

Sammie: Samuel Carnell MHR



Lacemaker, liberal, photographer, mayor

West Coast, Auckland, Thames, Napier

by Ian St George

**SAMMIE
SAMUEL CARNELL MHR
LACEMAKER, PHOTOGRAPHER,
LIBERAL, MAYOR
1832–1920**



Samuel Carnell, gifted by Mrs Hannah Murray,
Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawharo Tā-ū-rangi, 2518

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Acerbic (adjective): (especially of a comment or style of speaking) sharp and forthright.

'his acerbic wit'

—*Oxford English Dictionary*

The backbone of the country is the working class and the small settlers.

—Samuel Carnell

His gospel is a simple one. Every man who has by thrift acquired greater wealth than Mr Carnell, and invested it in land, is a blood-sucking scoundrel, to be treated as a social pariah and taxed out of existence. All iniquity lies on the side of wealth; all virtue in poverty and thriftlessness. The well-to-do must be robbed and dragged down, though how that is to benefit those below is not clear to ordinary minds, though it may be to Mr Carnell.

—*Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 November 1893.

He is a fluent, rapid speaker, of extreme Radical views, verging on downright Socialism. He wants to see the present land tax very much increased until all the large estates are burst up. He is, however, out of politics a genial, though excitable man, but very suspicious of the motives of those opposed to him.

—*Press* 30 November 1893.

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CHAPTER I: THE CANDIDATE

Hawke's Bay Herald.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1893.

MR CARNELL'S CANDIDATURE

Mr Carnell's address on Friday evening will not gain him support among the thinking portion of the electorate. His opinions on the real issues before the people had to be dragged out of him by questions. The address itself was simply rhetorical flapdoodle—an advocacy of a kind of Bellamistic socialism, not improved by copious abuse of all and sundry who do not agree with Mr Carnell. His gospel is a simple one. Every man who has by thrift acquired greater wealth than Mr Carnell, and invested it in land, is a blood-sucking scoundrel, to be treated as a social pariah and taxed out of existence. All iniquity lies on the side of wealth; all virtue in poverty and thriftlessness. The well-to-do must be robbed and dragged down, though how that is to benefit those below is not clear to ordinary minds, though it may be to Mr Carnell. It is simply anarchy which he preaches, though instead of dynamite he would use Acts of Parliament and the tax-gatherer. The result would be the same—the destruction of the social fabric, to the injury of the many and the benefit of none. It is an insult to intelligent working men to ladle out to them such political pap for meat and drink. If he should ever go to Parliament—which the Fates forbid!—he would simply be a blind follower of Mr Seddon and all his works. If the working men and women—and it is they who have the election of members—still believe in the policy of the present Ministry we fear that they will have a rude awakening. Every worker must know that work is harder to get, and remuneration lower, than before the present agitation against

capital was commenced. It has paralysed enterprise, and caused to accumulate in the banks the money which would otherwise have been invested in reproductive enterprises, employing labor and adding to the prosperity of the whole community. A continuation of that policy would but make things worse, and we do not believe that the bulk of the electors are so blind to their own interests as to encourage it. If Mr Carnell does not find this out on polling day we shall receive the greatest surprise of our journalistic experience.¹

The *Hawke's Bay Herald* was the organ of the wealthy land owners of Hawke's Bay. Liberal candidate for the Napier seat in the general election, Samuel Carnell, had addressed an attentive audience in Napier at some length,

Last evening Mr S. Carnell, one of the candidates for Napier, addressed the electors in the Gaiety Theatre. Before the time of commencement the large hall was packed. The dress circle was entirely reserved for ladies, but proved insufficient for the demand made on it, and a number were accommodated on the stage. Mr H. P. Cohen occupied the chair.

Mr Carnell, who was received with loud applause, said it was the first time he had stood before a meeting as a candidate for Parliament, but he had for 24 or 25 years past taken an active part in elections, and always on the Liberal side. He came out because he had been asked to do so by many electors who knew his career in Napier, and who knew that he had always done his best for the advancement of Napier and his fellow men. They heard a great deal about old and new Liberalism. He was an old Liberal, or rather Radical. He certainly did not believe that those people opposed to him were Liberals. They had consistently and persistently opposed all social reforms, and today they would deny the rights of man now conceded in the colony. (Applause.) He also claimed to be a true Liberal, not of the "National Ass," but of the progressive order. He did not wish to rake up the past to the detriment of his opponents, but if they continued to vilify his supporters and commence the vile tactics practiced at elections in Napier in the past he would speak out plainly and not spare one of them, He hoped they

would take that wholesome warning. The Issue before the electors was clear and well defined. It was of no use for a man to say he was independent. An independent man was generally the most dependent of all members. The issue of the election was whether the Conservatives or Liberals should rule. It was no use of the Conservatives to try and dress up in Liberal garments. He called upon them to nail their colors to the mast and fight the issue out. His opponents had the wealth, and they claimed to have the influence, and they told him that if wealth and influence could keep him out he should not go in. But his side had the votes, and if they were true to themselves and stood shoulder to shoulder their opponents' money-bags would not prevail. (Applause.) It had been reported that he stood as a Stoutite. He loved Sir Robert Stout, but he stood as a staunch supporter of the present Government, so long as they tried to carry out the policy of the late John Ballance. (Applause.) For the first time in the history of the colony men of wealth paid that taxation due from them to the State. They were beginning to learn what equality of sacrifice meant. And they must go further in the same direction until they broke down the game of grab for the land which was still going on. They frequently heard landowners say their taxation was iniquitous. How many of those who complained had been honest in the matter of the valuation of their property? How many would sell at the price they declared to be the true value? Small men were taxed four or five, or even ten times, as much as the large owners. There should be permanent officers appointed, selected from the most competent local men, whose duties should be to classify all lands into, say, three classes. In the first class would be land capable of a high state of cultivation; in the second land still ploughable, but hilly and light; and in the third bush land, hilltops, &c. When the three classes were added together that would be the true value. These officers should visit every property two or three times a year, and send in their valuations, without divulging them to the Land Tax Department. There should be no exemption in the matter of land. Every acre ought to pay a tax, big or little. The owner should also be called upon to send in a valuation, and if the owner was one of those social pests, an absentee, he should have a *bona fide* agent to send in

a return. This should be signed before a Justice of the Peace as a solemn declaration setting forth his belief in the valuation as a fair one, and binding himself to accept that price from the Government if the Land Tax Commissioner thought it too small. He thought the land tax should be progressive on area, not on value. He would put on a progressive tax on all holdings of over 500 acres of first-class land, and increase it for every additional 500 acres. In second and third class land he would make the acreages 1000 and 2000, and increase the tax for every 1000 and 2000 acres additional. Then they should pay on the increased valuation given to the land by the expenditure on public works, so that the unearned increment could be reached. (Applause.) In this way they would arrive at the cutting up of some large estates, especially on the East Coast of this Island. Not long ago there was a man in New Zealand who night after night addressed vast audiences with wonderful success. He meant Max O'Rell. One of these lectures was on "The Happiest Nation of the Earth." It was directed to a critical examination of his own countrymen. He proved that the happiness of the French nation proceeded entirely from the fact that almost every man in the interior was a landowner. The secret of France's happiness was her peasant proprietors, and it was they who enabled her to pay off the large indemnity in the struggle of 1870 and 1871. Max O'Rell did not speak as a politician, but as a citizen of the world, and his words carried conviction in spite of the Tory opinions held by many of his hearers. He (the speaker) had resided there, and he saw no charitable aid boards, no tramps on the roads, no people prowling about the streets in the towns, no beggars going from door to door. Yet such things were to be seen every day across the channel—a strip of water only eight miles further than from the Post office to the Kidnappers. What was the cause of this difference? Why did the Tories oppose Home Rule? Was it to prevent the Irish making their own laws? No; it was the land question. [Here Mr Carnell read extracts from a speech of Mr Bradlaugh's, showing that in Scotland 581 persons held 14,906,208 acres of land, and in England 773 persons held 8,219,468 acres.] It should have been impossible in Australia for there to be millionaires like the Clarks and Tysons, while thousands roamed the country out of

