Hori Karaka Tawhiti was able to do this by winning a significant



number of voters in the Hokianga District with whom he had strong kinship ties. This in itself was never enough in these Māori elections, however, because other candidates were aiming to do the same, as in the cases of Timoti Puhipi in Ahipara and Mangōnui, and Wi Katene in Ōhaeawai. Secondly, the candidates also had to identify areas where they could mount viable campaigns to at least compete with other candidates. The area of Pakia was one such place for Hori Karaka Tawhiti, Rei Tetai and Wi Katene. The township of Whāngarei was another such place for Hori Karaka Tawhiti, Wi Katene and Mitai Pene Tani. Thirdly, the candidates needed to assess which areas of the electorate were not worth competing for given another candidate's possible dominance over the local support in some areas. This was so for Timoti Puhipi in Pārengarenga, and Rei Tetai's advantage over the votes in Helensville and Auckland. Fourthly, candidates still had to secure some votes in nearly all of the polling booths in order to give themselves an advantage. Hori Karaka Tawhiti won the election because he gained large numbers of votes in the polling booths where he was supposed to win, and by doing equally well in areas where he could compete with others, such as Whāngarei, Te Ngaere, Kaeo and Pakia. And he secured votes in all but two polling places in the far northern districts of the Northern Maori electorate where Timoti Puhipi was particularly strong. The sitting MHR Hori Karaka Tawhiti was defeated in the 1879 election as a result of a cumulative effect of losing votes in a number of individual polling booths in Kororāreka, Whāngarei and Ōhaeawai. Meanwhile, Hirini Taiwhanga's votes increased dramatically from two votes in the Kororāreka polling booth in 1876<sup>49</sup> to over 50 votes in the 1879 election.<sup>50</sup> And at the Ōhaeawai polling booth Taiwhanga won 113 votes in 1879<sup>51</sup> compared to just two votes in 1876.<sup>52</sup>

The 1881 election offers a complete record of the results (Table 4). In this election, there are only two major candidates; namely, the incumbent MHR Hone Mohi Tawhai and Hirini Taiwhanga. Even though the third candidate, Hare Rewiti, managed to draw a large number of votes at the Kaeo and Kaitāia (Ahipara) booths, those votes could not be realistically transferred to Taiwhanga in Rewiti's absence from the race. While Hirini Taiwhanga had been able to consolidate and increase votes significantly at various polling booths, the numbers were insufficient to defeat Hone Mohi Tawhai because the latter was winning in places such as Herds Point, Whāngarei and Pakia, as well as attracting significant votes in nearly all the polling booths.

|                        | <b>Hone Mohi<br/>Tawhai</b> | <b>Hirini<br/>Taiwhanga</b> | <b>Hare Rewiti</b> |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Kororāreka/<br>Russell | 41                          | 58                          | 1                  |
| Kawakawa               | 39                          | 25                          | 0                  |
| Waimate                | 10                          | 67                          | 14                 |
| Ōhaeawai               | 28                          | 90                          | 2                  |
| Herds Point            | 146                         | 14                          | 0                  |
| Whāngarei              | 60                          | 5                           | 0                  |
| Mangōnui               | 20                          | 41                          | 3                  |
| Helensville            | 28                          | 22                          | 1                  |
| Whangaruru             | 24                          | 0                           | 1                  |
| Otamatea               | 18                          | 0                           | 0                  |
| Auckland               | 21                          | 0                           | 0                  |
| Dargaville/Kaihu       | 17                          | 9                           | 0                  |
| Whangapē               | 0                           | 11                          | 22                 |
| Pakia                  | 57                          | 9                           | 1                  |
| Kaeo                   | 19                          | 13                          | 16                 |
| Ngaere                 | 0                           | 31                          | 1                  |
| Kaitiāia (Ahipara)     | 27                          | 35                          | 103                |
| Pārengarenga           | 2                           | 47                          | 1                  |
| Total                  | 551                         | 489                         | 166                |

**Table 4:** Final of the Northern Maori Electoral District in the 1881 General Election  
Showing the Individual Final Results of Each Polling Booth<sup>53</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no detailed individual polling booth material available for the Northern Maori elections from 1884 onwards, but one point is certain: Hirini Taiwhanga was gaining in strength in the late 1880s, eventually winning the seat in 1887. In 1899, 2265 Northern Maori voters went to the polls, which showed that individual Māori were more than willing to engage in the new democratic system.<sup>54</sup>

### **Western Maori Elections 1868–1899**

The first Western Maori nomination meeting occurred in Wanganui on 17 May 1868 before Robert Parris, the returning officer, and between 50 and 80 people were in attendance.<sup>55</sup> Mete Kingi Paetahi was nominated by Major Kemp (Te Keepa Te Rangihiwini), who purported to represent the interests of Māori from Wanganui, Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and the Muaupoko tribal groups. The nomination was seconded by Pehimana. Both Major Kemp and

Pehimana had given speeches that maintained, amongst other things, that representation was needed for the protection of Māori under the law.<sup>56</sup> There being no other names nominated, the returning officer declared Mete Kingi as elected. Immediately the successful candidate gave a speech of thanks and the crowd gave three cheers for Mete Kingi, three for the Queen, three for the returning officer and three for Major Durie (the Registrar of Electors in the district).<sup>57</sup> This was the only time that a single person stood as the candidate in the electorate. As Table 5 makes clear, the Western Maori elections were keenly contested for the rest of the nineteenth century.

| <b>Election</b>                   | <b>Results*</b>  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1868 <sup>58</sup>                | <b>Mete Kingi Paetahi</b> (unopposed)  |
| 1871 <sup>59</sup>                | <b>Wi Parata</b> (258); Major Kemp (186); Mete Kingi Paetahi (155)   |
| 1876 <sup>60</sup>                | <b>Hoani Nahi</b> (671); Major Kemp (490); Wi Parata (290)   |
| 1879 <sup>61</sup>                | <b>Major Te Wheoro</b> (1053); Hoani Taipua (441)  |
| 1881 <sup>62</sup>                | <b>Major Te Wheoro</b> (991); Mangakahia (223); Mita Karaka (143); W. Hughes (75)  |
| 1884 <sup>63</sup>                | <b>Te Puke Te Ao</b> (356); Major Kemp (284); Major Te Wheoro (155); Wetere Te Rerenga (141); Henare Kaihau (137); Mita Karaka (136); Mangakahia (125); Hirini Taiwhanga (78)  |
| 1886 <sup>64</sup><br>by-election | <b>Hoani Taipua</b> (1258); Major Te Wheoro (519); Kaihau (225); Hirini Taiwhanga (148); Taurua (70)   |
| 1887 <sup>65</sup>                | <b>Hoani Taipua</b> (1691); Major Te Wheoro (1067); John Ormsby (198); Pepene Eketone (153); Takarangi Mete Kingi (41)   |
| 1890 <sup>66</sup>                | <b>Hoani Taipua</b> (971); Pepene Eketone (467); K. Te Whakatauri (70); T. Karape (58); T. Te Whakapoko (13)   |
| 1893 <sup>67</sup>                | <b>Ropata Te Ao</b> (817); Pepene Eketone (727); Te Wirihana Hunia (365); Ngarangi Kaititia (334); Reha Aperahama (274); Eruera Whakaahu (224)   |
| 1896 <sup>68</sup>                | <b>Henare Kaihau</b> (1605); Ropata Te Ao (874); Major Kemp (854); Ngarangi Kitiha (655); John Ormsby (575); Te Aohau Nikitini (431); Pepene Eketone (351); Wiremu Ngapaki (261); Reha Aperahama (186); Te Remana Nutana (158); Wirihana Hunia (37); Hohepa Horomona (17); Te Rahui Kararehe (8) |
| 1899 <sup>69</sup>                | <b>Henare Kaihau</b> (2685); Te Heuheu Tukino (873); Te Aohau Nikitini (581); Waata Hipango (440); Hone Patene (199); Takarangi Mete Kingi (173); Wiremu Ngapaki (145)   |

\*Final votes or partial final votes (if available) are recorded in brackets after the name.  
The winner is highlighted in bold.