work. The reason was that the land was locked up. Tasmania had a beautiful climate, regular rainfall, good land, mineral wealth, and grand timber, and yet had to import its beef from Australia and its corn from New Zealand. Why? Because the land was locked up. What effect had the Tory policy had in New Zealand—in Hawke's Bay? Towns such as Clive, Havelock, Waipawa, and Waipukurau were in the same condition to-day as 20 years ago. Why? Because the large runs surrounded them and went down to the very railway stations. Had they not all noticed the different condition of Hastings since settlement became closer, though the settlers were handicapped by the high prices demanded for the land? It was the same at Danevirke, and would have been the same at Norsewood if every alternate section had not been in the hands of the monopolists. What a difference there would be if the lands from Paki Paki to Kopua were settled like Eketahuna and Pahiatua. The trade of Napier would increase fivefold. What advantage was it to the tradesmen of Napier that this port was third in the list of exports? It simply meant that a few wealthy landowners were growing richer. Let them inspect the books of a large storekeeper, and they would find that the small settler on twenty acres was worth more to him than the possessor of ten thousand acres. He found a proof of the truth of his remarks in the present condition of Invercargill, which when the land around it was held in large blocks, was backward and stagnant. But when the leases of those blocks fell in, and the country round about was settled, Invercargill went ahead in the race of progress. So it would be with Napier if the land was cut up instead of being in the hands of the few. Napier was land-bound, and the population only a fringe upon the big estates. Those runs were wanted for settlement, and the Government would take part of that land and cut it up if the people stood by them. That would mean closer settlement, population in the interior, and progress. But that could not happen till land monopoly was broken down. (A Voice: "We'll tax them.") The Government had put their hands to the work. They were benefiting other portions of the colony, and would benefit Hawke's Bay if the people would stand by them. For their own sakes he appealed to his hearers to be up and doing, and then the day would not

be far distant when their efforts would be crowned with success, and when the land of the district would carry more men, and more sheep, while in the towns there would be happy workers and thriving tradespeople. (A Voice: "Good on you, Sammy," and laughter.) He was in favor of the Government assuming again the pre-emptive right. Free trade in native lands meant the creation of large estates on the one hand, and the physical and moral degradation of a fine race—one of the finest races under the sun. Who demoralised the Maoris? Why the people who were earth-hungry. (A Voice: "Let the Maoris work.") He suggested a plan by which the Government would lease from the Maoris their lands under the lease in perpetuity, say at a rental of 3 per cent upon the valuation, and then re-lease to the settlers on the same terms. Under the present system the Pakeha-Maoris bled the purchaser, or if he would not bleed well prevented him from acquiring shares. The natives would soon see that it was better for them to lease to the Crown than to keep up the present system. Under that what happened when there was a big sale? Why, the natives had a big drunken debauch at the nearest public house. Many of the laws with regard to native lands had been passed to bolster up very shady transactions. There should be one law for native and European alike, and the Queen's writ should run from one end of the colony to the other irrespective of creed or color, even of "political color." As to that they frequently heard it said that the Liberals sinned in the matter of "color." He did not for a moment deny that there were men on the Government side who visited their displeasure upon men who differed from them, but let them look back 20 years and review what had been done by the Tory party. Men of intellect, men of genius, and tradesmen who were Liberals had suffered because they had dared to make known their political opinions. The offices of the local governing bodies were filled by men of the "right color" appointed by the Tories. Men in Napier had been driven out of business for "color." If the Government chose to follow that example, and act on the principle of the spoils to the victors, they would have their own people in the offices now filled by those of the other party. It came with very bad grace from the Tory party to point to what the Government were doing for men of their own party. When

the Government had to appoint valuers for the land tax they did not appoint Liberals, but men like Mr C. D. Kennedy and Mr Sutton. He would not say whether the best men were appointed, but at all events the big landowners could not complain of the valuations on the ground that they were made by Liberals. He thought that on this color question those who lived in glass houses should not throw stones. (Applause). He now came to the matter of education, and he would say at once that he would do nothing at all to interfere with the present system of free, compulsory, and secular education. (Cheers.) He would resist to the utter most any attempt that might be made by any Government to bring about denominational education. (Tremendous cheering.) But if a mode of doing justice could be found for those religious bodies—(oh, oh, and uproar). He maintained that if justice could be done to those bodies who had from conscientious scruples built schools, and if some scheme could be devised to benefit them that would not interfere with the present system in any way—(a voice: “You’re on both sides.”)—he would vote for that scheme. But once more he would do nothing to interfere with the present system. He believed in it as a system under which the children of the poorer classes and the children of the rich were placed upon an equal footing. (Applause.) But he had an objection to the so-called high schools. They were really only fashionable primary schools for the children of those who were afraid that some veneer might be rubbed off their offspring if they attended the primary schools. But that veneer was “Brummagem.” (Applause). They heard some enemies of the school system babbling about its great cost. Well, it was only £3 15s per head, while the cost to the country of high schools in endowments and in grants from the Government was £15 per head. Some of the children attending the high schools were only ten years of age, and many were below fifteen. But it had been thrown at the speaker that while he said he was in favor of the present system he was prepared to destroy it by advocating grants to denominational schools. He would say that he had suggested to Mr Ballance that, as the high schools received so much, he did not see why they should not try to settle the educational difficulty by giving to the Catholics grants of land for their schools. He would read

to them what the late John Ballance said in reply to that suggestion to give grants to the Catholics. [The speaker here read the following extract from a letter sent to him by the late Mr Ballance on the 22nd of February last:—“Upon the Catholic question I think it would do no harm to advocate a grant of land for them as an endowment for their schools if that would settle the difficulty. My views upon this question are not those of the bulk of the party, as I think the Catholics are entitled to a great deal of consideration, but we agree to differ”]. This was what the Tories had been slinging at him (Mr Carnell), saying that he was willing to give the Catholics this, that, and the other. But he challenged anybody to say that he had ever said or done anything against the present education system. He would defend it wherever and whenever it was attacked. Some said “raise the school age,” but he would not agree to that. Those people said they were making the schools nurseries, but those people were able to employ nursery governesses of their own, and yet wanted the so-called high schools for nurseries. They also said that the standards should be lowered. But did those people set the example by taking their own children from school? No; they gave them all the educational advantages they could, so that they might get the workers under their feet, but the present system of education tended to raise the workers, and that was why some wanted to break it down. Now he came to the drink question. The Herald had insinuated that he was twins—(laughter)—and held with both parties. It was said he had pledged himself to Sir Robert Stout. It was no such thing. But he would vote for the direct veto as straight as a gun. (Loud and prolonged applause.) That was, of course, providing they stood by him and returned him. (Voices: “We will.”) Drink was a great social evil, and that was felt in nearly every house and home. He held that if the people wished it they should have the power, by a simple majority of those who polled, to sweep it away altogether. (Applause.) Where it was a question of license or no license, that was for the people also to decide. If they desired a modified system let them have it. If they wanted prohibition he saw no reason why the majority should not rule. As a consistent Democrat he held that the people must be supreme. (Applause.) And now he came to the greatest

problem of the day—labor and capital. At the contemplation of this men might well stand aghast. But something towards its solution had been accomplished in New Zealand—something that in the past would have involved the masses in bloodshed and the favoured classes in destruction. Manhood suffrage had enabled the people to check their minds, and despite the machinations of the monopolist capitalists and the vilifications of a venal Press they had labor represented not only in the Lower House, but in the Legislative Council as well—the Council, which had been looked upon as sacred to the “superior classes.” Superior? In what? In moneybags, but not in intelligence or in intent to upraise the workers. Was it impossible to do more? It rested in their own hands. By legislation they could prevent strikes, encourage conciliation and co-operation, and push enterprise. They could prevent lying assertions being made as to over-production. While millions dragged out a life of misery, and were never properly fed, it was monstrous to talk of over-production. It was a false and wicked idea promulgated by the wealthy to account for inequality, and to keep down the rising murmurs of the masses. It was a transparent and fraudulent utterance. He held that every child born into the world had a right to live and enjoy the benefits which bountiful Nature had provided, not for the few, but all the human family. In conclusion he would remind them that the contest was a struggle between the classes on the one hand and the masses on the other. By the knowledge that theirs was a just cause, and by the happy remembrance of victories gained by their leaders in many a hard-fought and bitter struggle, he called upon them to exercise their rights—rights that should never be surrendered. It was necessary to take a broad view of the public questions of the day, and to oppose all class legislation. It was therefore not surprising that the present Liberal Government should have excited the hostility of those who studied the favored classes. Until recently those classes exercised very great power by plurality of votes at election times, which enabled them to keep the Government in their own hands. They legislated in their own interests, and relieved themselves from the burden of taxation by placing it upon the shoulders of the working classes. The favored classes had

framed the laws under which they and their friends had acquired vast tracts of land, to be held free from taxation. But from the ranks of the people had sprung such great men as Mr Ballance, Sir Robert Stout, Mr Seddon—(a laugh)—and others, who had given the people equal voting power, whether rich or poor. The people should study the questions of the day, and cast their votes with intelligence, and not betray it for the smile of the Tories. The vote should be cast from the deepest convictions founded upon the best judgment. If they were divided between two opinions, let them adopt the one having the highest motives, and then they would not be far wrong. (Applause.) He had heard working men boast that they were Tories, and he pitied them from the bottom of his heart. He would ask those people whether they would prefer to bend their neck to the yoke that galled them, and consent to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the favored classes? Would they bend the knee before the money bags of the Tory, and Worship at the Shrine of the golden calf? If so, the time for freedom and better things had not come, (Applause.) There was no standing still. They were either going forward or becoming Tories. Let them settle whether they were in favor of the Liberals or the Tories, and cast their vote accordingly. Let them cast it for the cause of progress and the welfare of mankind. Then the conditions under which they lived would be made better, not only for themselves, but for those who came after them. Let them use their powers and their votes

For the cause that lacks assistance,
'Gainst the wrong that needs resistance,
For the future in the distance,
And the good that we can do,

And then they would be acting the true part, and would be helping forward the cause of true progress; (Loud and continued applause, during which Mr Carnell resumed his seat.)

In reply to questions Mr Carnell spoke as under:—

He was opposed to taxes upon the necessities of life, but would not be in favor of reducing them till the finances of the colony were in a strong condition. The cry of taking taxes off the necessities of life was a Tory stalking horse. When the

taxation upon the land was increased by two or three turns of the screw, then he would be in favor of reducing the taxation upon the necessaries of life, or of taking all taxation off them.

He believed that civil servants should have a secure tenure irrespective of their political opinions. He believed the Government acted on that, and had given the Civil Service a better status than it ever had before.

He was opposed to the present non-political control of the railways.

He would not make his utterances on the liquor question a test of his election. The question was a trap. If the Government opposed an alteration of the Liquor Act of 1893 he would not vote for its alteration. As he had said, he was straight out in favor of the direct veto by a bare majority, but if the Opposition brought in that to turn the Government out he would vote for the Government. The liquor question should not be made a party question at all. He would do his utmost to get the Act of last session altered so that the power to deal with the drink traffic would be placed in the hands of the people, but if the Tories made it a party question he would vote against it.

He would oppose all borrowing for railways, but he was in favor of the Government borrowing money in London in order to lend it to struggling settlers at a low rate of interest.

He would not support a bill for the gradual transportation of all capitalists, but he would support a bill to send some of them there, and some of the lawyers also. (Great laughter.)

He did not believe in the action of the Government in bringing out Colonel Fox to report upon the defences, and so drive gallant men out of the volunteers.

He did not profess to be able to deal with the question of loan conversion, but Mr Ward, the Colonial Treasurer, was going to speak in Napier, and he would give them the figures on that point.

He was in favor of a State bank with its notes made a legal tender.

He did not know whether he was in favor of reducing the Governor's salary to £2000, nor of reducing all pensions to £100 a year, and various other suggested reductions propounded by a questioner, because he asked questions that

could not be answered under four hours. A fool could sometimes ask a philosopher questions in five minutes that could not be answered in a month. He did not say he was a philosopher. All he would say was that he hoped to see the time when the Governor would be elected from the ranks of New Zealanders.

He was not in favor of the Government holding an inquiry into Mr Cadman's transactions in native lands. He thought it was very wrong to be asked questions about that gentleman's private business. He had known him for many years, and he was a good man. Those who wanted an answer to Mr Rees's charges against Mr Cadman could find it in the printed evidence of the trial, and the Judge's notes.

He could not say more than he had already said in his speech as to whether he would be in favor of grants to denominational schools.

It was a fact that his opponents had called him an Atheist, but he was not one, and had never been one.

He was not in favour of the abolition of party government. That was a trick. When the Tories were in office they did not say anything against party government.

Mr Hornsby proposed "That this meeting thanks Mr Carnell for his address, expresses its confidence in the Government, and pledges itself to secure the return of the Government candidate."

This was seconded by Mr Hallam. The "ayes" were very numerous, and the "noes" very few, The chairman then called for a show of hands, and a very large number were held up for the motion and but a few against it. The meeting terminated with the usual compliment to the chairman.²

This then was the liberal manifesto of Samuel Carnell in the year of women's suffrage, 1893—as radical a socialist as Hawke's Bay had seen, alarming the landowners and thrilling his supporters with the thrum of his rhetoric. Who was he?

1 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 November 1893.

2 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 18 November 1893.

CHAPTER 2: EARLY DAYS

Samuel Carnell was born in 1832 (though his later census ages suggest 1835) in Lenton, Nottingham, as were his brothers in 1837, '39, '41 and '45. His father was Joseph Carnell, a lacemaker and his mother Sarah (Blatherwick). Samuel stated to the Napier Borough Council in 1904 that “he was brought up on the continent” and referred to a period spent in France several times. He gave his occupation on his marriage certificate and on his sons’ birth certificates as “Lace Maker”.^{1,2}

Nottingham was famous for lace. In 1832, the year of Samuel Carnell’s birth there were 186 lace manufacturers, 66 of them living in the Lace Market area, mainly on St. Mary’s Gate, High Pavement and Stoney Street. There were 546 bobbin-net makers in the four industrial villages nearest to the town, Radford, Lenton, Basford and Sneinton.³

About 10 years earlier “bobbin-net fever” followed the expiry of the patent of a machine for making lace by throwing bobbins over each other. Anyone with a little capital could now buy a bobbin-net machine and make “brown net” on it at home. The machine-wrought lace industry was firmly established.

“Brown net” required further processing, singeing and gassing to remove imperfections, mending, bleaching, dyeing and embroidering—organised by lace manufacturers with an increasingly female and child labour force, in ever larger factories.⁴

In 1816 a Levers loom was dismantled and taken from Nottingham to Calais; skilled lacemakers followed and by the 1840s there were hundreds of Nottinghamshire people living in Calais...