**Table 5:** Election Results of the Western Maori Electoral District 1868–1899

At the nomination meetings and polling booths in the 1871 election, Māori interest and participation were on the increase in Western Maori. The procedure in the 1871 election at Wanganui was as follows. Voting commenced at 9am and finished at 5pm. The Reverend J.F. Reimenscheider was the poll clerk, Pehira Tarei was the scrutineer, and Hekaraia Horako and Wirihana Puna assisted and took account of the votes as polled. Reimenscheider was provided with printed forms which were ruled off in columns, bearing a heading in Māori and English. The first column gave the name of the voter, the second the tribe, the third the hapū, and the fourth the place of abode. Each voter went up to the table through one door, and then passed out at another, at each of which policemen were stationed. The voter was asked for his name, tribe, hapū and place of abode and the person for whom he voted. On the naming of the candidate, the poll clerk filled in the name, added his own signature, then handed the form over to the scrutineer, who initialled it and filed it.<sup>70</sup>

The keen rivalry between Mete Kingi and Major Kemp particularly manifested itself in the 1871 contest, despite Major Kemp having nominated Mete Kingi in 1868. It seems that Major Kemp saw the value of being an MHR for his own goals and therefore wanted the position himself. The rivalry was always there, as the two men were important Māori personalities that were also known to Pākehā in the Wanganui district. Both were kinsmen as they belonged to the lower Wanganui river people. Both were also loyal supporters of the Crown, being part of the Crown militia against Māori. The *Wanganui Herald* had a rolling commentary in the evening newspaper of 13 February 1871 concerning the polling booth at the Freemason's Hall in Wanganui. The Māori voters had entered via the stairs at the back of the hall, then declared their vote and exited via the stairs at the front. Supporters of the two candidates fought hard throughout the day to garner higher votes. At 10am the numbers were 26 for Mete Kingi and four for Major Kemp, but from mid-morning to midday Major Kemp's supporters were out in force, with the numbers recorded at midday being 78 to 56 in Kemp's favour. However, by 2pm votes were tied at 120 votes each.<sup>71</sup>

Unlike today's elections, there were regular updates throughout the day about the state of the votes. The newspapers late in the day had even stated that Major Kemp would be elected as the new MHR because the outstanding polling booths in Rangitikei, Otaki and in Taranaki were thought to be in his favour.<sup>72</sup> However, the reality was that voters elected the third candidate, Wi Parata, as their representative.<sup>73</sup> The final election result saw Wi Parata take 258 votes, Major Kemp 186 votes and Mete Kingi 155 votes.<sup>74</sup> Although there are no surviving records for individual polling booths in the Western Maori electorate in 1871, newspaper accounts offer preliminary results for the Wanganui polling booth (120 votes each for Major Kemp and Mete Kingi) and the final results of the Wellington polling booth (81 votes for Wi Parata

and one vote for Mete Kingi).<sup>75</sup> These numbers suggest that Wi Parata not only won over voters from his own principal tribal areas around Wellington (to which he had strong genealogical links), but that he also reached into other geographical areas of the electorate to secure the election. Despite newspaper perceptions about who was the stronger candidate, it was Māori voters who decided the fate of the candidates.

From 1879 onwards, there was some continuity of MHRs. Major Wheoro (Wiremu Te Morehu Maipapa Te Wheoro) served two terms (1876 and 1879) before his defeat in 1884. Hoani Taipua won a by-election and two subsequent elections in 1886, 1887 and 1890, before his retirement in 1893. Henare Kaihau emerged victorious at the 1896 election and served consecutive terms thereafter until his defeat in 1911. From 1881 there were multiple candidates for each of the elections, with a high of 13 candidates in the 1896 election. Some candidates could barely get enough votes to mount a serious challenge, but they still affected Pepene Eketone's attempt to get elected in 1887, 1890, 1893 and 1896. Eketone came the closest to winning the seat in 1893, but three other candidates took significant votes, and this factor ensured his failure at the polls. After his attempt in 1871, Major Kemp tried to get elected in 1876, 1884, and 1896 respectively, but his presence appears to have split the electors, often resulting in third candidates winning the votes. The presence of the Māori King movement was felt from 1879 onwards, where they backed Major Te Wheoro. However, the Kīngitanga's major influence was limited to the Waikato. Candidates still had to fight for votes in the Taranaki, Wanganui, Kapiti and Wellington areas. The presence of multiple candidates in particular races made it difficult for candidates who were vying for votes from the different Māori kin groups across a wide geographical area. Such was the interest by Māori in voting in Western Maori that over 5000 voters went to the polls by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>76</sup>

### **Eastern Maori Elections 1868–1899**

The first election process for Eastern Maori occurred at the Council Chambers in Napier on 15 April 1868. G.S. Cooper was the returning officer before a large gathering of Māori. Karaitiana Takamoana was nominated by Manaena and seconded by Harawira Te Tateru. Speeches were then given in Karaitiana's favour by Harawira, Tamati Te Maruhaere and Hakaraia Pohawaiki.<sup>77</sup> In the support speeches for Karaitiana it was noted that he had worked against those people who had tried to gain land from its rightful Māori owners. The *Hawke's Bay Herald* at the time had reported that this was an allusion to a feud between Ngāti Kahungunu chiefs and the chief Te Hapuku who was driven off the Pakowhai Plains near Hastings in 1858. The returning officer then stated that he would declare Karaitiana duly elected if no other candidate was proposed within five minutes. This period had almost elapsed when Tareha Te Moananui

was nominated by Karauria Pupu and seconded by the old chief Te Hapuku.<sup>78</sup> Having two candidates, the returning officer then indicated a show of hands for the nominees. Tareha Te Moananui got 34 votes to 33 for Karaitiana Takamoana. The returning officer indicated that if a poll was not demanded then Tareha would be elected as the member. Karaitiana's supporters did not demand a poll and accordingly Tareha Te Moananui was elected.<sup>79</sup> Because of this new election system, it seemed that Karaitiana's supporter Manaena did not know what he was actually doing in terms of process. Karaitiana's supporters were absent in the stores in Napier at the time of the vote, and Karaitiana himself was absent from the meeting as he was in Rangitikei district at the time. Instead, Manaena confirmed Tareha as the nominee in Karaitiana's absence.<sup>80</sup>

| <b>Election</b>                   | <b>Results*</b>  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1868 <sup>81</sup>                | <b>Tareha Te Moananui</b> (elected at the nomination meeting)  |
| 1871 <sup>82</sup>                | <b>Karaitiana Takamoana</b> (elected unopposed)  |
| 1876 <sup>83</sup>                | <b>Karaitiana Takamoana</b> (401); Mita Hikairo (376); Kepa Tangipuawhe (373); Hotene Porourangi (145)   |
| 1879 <sup>84</sup><br>by-election | <b>Henare Tomoana</b> (652); Henare Matua (583); Hans (Ieni) Tapsell (429); Henare Pukuatua (59)   |
| 1879 <sup>85</sup>                | <b>Henare Tomoana</b> (1092); Hans (Ieni) Tapsell (982); Henare Matua (841); Henare Potae (29)   |
| 1881 <sup>86</sup>                | <b>Henare Tomoana</b> (900); Wiremu Ratete (Rogers) (737); Wi Pere (630); Paratene Ngata (488)   |
| 1884 <sup>87</sup>                | <b>Wi Pere</b> (800); James Carroll (775); Henare Tomoana (514); Kepa Rangipo (484); Retireti Tapsell (219); Hirini Taiwhanga (164)                    |
| 1887 <sup>88</sup>                | <b>James Carroll</b> (1298); Wi Pere (1112); Alfred Warbrick (571); Hirini Taiwhanga (424)   |
| 1890 <sup>89</sup>                | <b>James Carroll</b> (1596); Wi Pere (1406); Hirini Taiwhanga (37); Timiwata Rinui (3); Stern (1)  |
| 1893 <sup>90</sup>                | <b>Wi Pere</b> (2645); Hoani Paraone Tunuiarangi (1246); Paratene Ngata (1015); Henare Tomoana (663); Te Heuheu Tukino (542); Hamiora Mangakahia (194) |
| 1896 <sup>91</sup>                | <b>Wi Pere</b> (2423); Tare Mete (514); Maika Taruke (184); Tamati Tautuhi (784); Eriata Nopera (65)   |
| 1899 <sup>92</sup>                | <b>Wi Pere</b> (2294); Mohi Te Atahikoia (1387); Hurinui Apanui (1316); Kereru Numia (331); Tare Mete (207); Tamati Haweti (126)                       |

\*Final votes or partial final votes (if available) are recorded in brackets after the name.  
The winner is highlighted in bold.

**Table 6:** Election Results of the Eastern Maori Electoral District 1868–1899

There was much continuity among MHRs for Eastern Maori, as the electoral data in Table 6 shows. Karaitiana Takamoana served for two terms, Henare Tomoana had three terms, James Carroll had two terms and Wi Pere was elected four times, in 1884, 1893, 1896 and 1899 respectively (serving until 1905 when he was defeated by Apirana Ngata). Each election from 1876 comprised hard fought battles between multiple candidates, and the number of votes gained by second- and third-placed candidates, and even some fourth-placed candidates, was large. The sitting MHR's winning margins were small compared with the votes for the other candidates. It was not until Wi Pere finally dominated the electoral contests from 1893 onwards that big winning margins were recorded. Wi Pere was a formidable candidate from 1881, and had monumental battles with James Carroll in the 1884, 1887 and 1890 elections (see below).

Land politics involving the East Coast, Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa tribal groups dominated the political landscape to a heightened degree and those issues ensured that Karaitiana Takamoana, Henare Tomoana, Wi Pere and James Carroll from those tribal areas were elected as MHRs. Candidates from the Mataatua and Te Arawa tribal groups in the Bay of Plenty, such as Hans Tapsell in 1879, Te Heuheu Tukino in 1893, and Hurinui Apanui in 1899, could not get themselves elected as they could not compete along the Eastern Coastal districts of the North Island. Table 7 shows that in 1879 Hans Tapsell could not win votes in those East Coast towns and that the rump of his support base was located in Rotorua at Ohinemutu.

|                                   | <b>Henare<br/>Tomoana</b> | <b>Henare<br/>Matua</b> | <b>Hans (Ieni)<br/>Tapsell</b> | <b>Henare<br/>Pukuatua</b> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Gisborne <sup>93</sup>            | 84                        | 1                       | 0                              | 0                          |
| Napier <sup>94</sup>              | 21                        | 9                       | 0                              | 0                          |
| Ohinemutu <sup>95</sup>           | 0                         | 4                       | 188                            | 11                         |
| Napier <sup>96</sup>              | 21                        | 9                       | 0                              | 0                          |
| Greytown <sup>97</sup>            | 19                        | 45                      | 0                              | 0                          |
| Taiaroa <sup>98</sup>             | 11                        | 1                       | 0                              | 0                          |
| Porangahau <sup>99</sup>          | 0                         | 32                      | 0                              | 0                          |
| Masterton <sup>100</sup>          | 34                        | 34                      | 0                              | 0                          |
| <b>Final result<sup>101</sup></b> | <b>652</b>                | <b>583</b>              | <b>429</b>                     | <b>59</b>                  |

**Table 7:** Results of the Eastern Maori Electoral District in the By-election of 1879 with the Results of Some Individual Polling Booths

By 1899, the Eastern Maori electorate had over 5000 voters at the polls.<sup>102</sup> These numbers were similar to the numbers in the Western Maori electorate. Once given the franchise, Māori were more than willing to exercise that right.

### **Southern Maori Elections 1868–1899**

The Southern Maori election in 1868 was an entirely different scenario from what occurred in the inaugural Māori elections in the North Island. It was a fully contested election, although the number of voters was very small. On 15 April 1868, at St Stephen's Anglican Church in Tuahiwi, just north of Christchurch, the nomination meeting was opened around midday by the returning officer, Alexander Mackay. The *Taranaki Herald* reported approximately 80–100 Māori present, including women and children.<sup>103</sup> Mackay called on the various Māori to nominate their candidates, with Thomas Green, Wi Nahera and John Patterson (Paratene Tamanui a Rangi) putting their names forward. On voting, the show of hands produced the following results: Wi Nahera won 35 votes; Green had 28 votes; and John Patterson garnered 10 votes. Unlike the Eastern Maori electorate nomination, a poll was then demanded by Thomas Green, which was to take place around the South Island in May 1868.<sup>104</sup> Polling took place in Nelson, Blenheim, Kaiapoi, Greymouth, Akaroa, Arowhenua, Moeraki, Dunedin, Bluff, Riverton and Ruapuke. However, barely 80 people voted throughout the whole of the South Island. The *Lyttleton Times* opined that the low turnout was probably a result of the Native Land Court sittings being held at the time of the poll as well as the annual muttonbird harvest.<sup>105</sup>

No voters were recorded at the polling booths in Nelson, Greymouth, Akaroa, Moeraki, Dunedin and Riverton. The highest numbers were at Blenheim and Kaiapoi. The end results revealed that Wi Nahera won 5 votes, Green 33 votes and John Patterson 42 votes. Patterson received his votes mostly from Blenheim, Arowhenua and Ruapuke, and he was declared the inaugural MHR. Rumours had been circulating that Wi Nahera had pulled out of the election but it was never confirmed. This may explain the falling away of his numbers at the nomination meeting in favour of John Patterson in the final election.<sup>106</sup> Additionally, it was thought at the time that if Tioti Pita had been nominated then no other candidates would have presented themselves, but at best this could have been mere speculation on the *Lyttleton Times's* part.<sup>107</sup>



| <b>Election</b>                    | <b>Results*</b>   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1868 <sup>108</sup>                | <b>John Patterson</b> (42); Thomas Green (33); Wi Nahera (5)              |
| 1871 <sup>109</sup>                | <b>Hori Kerei Taiaroa</b> (144); Wi Katene Tuoho (70); Thomas Green (60)  |
| 1876 <sup>110</sup>                | <b>Hori Kerei Taiaroa</b> (elected unopposed)                             |
| 1879 <sup>111</sup><br>by-election | <b>Ihaia Tainui</b> (191); Tara Teihoka (78); John Patterson (60)         |
| 1879 <sup>112</sup>                | <b>Ihaia Tainui</b> (268); John Patterson (43); Herangi (37); Matenga (9) |
| 1881 <sup>113</sup><br>by-election | <b>Hori Kerei Taiaroa</b> (elected unopposed)                             |
| 1881 <sup>114</sup>                | <b>Hori Kerei Taiaroa</b> (elected unopposed)                             |
| 1884 <sup>115</sup>                | <b>Hori Kerei Taiaroa</b> (231); Tare Wetere Te Kahu (134)                |
| 1885 <sup>116</sup><br>by-election | <b>Tame Parata</b> (147); John Patterson (104); Tikao (94)                |
| 1887 <sup>117</sup>                | <b>Tame Parata</b> (140); Ellison (103); Kahu (103); Tikao (72)           |
| 1890 <sup>118</sup>                | <b>Tame Parata</b> (148); Hape (107); R. Taiaroa (76); Ellison (51)       |
| 1893 <sup>119</sup>                | <b>Tame Parata</b> (367); Teoti Pita Mutu (182)                           |
| 1896 <sup>120</sup>                | <b>Tame Parata</b> (262); Ellison (149); Taiaroa (144); Mutu (113)        |
| 1899 <sup>121</sup>                | <b>Tame Parata</b> (387); Taituha Hape (219)                              |

\* Final votes or partial final votes (if available) are recorded in brackets after the name.  
The winner is highlighted in bold.