... with Anglican and Methodist churches, English schools, cricket clubs, shops, pubs, doctors, undertakers, performances of Gilbert and Sullivan operas and an English language newspaper. East Midland lace manufacturing terminology was adopted by the French, as were the traditions and practices of East Midland lace workers and factory owners. Calais is the only town in France, where plum pudding is (still) served on Christmas Day!⁵

Joseph Carnell's family does not appear in the English census of 1841. Perhaps they were in France.

In 1846-8, a major food, trade and manufacturing crisis affected the whole of western Europe, though to varying degrees. In France, the market for lace collapsed; the industry came to a halt and the situation of more than 1,000 British workers in Calais became critical... they were the targets of anti-British demonstrations.⁶

Many returned home. Not, perhaps, Samuel's father Joseph, for in 1851 Sarah Carnill, a 40 year old widow seamstress, was living at 42 Alfreton road, Radford, Nottingham, with her sons Samuel 17, Abraham 14, Isaac 13, Thomas 11 and daughter Mary 5. Samuel was a lace maker, his three little brothers all winders.⁷

Samuel Carnell is said to have been educated at Old Lenton School in Nottingham and is said to have become interested in photography while in Nottingham—and indeed his younger brother Abraham remained in Nottingham as a photographer all his life (see Chapter 12).



Old Lenton School, built in 1841, now a Sikh Temple, Church Street, Lenton, Nottingham. Photograph by Alan Murray-Rust.

In 1861 the Carnell family was at 264 Kenilworth terrace, 26 year old Samuel married, all the boys now lace makers and 14 year old Mary a lace mender.⁸

In 1871 Sarah was 61 and living with daughter Mary and her husband William Plummer.⁹

Samuel and Mary Ann Bunting were married on 24 May 1858 at Christ Church, New Radford in Nottingham. He gave his age as 23, she 19. Their first son, William Augustus was born at home on 3 November 1858 when they were living in Raleigh St; their second, Walter Henry was born on 6 February 1860 when they were in Portland Rd. There was later a daughter, born in New Zealand. They are said to have arrived at Auckland on the *Caduceus* in 1862,¹⁰ but she did not berth at Auckland at any time in 1862, and the name Carnell does not appear in any of her passenger lists.



Clipper ship *Caduceus* off Hongkong. Chinese School.
National Maritime Museum, London.

The *Caduceus*, a fine roomy ship of over one thousand tons, was one of the first vessels chartered by the Shaw, Savill Co. She was a frequent visitor to Auckland, and brought out a large

number of settlers.... The *Caduceus* did not run to any of the Southern ports. She made five voyages to Auckland as under:—

Sailed.	Arrived.	Captain.	Days.
Feb. 13	May 19, '59	Cass	95
June 23	Oct. 12, '60	Cass	112
Nov. 30, '64	Mar. 2, '65	Holton	92
Dec. 16, '70	Mar. 23, '71	Roberts	97
Oct. 18, '71	Feb. 2, '72	Roberts	106. ¹¹

Among the 1865 passengers listed, however, are the names, “Samuel, Mary Ann, William and Walter Onnell”—the surname clearly wrongly transcribed.¹² They were among 262 passengers who had enjoyed fine weather during their 101 day voyage from Gravesend.

Carnell is said to have worked on arrival as operator with Auckland photographers John Nicol Crombie and Hartley Webster. But in May 1862 Crombie left Auckland for Europe, returning to New Zealand in 1864.¹³ He exhibited in London and lectured on photography in New Zealand in Glasgow—Carnell could not have worked with him from 1862, but may have met or heard him in Britain and may have worked with him briefly after the *Caduceus* berthed on 2 March 1865.

Hartley Webster had premises in upper Queen St and Joseph Michael Foy (one of the Foy brothers, photographers at Thames) worked for him for a time. He moved to New Plymouth and was photographing there in 1859 so it seems unlikely Carnell worked in Auckland with him.

Carnell is said to have gone in 1865 to the West Coast for the gold rush, but having no luck came north to Nelson where he ran a studio for 6 months; Carnell and Brown did indeed advertise regularly in the Nelson papers between October 1865 and March 1866. ►

CARTE DE VISITES.
CARTE DE VISITES.
CARTE DE VISITES.

CARNELL AND BROWN
PHOTOGRAPHERS,

Beg respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Nelson, that they have taken the Photographic Studio lately occupied by Mr. G. JACKSON, in Trafalgar-street, and are now prepared to take Portraits at the following prices:—

Carte de Visites, three for 10s.
Carte de Visites, six for 15s.

N.B.—Portraits taken for Lockets, Rings, Pins, or Brooches.

Persons desirous of having Photographic Views of their Residences, Grounds, &c., will oblige by calling at the Studio.

Terms reasonable. 2261

G. Jackson had been librarian for the Nelson Institute and a donor to the museum. Carnell's partner was probably William Edmond Brown 1840–1922, later of the “Nelson Academy of Photographic Art”, Hardy Street (Honorable Mention for Portraits & Views—Nelson Exhibition 1873; Honorable Mention for Portraits—Hokitika Exhibition 1873).¹⁴

After that Carnell returned to Auckland, perhaps then did work with Crombie and perhaps for a time lived in Grahamstown, Thames.¹⁵ There is an entry in the *Daily Southern Cross* for 3 August 1869, listing Samuel Carnell of Grahamstown as owner of 1000 shares in the Royal Alfred Goldmining Company.

In April 1869 too, one James Carnell applied for the lease of land for mining on Tookey's flat, just south of the Golden Gate company claim, Thames. In July he was named as manager of the registered gold mining company Golden Point. Probably James and Samuel Carnell were related, but I have no evidence for that assumption: James is discussed further in Chapter 13).

In 1869 Samuel, Mary Ann and their sons moved to Napier where they spent the rest of their lives.

1 Sullivan J 2003. “Samuel Carnell” in *Nga Taumata: a portrait of Ngati Kahungunu He whakaahua o Ngati Kahungunu 1870–1906*. Ngati Kahungunu Iwi Inc. Huia Publishers.

2 Certified copy of marriage certificate 316, Samuel Carnell and Mary Ann Bunting.

3 William White 1832. *History, Gazeteer and Directory of Nottinghamshire*.

4 A Brief History of Hosiery and Lacemaking in Nottingham.

<https://www.williams.gen.nz/hosiery.html> accessed 1 October 2018.

5 Nottingham by the Sea. <http://www.holywellhousepublishing.co.uk/lace.html>. Accessed 23 October 2018.

6 Fabrice Bensimon 2016. British lace makers in 19th-century Calais: integration and rejection. <https://www.historytoday.com/fabrice-bensimon/calais-1816-2016>. Accessed 23 October 2018.

7 1851 England Census.

8 1861 England Census.

9 1871 England Census.

10 Sullivan J 2003.

11 Henry Brett 1924. *White wings vol i. Fifty years of sail in the New Zealand trade, 1850 to 1900*. Brett Publishing.

12 <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~shipstonz/genealogy/PassLists/caduceus1865.html> accessed 27 September 2018. *Daily Southern Cross* 27 March 1865.

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- 13 William Main. 'Crombie, John Nicol', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c30/crombie-john-nicol>, accessed 27 September 2018.
- 14 William Edmond Brown. Early New Zealand Photographers. <http://canterburyphotography.blogspot.com/2010/02/w-e-brown.html>.
- 15 Settlements such as Grahamstown and Shortland were united in 1874 to form the town of Thames.
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CHAPTER 3: THE WET COLLODION PROCESS

In about 1826 French inventor Nicéphore Niépce used a camera obscura fitted with a pewter plate to produce a view of the courtyard of his house. The exposure time was about eight hours.

By 1835 Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre had discovered that a latent image forms on a plate of iodized silver and that it can be “developed” and thus made visible with mercury vapour. By 1837 Daguerre was able to fix his images permanently with salt solution to dissolve the unexposed silver iodide.