**Table 8:** Election Results of the Southern Maori Electoral District 1868–1899

Interest in the elections began to grow in Southern Maori from 1871 onwards (Table 8). On 1 February 1871 three people were nominated. One was Wi Katene (Wi Katene Tuoho) of Nelson, who was put forward by John Patterson and seconded by Henare Te Ranga. Thomas Green of Kaiapoi stood again and was nominated by Hopa Paura and seconded by Matene Pita. Hori Kerei Taiaroa<sup>122</sup> of Otākou was supported by Horopapene Monu and Henare Wiremu.<sup>123</sup> Taiaroa's supporters wore the American colours of red, white and blue, whereas Thomas Green's supporters were in blue attire.<sup>124</sup> One account from the *Evening Post* described the scene:

The electors sat or squatted in a broad ring well away from the Returning Officer's table; the proposers, the seconders and the candidates being privileged by being allowed within the circle. Beyond the circle of electors, seated on mats were the lady Maori spectators and about half a dozen Europeans. A show of hands resulted as follows: – Green, 38; Taiaroa, 37; Katene 18. A poll was demanded by Wiremu Katene's supporters. The Returning Officer informed those present that the poll would take place on the 13 instances at the Court Houses Nelson, Blenheim, Kaiapoi, Arowhenua, Hampden, Dunedin, Campbelltown, Riverton, Greymouth, and Ruapaki [sic] School-house.<sup>125</sup>

|                     | <b>Hori Kerei<br/>Taiaroa</b> | <b>Wi Katene<br/>Tuoho</b> | <b>Thomas Green</b> |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| Nelson              | 0                             | 26                         | 0                   |
| Blenheim            | 15                            | 24                         | 1                   |
| Greymouth           | 4                             | 1                          | 2                   |
| Kaiapoi             | 31                            | 12                         | 43                  |
| Akaroa              | 23                            | 0                          | 6                   |
| Arowhenua           | 6                             | 7                          | 1                   |
| Moeraki             | 1                             | 0                          | 1                   |
| Dunedin             | 39                            | 0                          | 0                   |
| Bluff               | 4                             | 0                          | 0                   |
| Riverton            | 11                            | 0                          | 4                   |
| Ruapuke             | 10                            | 0                          | 2                   |
| <b>Final result</b> | <b>144</b>                    | <b>70</b>                  | <b>60</b>           |

**Table 9:** Results of the Southern Maori Electoral District in the 1871 General Election<sup>126</sup>

Hori Kerei Taiaroa won the Southern Maori election of 1871 with 144 votes to 70 votes for Wi Katene Tuoho and 60 votes for Thomas Green.<sup>127</sup> The data in Table 9 shows that Taiaroa was able to get voter support not only from his Otago base, but from Blenheim (a completely different tribal area from his own), through Canterbury, and down into Southland. Wi Katene, however, could not muster any voter support south of Timaru, outside his principal tribal areas at the top of the South Island. Again, strong genealogical links were a significant factor in winning individual polling booths. For example, Wi Katene won the Nelson polling booth, securing all 26 votes cast. Taiaroa triumphed at the Dunedin polling booth with all 39 votes. The rump of Green's votes came from the polling booths where he had the strongest genealogical links.<sup>128</sup> Thomas Green was principally from Kaiapoi, but as can be seen Taiaroa was able to get a significant number of votes at that polling

booth as well. Taiaroa essentially won the election by securing large numbers of votes in Kaiapoi and Dunedin as mentioned, but also Akaroa along with a sizable number of votes in Blenheim, Riverton and Ruapuke.

The MHRs representing Southern Maori remained very stable over a number of years. Once elected, they became entrenched incumbents, with none defeated in a subsequent election. Hori Kerei Taiaroa and Tame Parata<sup>129</sup> essentially dominated the political scene over many years in the South Island. Taiaroa's character amongst the Southern voters was of such a high standing that when he went for re-election in 1876 he stood unopposed.<sup>130</sup> When Taiaroa was eventually appointed to the Legislative Council, controversy arose when he was ejected from it for reasons that smacked of racism.<sup>131</sup> Such was Taiaroa's popularity and sense of injustice over the Legislative Council that the sitting Southern Maori MHR, Ihaia Tainui, immediately resigned and forced a by-election in 1881 to enable Taiaroa to stand for election. There was so much bitterness and anguish amongst the Southern voters about Taiaroa's expulsion from the Legislative Council that he stood unopposed in the by-election.<sup>132</sup> He once again stood unopposed for the 1881 general election later in the year<sup>133</sup> and easily defeated one opponent in the 1884 general election.<sup>134</sup> Taiaroa was eventually appointed back to the Legislative Council in 1885.

Factors contributing to the continuity of the elected Southern MHRs included the fact that the electorate had only a few hundred voters because of the sparse Māori population in the south. Some commentators even called Southern Maori a 'rotten borough' because its low number of eligible voters did not match the high numbers in the three other Māori electorates.<sup>135</sup> There were also only two major tribal groups in the south: the Te Tau Ihu people in the northern part of the South Island, and Ngāi Tahu. Hence Blenheim and Kaiapoi (important places for Te Tau Ihu and Ngāi Tahu) had the largest number of voters in the 1868 election. Because of the relatively small number of voters, there were no large swings between elections. Third candidates in the 1885, 1887, 1890 and 1896 elections showed that Tame Parata was vulnerable as he could only muster at best 42% of the vote, falling as low as 35% in the 1887 election. But because of the low number of voters, Parata could concentrate on specific areas to pick up votes. The 1896 results show how Parata was able to overcome his rivals (Table 10). His natural area of support lay in Otago, and he won by large margins at Waikouaiti and Moeraki. But he also managed to get significant votes in the Christchurch district polling booths of Kaiapoi and Waiwera. Parata also managed to get large numbers in South Canterbury at Arowhenua and Waitaki North, as well as decent-sized votes in Southland at Campbelltown and Oraka. Parata's weakness was in the northern sector of the South Island, which was a different tribal area from his own. But his rivals split the votes in those areas amongst them, thereby assuring Parata's victory.

|                     | <b>Tame<br/>Parata</b> | <b>Tom Ellison</b> | <b>Riki<br/>Taiaroa</b> | <b>Teoti Pita<br/>Mutu</b> |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Wakapuaka           | 4                      | 0                  | 1                       | 1                          |
| Wairau              | 1                      | 15                 | 11                      | 1                          |
| Havelock            | 1                      | 8                  | 7                       | 6                          |
| Waikama             | 0                      | 17                 | 4                       | 2                          |
| Motueka             | 0                      | 16                 | 4                       | 0                          |
| Westport            | 0                      | 0                  | 12                      | 0                          |
| Hokitika            | 1                      | 0                  | 11                      | 9                          |
| Kaikōura            | 1                      | 11                 | 7                       | 14                         |
| Kaiapoi             | 32                     | 5                  | 9                       | 22                         |
| Taumutu             | 0                      | 0                  | 22                      | 0                          |
| Rapaki              | 4                      | 22                 | 5                       | 6                          |
| Waiwera             | 35                     | 1                  | 7                       | 2                          |
| Waitaki North       | 24                     | 11                 | 3                       | 3                          |
| Taieri Ferry        | 8                      | 3                  | 2                       | 2                          |
| Moeraki             | 28                     | 1                  | 8                       | 4                          |
| Otago Heads         | 12                     | 6                  | 3                       | 0                          |
| Waikouaiti          | 53                     | 3                  | 1                       | 0                          |
| Arowhenua           | 27                     | 0                  | 12                      | 18                         |
| Campbelltown        | 13                     | 11                 | 4                       | 0                          |
| Oraka               | 12                     | 11                 | 5                       | 5                          |
| The Neck            | 4                      | 4                  | 0                       | 0                          |
| Reomoana            | 2                      | 4                  | 1                       | 1                          |
| Okiwi Bay           | 0                      | 0                  | 5                       | 17                         |
| <b>Final Result</b> | <b>262</b>             | <b>149</b>         | <b>144</b>              | <b>113</b>                 |

**Table 10:** Results of the Southern Maori Electoral District in the 1896 General Election  
Showing the Individual Results for Each Polling Booth<sup>136</sup>

### Contesting Seats

As has been emphasized, there was a growing enthusiasm by Māori in the four Māori seat elections as the nineteenth century progressed. The steady increase in the number of voters going to the polls is a testament to this. But there are a few factors that need to be elaborated upon to explain increased Māori participation in elections. Once an election was called, the whole

campaign took on a life of its own. Election days were social outings where men, women and children attended the polling booths, which had a snowball effect of generating great excitement. As mentioned earlier, in the Northern Maori election of 1871 several hundred Māori were at the Waimate polling booth and food was served. Social events would even follow the election results, such as in the election of Ihaia Tainui to the Southern Maori seat in 1879. Tainui's daughter and son-in-law, Wepu Hopa, announced a party and a ball in honour of the election.<sup>137</sup> However, when food and drink (most commonly alcohol) were made available to the voters by individual candidates for the purpose of swaying voters, the social aspect of the elections took on a whole different appearance.

Technically, this practice of 'treating' was illegal for Māori and European elections under the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act 1858, but most candidates (both Māori and European) ignored it.<sup>138</sup> In the Western Maori election of 1879, in Shortland near Thames, one of the candidates, possibly Major Wheoro,<sup>139</sup> had beer served to the voters in a building specifically set aside for the purpose.<sup>140</sup> In the Northern Maori by-election of May 1887, brought about by the death of the sitting MP, Ihaka Hakuene,<sup>141</sup> there were reports that liquor had been supplied to voters. Hirini Taiwhanga,<sup>142</sup> who had lost the election against Wi Katene by three votes, claimed there was brandy given to voters at Herds Point in Hokianga.<sup>143</sup> Taiwhanga commenced legal action in the Election Court to challenge the result, but had to withdraw it. A general election was called later in 1887 during the court proceedings which effectively made carrying on pointless. With very small winning margins in several of the Māori elections, the effect of treating cannot be underestimated. Even though treating was rampant in elections for both Māori and European seats, the cultural considerations at play in the Māori elections differed. Māori candidates saw no problems in supplying food and beverage near the polling booths to induce votes. Certainly, the voters saw no problem in it either. After all, it was naturally in line with Māori sentiment and customary practices of feeding one's potential and actual supporters. But time and again, there were instances of court action against the winning candidates for treating practices, such as the 1887 election of James Carroll and the 1897 election of Henare Kaihau in Western Maori.<sup>144</sup>

Despite the hard work being put in by the candidates, and even with the use of treating to enhance votes from the Māori electors, there was always a level of unpredictability in the elections, with an ever-present possibility of major upsets. For instance, there was a general perception that the sitting MHR, Major Wheoro, would easily win the Western Maori election of 1884, especially given that he had the backing of the Kingitanga. But there was a

rift over land issues between Ngāti Maniapoto leaders and the Māori King, Tāwhiao Te Wherowhero, and Te Wahanui of Ngāti Maniapoto supported the Ngāti Raukawa candidate, Te Puke Ao.<sup>145</sup> There was uncertainty about how this rift was going to play itself out at the ballot box, but the result was that Major Wheoro was defeated. His votes collapsed from the nearly 1000 votes that he received in 1881 to a mere 155 votes in the 1884 election.<sup>146</sup> Moreover, votes were spread over a number of candidates, which allowed Te Puke Te Ao to win the election with the following results: Te Puke Te Ao (356); Major Kemp (284); Major Te Wheoro (155); Wetere Te Rerenga (141); Henare Kaihau (137); Mita Karaka (136); Mangakahia (125); Hirini Taiwhanga (78).<sup>147</sup> The *Evening Post* reported: 'The election of Te Puke Te Ao for the Western Maori District is an event of more significance than appears at first sight. He is not himself a man of any great note, but he is of good character, intelligent, and of fair standing amongst the Ngatiraukawa. The wonder is that he should have defeated such chiefs as the late member Major Wheoro ... Major Kemp and Te Wetere of Mokau.'<sup>148</sup>

The unpredictability and uncertainty in results was sometimes caused by the split voting among multiple candidates on the ballot, such as during the 1884 Western Maori election or the Northern Maori elections from 1871 to 1890. However, nothing compares to the uncertainty and heightened excitement when Māori voters were subjected to strong and charismatic candidates with clashing and tenacious campaigns. The monumental electoral battles in the Eastern Maori elections in the 1880s and the 1890 election involving Henare Tomoana, Henare Matua, Hans (Ieni) Tapsell, Wi Pere and James Carroll were successful in driving large numbers of voters to the polls. For instance, the Eastern Maori voters comprised about 45% of all the Māori voters across the four electorates in the 1879 elections<sup>149</sup> and the 1884 elections.<sup>150</sup> With its geographic size, large population and myriad of kin groups, this electorate was a particularly tough place to mount a successful campaign. The loss of Māori land through either sales or other legislative mechanisms loomed large amongst the issues, particularly down the eastern coast of the North Island from Ngāti Porou into Ngāti Kahunungu territory.<sup>151</sup> In simple terms, candidates were to varying degrees either sympathetic to government land policies of acquisition and retention or very anti-government. Most of the Māori voters, particularly in Eastern Maori, often judged candidates along clearly demarcated lines such as being 'for' or 'against' the government, and cast their votes on this basis.<sup>152</sup>

When the Eastern Maori MHR Karaitiana Takamoana was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1879, his brother Henare Tomoana fought the July 1879 by-election. Henare Tomoana had sided with the government in

military campaigns against Te Kooti in the late 1860s and 1870s. However, he was sympathetic to the repudiation movement on the East Coast which involved the rejection by Māori of the various land sales to the Crown.<sup>153</sup> Tomoana won the by-election by a slim margin of fewer than a hundred votes. He got 652 votes to Henare Matua's 583 votes, Hans (Ieni) Tapsell's 429 votes and Henare Pukatua's 59 votes.<sup>154</sup> Henare Matua was extremely popular and was the more radical of the candidates; he wanted to repudiate totally the Crown's major purchases of Māori land.<sup>155</sup> Tomoana and Matua's tribal support was from the East Coast of the North Island, whereas Tapsell's tribal support came from the Bay of Plenty area, particularly the Te Arawa people who were strongly aligned with the government. Essentially, the election was a battle between three strong candidates who were strongly for (Tapsell), strongly against (Matua), or took a centrist line towards (Tomoana) government policy.

With Matua and Tapsell getting sizable votes in the by-election of 1879, Tomoana was vulnerable to defeat as a candidate in the general election to be held only months later. In the September 1879 general election initial polling reports had Tomoana losing. On 10 September 1879, all but four polling booths had been counted and Hans (Ieni) Tapsell was in the lead with 912 votes, Henare Matua had 862, and Tomoana had 846 votes.<sup>156</sup> However, the four final polling booths tipped the election in Tomoana's favour, with the final results showing Tomoana on 1092 votes and Tapsell being second on 982 votes.<sup>157</sup> These were not convincing wins for Henare Tomoana. His winning margins were not particularly good given that two other candidates also got a healthy number of votes. Therefore, Tomoana was vulnerable as a future candidate. In the 1881 election his winning margin was still just over 150 votes and there were three other candidates with sizable votes.<sup>158</sup>

The 1884 Eastern Maori election, however, proved disastrous for Tomoana as he was defeated and pushed into a distant third place.<sup>159</sup> Essentially, Tomoana was overtaken by the vicious election campaigns of two charismatic and forceful candidates, Wi Pere and James Carroll. Wi Pere was also sympathetic to the repudiation movement to which Henare Matua was closely aligned. However, he had a somewhat intriguing relationship with Te Kooti. In his early years he fought against Te Kooti, but in his later years he showed magnanimity towards Te Kooti, which brought him support amongst the religious movement of Ringatu of the Mataatua iwi in the Eastern Bay of Plenty.<sup>160</sup> James Carroll was basically the anti-Wi Pere candidate with some pro-government sympathies.<sup>161</sup> The 1884 Eastern Maori election was hotly contested and marred by irregularities, such as reports of under-aged voters at Tokomaru Bay, north of Gisborne.<sup>162</sup> But Wi Pere managed to eke

out a slim victory by 25 votes. The final results were Wi Pere (800 votes); James Carroll (775 votes); Henare Tomoana (514 votes); Kepa Rangipo (484 votes); Retireti Tapsell (219 votes) and Sydney Taiwhanga (164 votes).<sup>163</sup> James Carroll was particularly bitter over this loss, and in the 1887 election he managed to oust Wi Pere by 1298 votes to 1112 votes in another hard-fought battle.<sup>164</sup> But such was the acrimony over the loss that Wi Pere in a high stakes manoeuvre took an electoral petition into the courts to upset the result, but was unsuccessful.<sup>165</sup> Not being daunted by the election loss by fewer than 200 votes in 1887, Wi Pere continued to battle James Carroll in the 1890 election. Again, in another gruelling campaign James Carroll won by a margin of fewer than 200 votes, with Carroll getting 1596 votes to Wi Pere's 1411 votes.<sup>166</sup> Such was the tenacity of Wi Pere that he was still determined to capture the seat in the 1893 elections, and in effect there was always a high level of risk that James Carroll could lose the seat to him.<sup>167</sup> These monumental electoral battles helped to drive large numbers of voters to the polls, while at the same time increasing uncertainty as to the election result. This was especially the case when there was an ultra-high and spirited mood in the elections, such as Western Maori in 1871 and 1884, and Eastern Maori between 1879 and 1890.