Exposure times were as much as an hour, subjects in motion created blur, so portraits were difficult. Advances in lenses and sensitising methods reduced exposure times to about 30 seconds.

Daguerreotyping nonetheless spread quickly round the world in the 1850s, but a great step forward came in 1851 when the wet collodion process for making glass negatives was introduced. It was 20 times faster and paper prints were easily made from the negatives. The disadvantage was,

... the photographer had to sensitize the plate almost immediately before exposure and expose it and process it while the coating was moist. Collodion is a solution of nitrocellulose (guncotton) in alcohol and ether; when the solvents evaporate, a clear plasticlike film is formed. Since it is then impervious to water, the chemicals used for developing the exposed silver

halides and removing the unexposed salts cannot penetrate the coating to act upon them. The wet collodion process was almost at once universally adopted because it rendered detail with great precision that rivalled that of the daguerreotype. It reigned supreme for more than 30 years and greatly increased the popularity of photography, despite the fact that it was unequally sensitive to different colours of the spectrum.¹

From the mid 1850s prints were made on glossy albumen paper, coated with egg white and in the 1860s a new style of portrait became popular, the *carte-de-visite*: 4 x 2.5 inches, like a calling card.

At first *cartes de visite* almost invariably showed the subjects standing. Over time, backgrounds became ornate: furniture and such architectural fragments as papier-mâché columns and arches were introduced, and heavy-fringed velvet drapes were hung within range of the camera. With the advent of the cabinet-size (6.5 x 4 inches) picture in 1866, the decorative strategies of the photographer became yet more pronounced, so that in 1871 a photographer wrote: "One good, plain background, disrobed of castles, piazzas, columns, curtains and what not, well worked, will suit every condition of life."²

Wet collodion plate photography required a darkroom on the spot, and many photographers had portable laboratories in the field.

To begin the process, the glass or metal plate is polished and carefully coated with a viscous solution of collodion to which an iodide and sometimes a bromide have been added.

The plate is then made light-sensitive by placing it, while still tacky, into a solution of silver nitrate. After several minutes the plate is removed and placed into a plate holder, then placed in the camera.

After exposure in the camera, usually five to ten seconds, the plate holder is removed and taken to the darkroom for development. Removed from the holder the plate is flowed with an acidic iron sulphate solution. Once adequately developed, the image is rinsed in water.



Samuel Carnell cartes de visites of people now unknown



Samuel Carnell cartes de visites of people now unknown



Samuel Carnell cabinet photographs of people now unknown

The developed and rinsed plate is then fixed in hypo to remove unexposed silver salts, and washed again thoroughly under running water. The plate is dried over a gentle flame and usually varnished while still warm for protection.

To create a collodion negative, the wet-plate image is produced on a transparent glass plate, which can then be used for printing on photosensitive paper in the same way as modern film negatives.

To create an ambrotype (a collodion positive) the wet-plate image is produced on a glass plate which is either of a dark color, or is darkened behind the image. The unexposed, clear areas in the collodion image then show (correctly) as black in the ambrotype thanks to the dark glass or black backing behind them.

To create a tintype, the wet-plate image is produced on a pre-blackened or japanned metal plate, with the same visual effect as an ambrotype.

All steps of the wet-collodion process must be carried out on the spot and within ten minutes, with the plate kept continuously moist, or failure will result. The production of a wet-plate image is very much a “handicraft” and each wet-plate image will inevitably include process artifacts created by variations in the coating of the plate, the lengthy exposure time, and other factors.³

A dry method was needed so plates could be prepared in advance and developed long after exposure. In 1878 factory-produced dry plates coated with gelatin containing silver salts began the era of modern photography. These were 60 times as sensitive as collodion plates. Tripods were no longer needed and small cheap handheld cameras proliferated.

Samuel Carnell was 19 and working in the lace industry in Nottingham when the wet collodion process was invented.

In Napier he worked initially for George Henry Swan, who in 1858 had begun the Wellington photography studio later acquired by Wrigglesworth and Binns, then set up studios in Wanganui and Napier, then acquired the White Swan Brewery and Mac’s Hotel. He was elected Mayor of Napier in 1885 and held that office for 17 years.⁴

Carnell took over Swan's studio and worked on his own account, advertising often, from late 1871, misspelling Shakespeare,

S. CARNELL

(LATE G.H. SWAN.)

PHOTOGRAPHIC ARTIST

**PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO, SHAKSPEARE
ROAD**

Enlarged Photographs, Carte de Visites,
Miniatures, Views, and

PHOTOGRAPHY IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.⁵

In December Kereopa Te Rau was captured and jailed in Napier to be tried for the murder of the missionary Carl Volkner in Opotiki. Carnell photographed him,

A portrait of Kereopa, High Priest of the Hauhau fanaticism, and instigator of the murder of the late Rev. Mr Volkner, has been just executed by Mr Carnell. The likeness is of exceedingly faithful character, and considerably less outward appearance of villany than might be expected by those who have read of his deeds. The expression of the features is, in fact, of a plaintive rather than a criminal cast. As many who have heard of Kereopa, but can hardly expect ever to see him, would like to have a correct idea of his personal appearance, an opportunity is now afforded them. The portrait, as is only right in such a case, has been made copyright.⁶

Indeed, Carnell moved to distinguish his work from unauthorised copies,⁷

NOTICE TO PHOTOGRAPHERS.—

Hearing that some unprincipled Person has copied my picture of Kereopa, and that the same is now exhibited for sale in a photographer's window and by some Stationers in Auckland, I hereby give notice I have instructed my Solicitor here to take immediate proceedings against the parties in question.

S. CARNELL (LATE SWAN),
Photographer, Napier.

N.B.—Mr. Wayte, Queen-street, is my Sole Agent in Auckland, and my name is on each picture. Those sold on plain cards without any name are piracies.



Kereopa Te Rau, photographed by Samuel Carnell on 8 December 1871 and signed by him to discourage copying. ATL No. 1/4-022022-G.



Shakespeare road c.1870. Photographer unknown. Settlers' Hotel on the left, Mac's Hotel (proprietor George Henry Swan) adjacent. The building with skylights in the roof in the backyard at the left of Mac's hotel is the photographic studio—Swan's and later Carnell's. Gifted by Mr P Ashcroft, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhoro Tā-ū-rangi, 1158

His landscape photography met with the approval of the *Hawke's Bay Times*,

We have been shown by Mr Carnell some beautiful views of the town of Napier, taken from a paddock near the Bishop's residence, showing all the business portion of the town, with the handsome buildings recently erected. Mr Carnell recently imported an expensive Dallmeyer "wide-angle" landscape lens, of the most approved form, and it is with this beautiful instrument, which is as near perfection as the advanced optical art and science of the present day has produced, that these views are taken. The views take in a field so extensive as to be almost panoramic, and from the most distant objects to the blades of grass in the immediate foreground, there is no sign of distortion. These pictures are fine specimens of the photographic art, assisted by the best appliances.⁸

The *Times* waxed fulsome again a few months later,

We have frequently had occasion to notice the exquisite productions in photography of our local artist Mr Carnell, and yesterday we had an opportunity of examining two of the latest results of his skill. These are both very fine pictures, superior, we think, to any he has hitherto finished, excellent as they are. One of those we refer to is a perspective view of the new Criterion Hotel, in which every minute detail of this fine building is very faithfully given; the other is a view of the town from the hill overlooking the Marine Parade, embracing a very wide angle, and being almost equally sharp in the extreme distance, the near foreground, and the edges of the picture. Such results can only be obtained by the use of the latest improvements in apparatus, combined with great practical manipulative dexterity. The series of views of Napier which Mr Carnell has taken from time to time possess a value in demonstrating the progress of the town, the contrast in the extent and number of buildings in some of his earlier works, and this last one being very striking.⁹