But nothing compares to the interest, participation rates and absolute uncertainty in the elections in 1893 as a result of the impact of the newly enfranchised Māori women voters.<sup>168</sup> In 1893, there were 11,269 Māori voters who went to the polls compared to 7086 in the 1890 elections.<sup>169</sup> This was almost a 40% increase and is best explained by the participation of the new Māori women voters. The biggest impact of the women's vote was felt in the Eastern Maori electorate. Voter turnout in that electorate more than doubled from the 1890 election, with over 3000 more voters going to the polls in 1893.<sup>170</sup> James Carroll's decision to abandon the Eastern Maori seat and contest a European electorate was a good judgment on his part. There were simply too many unknown political variables at play with such a large influx of new women voters. This left Wi Pere to capture the Eastern Maori electorate once again, and he won it with a staggering number of votes.<sup>171</sup>

The Māori women's vote was not only significant in the Eastern Maori electorate; it was also significant in the other three Māori electorates. There was about a 30% increase in voters in Southern Maori, a 47% voter increase in Western Maori, and a 20% increase in Northern Maori.<sup>172</sup> The individual Rotorua polling booth, for instance, recorded a 113% voter increase in the 1893 elections from the 1890 elections, and this increase can only be attributed to the first-time women voters.<sup>173</sup> The majority of voters at the polling booth at Gisborne were also described as being women.<sup>174</sup> Additionally, in the polling



booth in the Native Land Court offices on Customs Street in Auckland, the newspapers recorded that out of the 59 votes recorded, 25 were cast by female voters.<sup>175</sup> At Waipawa in the Eastern Maori electorate, a newspaper reporter described somewhat theatrically the Māori women voting at the polling booth:

But the sound of soft laughter and rippling chatter tells us that the Female Franchise is appreciated, and that the women are coming forward to register and vote, and very soon they begin to come in. Ancient crones heavily tattooed and obese, clad in loose drapery and high colours, and wearing a curiously keen and watchful look, roll on and take their part. Now and then a damsel escorted by half a dozen fine young swain. As the dark beauty approaches the table she giggles at the appearance of things and laughs over her shoulder at her body guard .... In one case a haughty belle walked in ... a figure a painter would love to reproduce — dark flashing eyes, striking beauty and more than a suggestion of Oriental voluptuousness.<sup>176</sup>

Māori women like their Pākehā counterparts were making sure that their hard-fought battle for the franchise was going to finally make an impact at the ballot box.

## Conclusion

So what can be made of these nineteenth-century Māori elections? Māori participation at the ballot box increased substantially. Improvements in communication and transport, the abolition of the provincial system of government in the 1870s (that helped to create a national focus on politics) and the increased newspaper interest in national political views have been identified as explaining voter participation increases for the European seats.<sup>177</sup> Certainly transport and newspaper interest can partly explain Māori increases in voting. However, the difference between Māori elections and the European elections was one of context. Elections had existed for the British Parliament for centuries but for Māori they were a new system. In the wider context, one has to view the Māori elections as an experiment in introducing Western institutions into Māori society, but of course in a controlled sense of settler dominance over the paltry four seats. Once introduced, Māori quickly began to utilize and engage in the elections, just like their involvement in Western religion, the school systems and the judicial and administrative systems of the Native Land Court. Kinship relationships were important for Māori in these elections because their social kinship structures were relatively stable, and therefore politics always had a local flavour whether along whānau, hapū or iwi lines.

Using individual polling booth results for a number of the nineteenth-century Māori elections enables researchers to explore what was happening with voters at individual locations. For the individual candidates, what can be seen is that they had to decide where best to put their resources in the

campaigns. They had to win by large margins where they had natural pockets of support. These were the candidate's hard-core voters. But winning in areas of natural electoral support was never enough to win the election as other candidates were aiming to do the same. The candidates also had to make decisions about identifying areas where they could mount viable campaigns to at least compete with other candidates by targeting 'soft' or 'swing' voters. Additionally, the candidates needed to assess which local areas of the electorate were not worth chasing. This was always a matter of judgment in determining other candidates' possible dominance over the local support in some areas and whether resources would be wasted in trying to secure support there. However, candidates still had to secure some votes in nearly all of the polling booths in order to give themselves an advantage. But apart from this, there was always a level of uncertainty about the outcomes of elections — nor was re-election guaranteed. Candidates had to work hard for individual votes. The elections were extremely dynamic events. This needs to be emphasized when considering New Zealand's nineteenth-century politics.

The Māori elections at that time add to the richness of our political history, as well as showing that the Māori people participated in the Westminster electoral system in the nineteenth century. The Māori voters' participation in elections dramatically started to climb from the mid-1870s onwards. This increased interest resulted in voting by thousands of Māori by the end of the nineteenth century. And it was a complex amalgam of the 'likability' of the candidate, people supporting one's kin, the carnival-like atmosphere of the polling booths on election day where treating was a possibility, and the cut and thrust and viciousness of some of the campaigns, that drove the voters to the polls. Māori voters wanted the ability to pick the candidates of their choice, and the more exciting the election, the more interest and passion was generated to drive them to the polling booths. When Māori women won the franchise in 1893 they were eager to cast a vote, and turned out in the thousands. They had been accompanying their menfolk to the polling booths anyway since Māori males began voting in 1868. With the large electoral districts, Māori candidates had to appeal to a large number of Māori kin and tribal groups over wide geographic spaces which made the elections fraught with so many social and geographic variables. If they did not know this before the election campaign, they certainly knew it after the final election results. The Māori people had received a taste of parliamentary democracy with a vote and a ballot box, and once that power was granted to them, like their Pākehā counterparts, they were never giving it up.

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## NOTES

1 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 18 April 1868, p.2. (The account is a translation given in the newspaper from the Māori newspaper *Waka Maori* at the time.) All newspapers quoted within this article were accessed from the *Papers Past* website unless otherwise stated <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers>.

2 They were named as electoral districts in the legislation. See: Maori Representation Act 1867, section 5.

3 Maori Representation Act 1867, schedule.

4 A census of Māori in the South Island, Stewart Island and the adjacent islands was carried out in 1868. It included 'half-castes'. There were 951 males and 711 females over the age of 14 years. See: 'Census of the Native Population of the Southern Islands', Alexander Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to the South Island*, Volume II, Wellington, 1873, p.345. The Māori population over the age of 15 years in Nelson, Marlborough, Westland, Otago, Ruapuke and Stewart Island in 1878 was 742 males and 547 females. See: 'The census of the Maori population (papers relating to)', *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1878, Session I, G-02, p.25. By the 1896 Māori census the population of the South Island, Stewart Island and adjacent islands was 1226 males and 1087 females; however, these are total amounts rather than those over the age of 15 years. See: 'The census of the Maori population (papers relating to)', AJHR, 1896, Session I, H-13b, p.12. By comparison, the Māori population in the North Island in 1896 was 20,214 males and 16,850 females.

5 Under the Maori Representation Act 1867, sections 2 and 6, an elector had to be 'a male native aboriginal inhabitant of New Zealand of the age of twenty-years and upwards and include half castes', and 'not at anytime ... been attained or convicted of any treason, felony or infamous offence'.

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7 Maori Representation Act 1867, section 2.

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9 M.P.K. Sorrenson, 'A History of Māori Representation in Parliament', in *Report of the Royal Commission on the Electoral System: Towards a Better Democracy, The Royal Commission on the Electoral System 1986*, Wellington, 1986, Appendix B, p.B.20.

10 New Zealand Constitution Act 1852, sections 7 and 42, which was a United Kingdom statute that gave self-government to New Zealand. See also Lipson, *The Politics of Equality*, pp.18-19.

11 Keith Sinclair, 'The Maori in Politics, 1840-67', in *The Maori and New Zealand Politics*, J.G.A. Pocock, ed., Blackwood & Janet Paul, Auckland, 1965, pp.14-15.

12 Sorrenson, 'A History of Māori Representation in Parliament', pp.B.18-20.

13 Sorrenson, 'A History of Māori Representation in Parliament', p.B.20.

14 Sorrenson, 'A History of Māori Representation in Parliament', p.B.20.

15 The Westland Representation Act 1867 also restructured some of the existing European electorates.

16 James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Penguin, Auckland, 1986.

17 The numbers of voters in the Māori electorates appear in brackets: 1868 (150), 1871 (873), 1875 (4054), 1879 (6686), 1881 (5099), 1884 (5635), 1887 (8822), 1890 (7086), 1893 (11,269), 1896 (13,008), 1899 (13,628). See: 'Table 2: Electoral Statistics for Māori 1868-2008', in John Wilson, 'The origins of the Māori seats', in Maria Bargh, ed., *Māori and Parliament: diverse strategies and compromises*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2010, p.56.

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20 David McCan, *Whatiwhaitioe: The Waikato Raupatu Claim*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2001.

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22 Bronwyn Elmore, *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand*, Raupo Publishing (NZ) Ltd, Auckland, 1999.

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26 Sorrenson, 'A History of Māori Representation in Parliament', p. B.24.

27 McDowell, 'Te Ana o te Raiona'.

28 'Te Ana o te Raiona', p.50.

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33 'Report of E.M. Williams to Hon. D. McLean, Waimate, Bay of Islands, 15 February 1871 in Further Reports from Officers in Native Districts (Bay of Plenty, Bay of Islands, Thames, Waikato, Raglan), Wellington 1871', AJHR, 1871, Session I, Volume 2, F-06a, p.11.

34 *Daily Southern Cross*, 6 February 1871, p.5.

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37 *Auckland Star*, 20 January 1876, p.3.

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40 *Taranaki Herald*, 24 July 1884, p.2.

41 Wi Katene was elected by a majority of three votes. Source: *Ashburton Guardian*, 16 May 1887, p.2; *New Zealand Herald*, 11 May 1887, p.5.

42 *Press*, 10 September 1887, p.5.

43 *Otago Witness*, 4 December 1890, p.15.

44 Sorrenson, 'A History of Māori Representation in Parliament', p.B.68. Sorrenson's figures are for the by-election in 1891 as a result of Taiwhanga winning the general election in 1890 but dying on the night of the election.

45 AJHR, 1894, Session I, H-19, p.3.

46 *New Zealand Herald*, 24 December 1896, p.3.

47 AJHR, 1900, Session I, H-26, p.3.

48 *Auckland Star*, 20 January 1876, p. 3.

49 *Auckland Star*, 20 January 1876, p. 3.

50 *Thames Star*, 9 September 1879, p.2.

51 *Thames Star*, 9 September 1879, p.2.

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58 *West Coast Times*, 1 June 1868, p.4.

59 *Otago Witness*, 25 February 1871, p.5.

60 *Auckland Star*, 21 January 1876, p.2.

61 While some individual polling booth results are available in some newspapers, a final result is not easily available. Major Te Wheoro in the various newspapers is recorded as being elected, such as in the *Star*, 11 September 1879, p.2. A report on all male electors in the colony in 1879, however, does note that there were 1494 votes cast in Western Maori and Major Te Wheoro received 1053 of those votes. It is those figures which my tally is based upon. See: 'Return Showing the adult male population of each electoral district in the Colony of New Zealand, the number of electors on the electoral rolls, the number who recorded their votes at the last election, and the number polled for the sitting member', AJHR, 1879, Session II, H-17, p.3.

62 *Grey River Argus*, 17 December 1881, p.2.

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65 *Evening Post*, 19 September 1887, p.3; *Waikato Times*, 20 September 1887, p.2.

66 Sorrenson, 'A History of Māori Representation in Parliament', p.B.68.

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URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2p5/parata-wiremu-te-kakakura> (accessed 1 August 2016).

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- 75 *Wellington Independent*, 14 February 1871, p.2.
- 76 AJHR, 1900, Session I, H-26, p.3.
- 77 'Election of a Native Minister', *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 18 April 1868, p.2. (The account is a translation given in the newspaper from the Māori newspaper *Waka Maori* at the time.)
- 78 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 18 April 1868, p. 2.
- 79 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 18 April 1868, p. 2.
- 80 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 18 April 1868, p. 2.
- 81 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 18 April 1868, p. 2.
- 82 *Wanganui Herald*, 2 February 1871, p.2.
- 83 Result confirmed in an election petition before the House of Representatives. See: 'Reports of the Eastern Maori Election Committee with minutes of evidence', AJHR, 1876, Session I-3, p.1; 'Eastern Maori Electoral District. Papers relative to an election of a member to serve in the House of Representatives', AJHR, 1876, Session I, I-3A.
- 84 *Bay of Plenty Times*, 24 July 1879, p.2.
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- 86 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 16 December 1881, p.3.
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- 88 *Otago Witness*, 16 September 1887, p.22.
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- 90 AJHR, 1894, Session I, H-19, p.3.
- 91 *New Zealand Herald*, 24 December 1896, p.3.
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- 93 *New Zealand Herald*, 9 July 1879, p.5.
- 94 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 8 July 1879, p.2.
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- 96 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 July 1879, p.2.
- 97 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 July 1879, p.2.
- 98 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 July 1879, p.2.
- 99 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 July 1879, p.2.
- 100 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 July 1879, p.2.
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- 103 'Election at Kaiapoi', *Taranaki Herald*, 9 May 1868, p.1.
- 104 'Election at Kaiapoi', *Taranaki Herald*, 9 May 1868, p.1.
- 105 *Lyttelton Times*, 3 July 1868, p.3. Due to inclement weather the poll at Ruapuke was conducted on 20 June 1868.
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- 107 *Lyttelton Times*, 3 July 1868, p.3.
- 108 *Lyttelton Times*, 3 July 1868, p.3.
- 109 *Star*, 24 February 1871, p.3.
- 110 *Press*, 5 January 1876, p.2.
- 111 *Press*, 17 July 1879, p.3.
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- 115 *Waikato Times*, 29 July 1884, p.2.
- 116 *Star*, 23 June 1885, p.3.
- 117 *Star*, 19 September 1887, p.3.
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URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t1/taiaroa-hori-kerei> (accessed 1 August 2016)
- 123 *Press*, 2 February 1871, p.2.
- 124 *Press*, 2 February 1871, p.2.
- 125 *Evening Post*, 4 February 1871, p.2.
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- 127 *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 6 March 1871, p.2.
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- 130 *Press*, 5 January 1876, p.2.
- 131 *Auckland Star*, 26 February 1881, p.2.
- 132 *West Coast Times*, 3 March 1881, p.2.
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- 134 *Waikato Times*, 29 July 1884, p.2. Taiaroa got 231 votes and Kahu got 134 votes.
- 135 Lipson, *The Politics of Equality*, p.472, fn.18.
- 136 *Press*, 6 January 1897, p.3.
- 137 'Southern Maori Election', *Otago Daily Times*, 18 July 1879, p.5. There are individual polling booth results also reported which show Ihaia Tainui (197 votes), Tara Teihoka (78 votes) and Hone Paratene Tamanuiarangi also known as John Patterson, the former MHR for Southern Maori 1868–1871, with 60 votes. Ihaia Tainui received large number of votes across the whole electorate and he won at every polling booth.
- 138 'Treating' in elections was condemned by many through the nineteenth century in New Zealand and in Britain. It was not until 1858 that a person could be fined for treating and the voter's ballot made void. See: Corrupt Practices Prevention Act 1858, section 3. The Corrupt Practices Prevention Act 1881 created further penalties for people and the candidate involved in treating. However, such legislation was effectively ignored during elections for both the Māori and European seats. See: Lipson, *The Politics of Equality*, pp.36–40, and Neill Atkinson, *Adventures in Democracy: A History of the Vote in New Zealand*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2003, pp.43, 70.
- 139 Gary Scott, 'Te Wheoro, Wiremu Te Morehu Maipapa, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012.  
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t87/te-wheoro-wiremu-te-morehu-maipapa> (accessed 27 July 2016)
- 140 Major Wheoro won the Shortland polling booth by 48 votes to Hoani Taipua's 4 votes. *Thames Advertiser*, 9 September 1879, p.3.
- 141 Steven Oliver, 'Te Tai Hakuene, Ihaka', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012



URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t30/te-tai-hakuene-ihaka> (accessed 10 November 2016)

142 Taiwhanga stood in all the three North Island Māori electorates from time to time. Claudia Orange, 'Taiwhanga, Hirini Rawiri', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t4/taiwhanga-hirini-rawiri> (accessed 27 August 2016)

143 *New Zealand Herald*, 18 May 1887, p.5.

144 *Evening Post*, 19 January 1888, p.2; *Colonist*, 5 April 1897, p.3.

145 R. T. Mahuta, 'Tawhiao, Tukaroto Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 22-Aug-2013 URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t14/tawhiao-tukaroto-matutaera-potatau-te-wherowhero> (accessed 16 August 2016)

146 *Oamaru Mail*, 16 December 1881, p.2.

147 *Waikato Times*, 5 August 1884, p.3.

148 *Evening Post*, 29 July 1884, p.2.

149 There was a near final figure of voters in Northern Maori. The final figure is unknown except that there were two polling booths to report for which those totals are unknown. See: *Otago Witness*, 20 September 1879, p.10. There were a total of 2915 voters in Eastern Maori. See: *Evening Post*, 15 September 1879, p.2. There were a total of 329 voters in Southern Maori. See: *Press*, 17 July 1879, p.3. There were a few individual polling booth results reported in the newspapers for Western Maori but a final or near final result was not reported.

150 There was a near final figure of 764 voters in Northern Maori. The final figure is unknown except that there were four polling booths to report for which those totals are unknown. See: *Waikato Times*, 24 July 1884 p.2. There were a total of 1412 voters in Western Maori. See: *Waikato Times*, 5 August 1884, p.3. There were a total of 2096 voters in Eastern Maori and a total of 365 voters in Southern Maori. See: *Timaru Herald*, 29 July 1884, p.2.

151 See, for example, the research and reports by the Waitangi Tribunal: Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngāti Awa Raupatu Report*, Wellington, 1999; Anita Miles, *Te Urewera*, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahau Whānui Series, Wellington, 1999; Sian Daly, *Poverty Bay*, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahau Whānui Series, Wellington, 1997; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa Tararua Report: Vol.1: The people and the land*, Wellington, 2010; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa Tararua Report: Vol.2: The struggle for control*, Wellington, 2010.

152 The land issues in the Wairarapa, Napier, East Coast and Bay of Plenty areas all came with complicated nuances involving complex political stances by chiefs and other Māori landowners. For the purposes of this article, the classification is used to indicate, in a general sense, that the Māori voters in the Eastern Maori electorate at the time often judged candidates on their pro- or anti-land sales stances.

153 Angela Ballara, 'Tomoana, Henare'. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t46/tomoana-henare> (accessed 3 August 2019)

154 *Bay of Plenty Times*, 24 July 1879, p.2.

155 Angela Ballara, 'Matua, Henare', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m27/matua-henare> (accessed 3 August 2019)

156 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 11 September 1879, p.2. The outstanding polling booths were from Te Teko, Ruatahuna, Kawakawa and Tokomaru.

157 *Evening Post*, 15 September 1879, p.2. There is a discrepancy with Matua's preliminary earlier result of 862 votes.

158 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 16 December 1881, p.3.



159 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 2 August 1884, p.2.

160 Alan Ward, 'Pere, Wiremu'. Also see: Joseph Anaru Te Kani and others, *Wiremu Pere: The life and times of a Maori leader 1837–1915*, Libro International, Auckland, 2010, pp.58–74 and 187–96.

161 Alan Ward, 'Carroll, James'.

162 *Daily Telegraph*, 5 August 1884, p.3.

163 *Daily Telegraph*, 2 August 1884, p.2.

164 *Otago Witness*, 16 September 1887, p.22.

165 *New Zealand Herald*, 25 November 1887, p.2.

166 *Press*, 1 December 1890, p.2. Getting figures for the 1890 election is extremely problematic, as figures were reported only in newspapers at the time. Carroll was reported as getting 1596 votes, and Wi Pere 1411 votes. See: *Daily Telegraph*, 29 November 1890, p.3. Some newspapers did not give final figures for the other three candidates except some preliminary votes such as 'At midday on 29 November, Taiwhanga had 55 votes, Watt (Timi Waata) had 50 votes and Sturm had 4 votes but there were still 3 polling booths to report'. See: *Poverty Bay Herald*, 29 November 1890, p.2. Even Sorrenson's figures for the 1890 Eastern Maori election miss out the three other candidates' votes. See: Sorrenson, 'A History of Māori Representation in Parliament', p.B.68.

167 *Daily Telegraph*, 20 March 1893, p.2.

168 Tania Rei, *Maori Women and the Vote*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 1993.

169 'Table 2: Electoral Statistics for Māori 1868–2008', in John Wilson, 'The origins of the Māori seats', in Bargh, *Māori and Parliament: diverse strategies and compromises*, p.56.

170 In the Eastern Maori electorate, there were approximately 3116 votes in 1890 and 6315 votes in 1893. See: *Daily Telegraph*, 23 December 1893, p.3.

171 Wi Pere (2645 votes), Henare Tomoana (672 votes), Te Heuheu Tukino (542 votes), Hamiora Mangakahia (194 votes), Tunuiarangi (1246 votes), Paratene Ngata (1016 votes). *Daily Telegraph*, 23 December 1893, p.3.

172 The total number of voters who voted in each election are as follows: Northern Maori general elections 1890 (1354 votes), 1893 (1624 votes); Western Maori general elections 1890 (1875 votes), 1893 (2763); Eastern Maori general elections 1890 (3116 votes), 1893 (6315 votes); Southern Maori general elections 1890 (382 votes), 1893 (487 votes). These figures are taken from various newspapers at the time. Their accuracy is varied and, in some cases, the numbers are as close to a final result as possible as all but a few polling booths were left to report. This will explain some of the differences from Sorrenson's figures. It is to be noted, however, that the 1890 election figures quoted in Sorrenson are for the subsequent by-election as a result of Sydney Taiwhanga's death. See: Sorrenson, 'A History of Māori Representation in Parliament', p.B.68. The figures quoted here are for the Northern Maori general election where Taiwhanga was elected and not the subsequent by-election, which was necessary because of Taiwhanga's death.

173 In the 1890 election there were 156 votes recorded at the Rotorua polling booth, and in the 1893 election there were 332 votes. See: *Poverty Bay Herald*, 29 November 1890, p.2; *New Zealand Herald*, 21 December 1893, p.5.

174 *Poverty Bay Herald*, 20 December 1893, p.2.

175 *New Zealand Herald*, 21 December 1893, p.5.

176 *Waikato Times*, 13 January 1894, p.6.

177 Martin, 'Political participation and electoral change in nineteenth-century New Zealand', pp.57–58.