He moved his premises from Shakespeare road and thanked the citizens of Hawke's Bay for their generous support "during the past twelve years"—despite the fact he had been in Napier only five—and used the term "Royal" and the Queen's motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense* in his advertising.¹⁰



Carnell introduced improvements in 1877,

It will be observed by a notice in our advertising columns that the improvements in Mr Carnell's photographic establishment are not yet complete, and that the studio will not be open for some days. They have been delayed, we understand, by the recent bad weather. The improvements are of a very important character. They embrace a new studio window on Mr Vanderweyde's principle. In the *Photographic News* the patentee describes it as follows:—"The invention consists in so placing each pane of glass that the direct rays of light passing through it to the sitter or object to be photographed shall traverse the glass as nearly as possible at right angles to its plane.... In photographic studios as at present constructed, the greater part of the light passing in the direction of the sitter



S. Carnell, Proprietor.

IN returning thanks to the inhabitants of Napier and the settlers throughout the Province of Hawke's Bay for their Generous Support during the past twelve years, permit me to call their attention to the fact that my Studio is now located in Browning-street, opposite Mr Lyndon's Store.

In my New Studio I have made every convenience for Ladies and Children, whereby the instantaneous process can be taken effectually.

By a recent consignment from England, ex "Halcione," I have received the

LATEST IMPROVEMENTS IN PHOTOGRAPHICAL INSTRUMENTS

And can consequently compare favorably with any firm in the colony in the production of a

FIRST-CLASS PICTURE.

Having, by Special order of the New Zealand Government, taken VIEWS OF THE TOWN OF NAPIER, I wish to call attention to the same, as I have but a limited number of Copies on hand.

traverses the glass more or less obliquely, the angle varying with the distance of the glass from the sitter. It is obvious that the light must traverse more than the actual thickness of the glass, and must therefore be obstructed by absorption and by reflection to a greater extent than if it passes through the glass at a right angle.... The advantage of the invention is to reduce the time necessary for exposure, and to give to the image obtained greater roundness, vigor, delicacy of modelling, and point." The frame of the new window arrived to Mr Carnell's order by the Fernglen. It was manufactured by Messrs Marshall and Hatch of London. It is, we may further mention, reversible. The relative positions of the sitter in the camera can be changed, so that in this way a subject can have his choice as to which side of his face he will have the brighter light thrown on.¹¹

A week later the window was installed, and Mr Carnell begged...

... to inform his patrons and the public generally that his establishment is RE-OPENED. The new studio window being now complete, he has every facility for producing portraits of a class never before equalled in Napier. Thanking the public of Napier for their past patronage, he assures them that it will be his endeavor to render every satisfaction to all who may visit him in the future.¹²

The *Herald* noticed,

Mr Carnell, we notice, has now in operation the patent concentrating studio window, of which we gave a description a short time ago. The effect is certainly a great improvement on the ordinary method, the photographs presenting the appearance of being brought out in bold relief. In one of the numbers of the *Photographer News* there is a letter to the patentee, Mr Vander Weyde, from Mr A. E. Fradelle, the photographer of Regent-street, London, in which the studio window is very highly commended. Mr Fradelle says: "In accordance with your desire, I have now great pleasure in sending you my report on the qualities of your new patent studio window. After three weeks' trial, I am of opinion that my negatives have to a great extent more stereoscopic effect, and are more solid and brilliant than heretofore. The specimens I

can show you will bear out the proof of my assertion in comparison with my former work. This system of lighting is peculiarly suitable for Rembrandt effects. On many occasions I have taken excellent pictures at a very late hour of the day.”¹³

Colour could only be provided by painters, but they often used photographs,

Mr Annabell has left at our office a portrait of Sir Donald McLean, taken from a photograph by Mr Carnell, said by Sir Donald to be the best he ever had taken. We have also seen two others by the same artist—the Rev. W. Marshall and his good lady, to be left for a short time at Mr Carnell’s studio. Portraits in oil painting may now be obtained without the long sitting formerly required. Mr Annabell only requires a good photo (or what would be best, an enlarged photo by Mr Carnell), and five minutes in the company of the person to be painted, and he guarantees a correct likeness, or, in the absence of the person to be painted, a good description, with color of hair and eyes, with photo.¹⁴

Joseph Annabell 1815–1893 was born in Mansfield, Nottinghamshire and had some training in art. He arrived in Napier in 1855.

JOSEPH ANNABELL
ARTIST
HASTINGS

Has made arrangements with MR CARNELL to take Enlarged Photographs on Canvas. A sight of the person to be painted is desirable. Portraits of ANIMALS painted from life. Old paintings cleaned and restored. The Artist would meet by appointment at Mr. Carnell’s Studio.

JOSEPH ANNABELL,
PORTRAIT & ANIMAL PAINTER,
HASTINGS.

Persons leaving their Photos at Mr. Carnell’s Studio can have a Life-like Copy in Oil Painting, any size.

OLD PAINTINGS COPIED.

OLD PAINTINGS CLEANED AND RESTORED.

FAMILY GROUPS, PET ANIMALS, & LANDSCAPE
BACKGROUNDS

FROM EMPLOYERS’ ESTATES, IF REQUIRED.

Annabel's portrait of Donald McLean (valued at £56) was exhibited at the Melbourne Exhibition.¹⁵ Those of the Marshalls are preserved in the Hawke's Bay Museums Trust collection. There were more,

Three oil paintings by Mr Annabel are on view at Mr Carnell's studio, and will well repay a visit, being portraits of Mr John Heslop, senr., Mr Wilkin, manager of the Grange property, and Dr Hitchings. The two latter are colored enlargements of photographs, and the result produced in this manner is very exact to life indeed.¹⁶

A capitally executed painting of the well-known racehorse Papapa may be seen at Mr M. R. Miller's office. It is the production of a local artist, Mr Annabell, and is a highly creditable specimen of his skill as a painter of animals.¹⁷

At a concert in Napier in February 1878,

Mr Eva came on to the stage, and announced that, during the interval, he proposed to illustrate the operation of the telephone. One of these instruments had been manufactured by Mr Carnell and himself, and sound had been successfully transmitted, that afternoon, by it, through 200 miles of wire. They had now a wire stretched from the Hall to Mr Ashton's hotel (about 200 yards distant), and if half a dozen gentlemen would come on the stage and put their ears to the mouth of the telephone which he held in his hand, they would be able to hear the voices of the persons at the other end. A few gentlemen responded to the invitation, our reporter among the number. He was shortly able to announce that he heard "Johnny comes marching home," which was then being sung at Mr Ashton's. Both the words and the air were quite distinct, though faint.¹⁸

ROYAL PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO.

NOTICE.

AS BABIES and Young Children cannot be Photographed to my satisfaction during the Winter, I shall discontinue taking them until Spring.

769

S. CARNELL.



It wasn't easy to photograph a baby when the exposures were necessarily long.

The *Herald* announced that at a bazaar in aid of the chancel building fund for St John's church, "MR CARNELL with his PHONOGRAPH will be there".²⁰ Later in 1880,

Mr S. Carnell, the well-known photographer, has leased the land in Tennyson-street, between Messrs Banner and Liddle's stores and Mr Sainsbury's offices, and purposes erecting a large photographic establishment on the site, the material to be either of concrete or timber.²¹

In June, a Mr EH Bold gave a lecture at the Working Men's Club on the telegraph, microphone and telephone. He thanked Mr Carnell for the assistance he had rendered.²² In July Augustus Hamilton, at an entertainment for the children of Petane school, "entertained the company with a magic lantern and electric battery, both, of which were lent for the occasion by Mr Carnell".²³ In August he advertised his latest innovation,

NOTICE.

M R C A R N E L L

BEGS to inform the inhabitants of Napier and surrounding districts that, having completed the alterations to his studio, and having introduced the new "American System" of finishing, he is enabled to produce Pictures superior to anything seen in Napier before.

LARGE PLAIN PHOTOGRAPHS,

According to size, highly finished in Oil and
Water Colors at various prices.

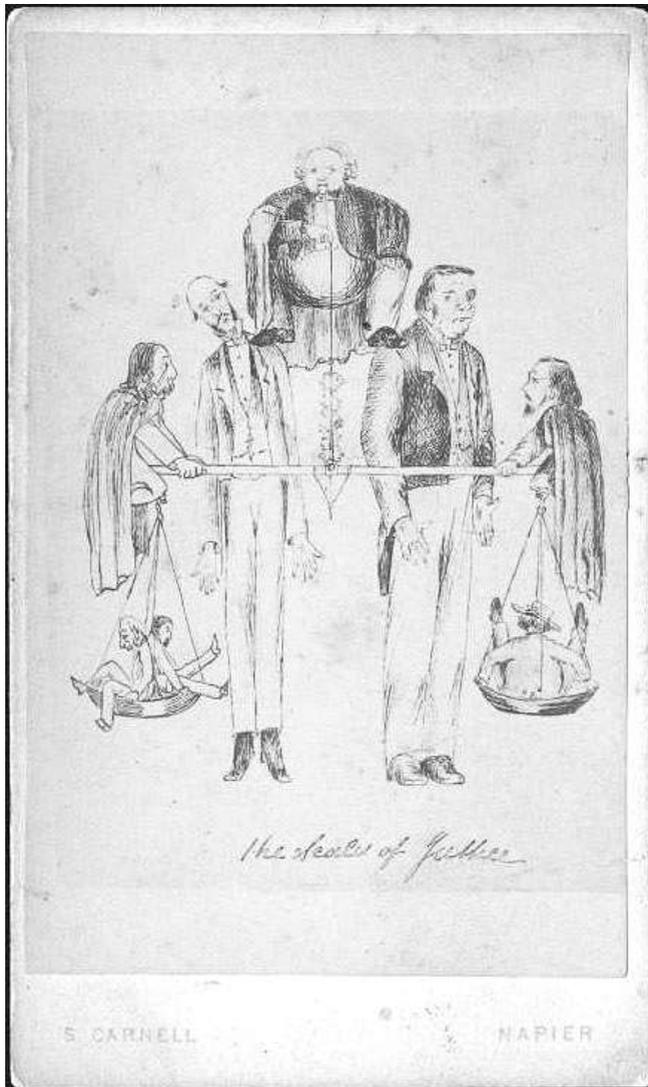
**MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHITECTURAL
DRAWINGS, MODELS, &c.,**

Photographed, and either Enlarged or
Reduced.

TINTING Face and Hands, 2s each or
20s per doz.

FULL COLORING, from 3s 6d each,
according to amount of finish.

MINIATURES for Brooches, Locketts,
&c., 10s to 20s each of finishing. 689



Photographic copy of cartoon 'The Scales of Justice' possibly by A Koch. Ref: PA2-0450. Alexander Turnbull Library. /records/23071589

At some time, perhaps as evidence of his ability to reproduce manuscripts and architectural drawings, Carnell photographed a series of political cartoons, some of the originals perhaps by artist and mapmaker Augustus Koch, and reproduced them as cartes de visite. One of seven surviving in the Alexander Turnbull Library is titled "The Scales of Justice" and shows a Humpty Dumpty Judge (Alexander James Johnston 1820-1888) supported on the shoulders of two men protesting that their hands are clean—probably politicians of whom the one on the left may be Carnell himself and that on the right Donald McLean. The judge holds a set of scales the equilibrium of which can be altered by the influence of gowned lawyers using the balance arm as a seesaw; the trays perhaps contain the weight of bewildered defenders and plaintiff.

Carnell was awarded first and second order of merit at the Melbourne Exhibition for photographic portraits in the class "neither coloured nor tinted".²⁴ In April 1880, "Mr S. Carnell advertises having introduced the new bromo-emulsion process into his photography."²⁵ He was using dry plate processes within two years of their invention.

CARNELL'S
ROYAL FINE ART
PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO.

VANDERWEIDE PATENT.

BROWNING-STREET, NEAR POST OFFICE,
NAPIER.
Awarded first and second Order of Merit by the
Commissioners of the Melbourne Exhibition.

S. C. having introduced the "New Bromo-emulsion Process" is enabled to take Portraits in LESS THAN ONE SECOND OF TIME.

The head-rest not being required.

Dulness of weather no object.

No extra charge for young children.

To prevent disappointment, engagements should be made for specified days and hours.

In September 1881 the *Telegraph* reported,

Among the many recent improvements and additions which Mr Carnell has made to his photographic apparatus is one of Cadett's patent instantaneous view shutters. This is a most ingenious instrument for adjusting the time of exposures; it is

composed of a revolving ebonite disc, worked by a coiled spring, and set in motion by a pneumatic tube attached. The instrument can be adjusted to give exposures from the hundredth part of a second up to any longer period required, and is particularly useful in taking street views, or in taking the portraits of young children. It is evident that Mr Carnell is determined to keep himself thoroughly abreast of all the advances made in photography.²⁶

In October 1881 the *Telegraph* reported,

We have had the pleasure of seeing in Mr Hooper's establishment two oil paintings by a gentleman who has recently been living in Napier. Herr Lindauer is a member of the Kaiser Academy of Vienna, and has had large experience in his profession in the way of painting altar pieces in many of the leading European churches. The two pictures referred to are portraits, one of our well-known townsman Mr S. Carnell, and the other of a Maori woman and her child belonging to Orakei. The pictures are not, as has been stated, painted photographs, but oil paintings, and most successful ones too. The portrait of Mr Carnell is remarkably life like, and the head of the Maori woman is a study. It is to be hoped that Herr Lindauer will find sufficient inducement to settle in the district.²⁷

The *Herald* added,

For some time past there has been hanging in Mr S. Hooper's establishment a fine oil painting by Herr Lindauer, a German artist who has made Napier temporarily his home. The subject is a Maori woman, with her "picaniny" strapped to her back. It is seldom that such a genuine work of art can be seen in the colonies. Every detail is perfect—the artist has all but imbued the canvas with life. One almost expects the woman to speak. The picture has been quite a centre of attraction to lovers of art, and it is well worthy of close inspection. Herr Lindauer has also painted two photographs—one of Mr S. Carnell and the other of Mr Levin, of Nelson—which are on exhibition at Mr Carnell's saloon. They are in their way equally artistic.²⁸

This was Lindauer's first painting of "Ana Rupene and child", taken from a Foy Brothers' carte de visite of the Hauraki (not Orakei) woman. He would make perhaps 30 copies, it was so popular.²⁹



Ana Rupene and child

Foy Bros carte-de-visite

Lindauer's painting

A Lindauer portrait of Carnell is in the hands of the Napier City Council, but it is a later portrait, dated 1905: the whereabouts of the earlier portrait is unknown.

Now began a highly productive creative association between the photographer and the painter. Gottfried Lindauer had arrived in Wellington in 1874 and began painting portraits in Nelson soon after; in 1876 he moved to Auckland and met the man who would become his lifelong patron, Henry Partridge, who commissioned Lindauer to paint portraits of Māori. Lindauer and his wife moved to Christchurch where she died in 1880. It was then that he moved to Napier: he did "settle in the district"—in Woodville—after a trip to Europe in 1886–1887.

Lindauer was prolific, his output huge, but he “was fundamentally a journeyman painter—a tradesman producing portraits on commission (mostly for European clients, but for some Māori)—rather than a fine artist”.³⁰ He was able to collect and use photographs easily now the dry plate process had reduced cost and improved the quality of photographic portraits. He copied photographs, he projected them onto his canvas using an epidiastope and tracing around the projected images and he even painted directly onto enlarged photographs.³¹⁻³²

Such was his admiration for Carnell, that after his second marriage in 1885 Lindauer named his firstborn son for him and his patron Partridge: Hector Carnell Partridge Lindauer 1887-1928.

In the meantime Carnell was making his living from cartes de visite for the well to do. In Hawke’s Bay, as Sullivan has pointed out, there were many wealthy Māori, and there was little antagonism among Europeans and Ngati Kahungunu, Rangitane and Ngati Porou, who had all fought on the Government side in the New Zealand wars.

Cartes (and later, cabinet photographs) were as popular with Māori as they were with Europeans—with the added benefit for the photographer of a ready market for Māori curiosities in Europe.

Sullivan has made a scholarly examination of Carnell’s photography and a reader should refer to his papers for further elucidation.³³

Joseph Annabell was using Carnell’s photographs too,

A portrait of the late Maori chief Karaitiana Takamoana, painted in oils by Mr Annabell, may be seen at Messrs Dinwiddie, Walker and Cos. The artist has succeeded very well with the coloring, and has retained admirably the expression peculiar to the late chief. The portrait is painted on canvas from a photograph by Mr Carnell.³⁴

Annabell’s portrait of Karaitiana had deteriorated badly by 1973 when an image of it was published in the 13 June issue of *Taranaki Photo News*. Its current state and whereabouts are not known.

Napier had a veritable portrait factory with Carnell’s photographs and Lindauer’s and Annabell’s treatment of them.



The badly deteriorating painting of Karaitiana Takamoana by Joseph Annabell, probably 1881. Present state and whereabouts unknown.

Taranaki Photo News 13 June 1973.

But then, in 1882, calamity for Carnell,

FIRE IN HASTINGS-STREET

The most destructive fire which has yet occurred in Napier broke out last night, just after eight o'clock.... before the fire bell could be rung—in fact, in less than three minutes—the flames appeared at the front of the building, and almost simultaneously burst through the roof. The spread of the fire was astonishing. Five minutes afterwards the whole place was a mass of flame, and though at the first discovery of the fire efforts were made to save some of the stock, practically nothing was got out. The buildings were old, and dry as tinder, and the stock of such an inflammable nature that it was impossible to do anything to check the fire. Then there was a vexatious delay in getting water on the building. We are informed that the high pressure was turned on almost instantaneously, but subsequently from some unexplained cause the pressure lessened for a while, and a delay of several minutes occurred. The delay was short, but it was sufficient to destroy all hope of saving anything. Several streams of water were then playing from the high pressure, and the Napier hand-engine, which was got to work at the corner of Mr Lyndon's premises, and the firemen—who worked like true men, amid most intense heat and suffocating clouds of smoke... could not save the block already on fire.... It is not too much to say that a large portion of the town must have been laid in ruins had it not been for the Fire Brigades. There were loud cries for the steam engine, which had not yet put in an appearance, the delay at the time appearing both vexatious and unaccountable, especially as it was known that the Napier Brigade had been practising with it half-an-hour previously. The fact was that Mr McGregor, the Government Inspector, was inspecting the boiler, and after the practice the steam engine was taken to pieces for his examination. When the alarm was given it had to be put together again, the fire made and kindled, and steam got up, and when that is known no one will wonder that the engine was thirty minutes in being got to work—the wonder is that it was not longer. It was taken to the well in Mr T. K. Newton's yard, and two lengths of hose were quickly got out. In the meantime Mr Cornford's offices and Mr Carnell's photographic studio... were completely gutted—indeed nothing was left of the

former.... Much of Mr Carnell's plant was also removed, but, as might be expected, was greatly damaged, and his loss will be considerable. He had also burnt about 13,000 negatives, a lot of materials stored in the roof, and his valuable patent window.... Just in the "nick of time," however, the steam-engine was got to work, and the strong jets turned on seemed literally to knock out the fire.... great damage was done to many fragile articles in removal, and the zeal thus injudiciously displayed caused the loss to be much heavier than it otherwise would have been.... Mr Carnell estimates his loss, by fire and breakage, at between £300 and £400.³⁵

T H A N K S .

I BEG to thank all who kindly assisted in saving some of my goods and effects at last evening's fire.

S. CARNELL.

Napier, February 11, 1852.

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An inquest into the fire found no evidence of a cause³⁷ and "Mr Carnell will re-open on the 27th (March) his photographic studio in the premises in the Shakespeare-road lately occupied by Mr. Cassin".³⁸ The *Herald* wished him well,

Mr S. Carnell yesterday opened his new photographic studio in Shakespeare-road, in the premises recently occupied by Mr Cassin. He has had the place re-fitted and made most convenient for the uses of a photographer. There are waiting-rooms and retiring-rooms for ladies, and all the accessories of a complete establishment. The studio has been erected behind the main building, and the Vanderweyde patent windows have been repaired and utilised. The room is 17ft wide by 35ft long, and is, we believe, the largest studio in the Australian colonies. Determined to protect himself as far as possible from another disastrous fire, Mr Carnell has also built a brick strong-room for the reception of his more valuable instruments and appliances. We wish him every success in his new start in business.³⁹

R E - O P E N I N G N O T I C E !

S. CARNELL having, since the late Fire, built a

N E W S T U D I O ,
 In which he has introduced the latest Scientific Improvements, announces that he has re-opened, and is now

P R E P A R E D T O T A K E P H O T O S

At his new Premises,
S H A K E S P E A R E - R O A D
 (Directly opposite Provincial Council Chambers),

Where his patrons will find every convenience for Ladies while waiting.

To prevent disappointment arrangements should be made for Sitzings. 242

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Soon he was advertising in almost every issue of the local papers,

C A R N E L L ' S
 ROYAL FINE ART
P H O T O G R A P H I C S T U D I O .

V A N D E R W E I D E P A T E N T .

B R O W N I N G - S T R E E T , N E A R P O S T O F F I C E ,
N A P I E R .

Awarded first and second Order of Merit by the Commissioners of the Melbourne Exhibition.

S. C. having introduced the "New Bromo-emulsion Process" is enabled to take Portraits in **LESS THAN ONE SECOND OF TIME.**

The head-rest not being required.

Dulness of weather no object.

No extra charge for young children.

To prevent disappointment, engagements should be made for specified days and hours.

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In January 1883 the *Telegraph* told its readers,

In the front window of Mr S. Carnell's studio are exhibited some very fine photographic views of the Suez canal, the palace at Ismailia, &c, and portraits of Turkish and Egyptian women, attired in their national costumes, which are well worth looking at.⁴²



Samuel Carnell's photographic studio in Shakespeare road, with unidentified people. Dry plate negative, photographer unknown. Framed and unframed photographs as well as advertising for the Imperial Fine Art Company are in the window. Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawharo Tā-ū-rangi, 8141.

He was keeping up to date with equipment,

Mr S. Carnell has recently imported from England some of the newest appliances in photography. Among them are two cameras with instantaneous shutters, taking photographs so rapidly that even a ball thrown in the air is sharply defined. One of these is Sand's patent, and the other is known as Hare's automatic camera. Attached to the latter is an automatic charging-box, most ingeniously constructed, which holds twenty-four plates.⁴³

G. Hare, London, had patented an important new camera design in June 1882. The lens was f8 with a 13½ inch rapid rectilinear slot for Waterhouse stops, made of Spanish mahogany with brass binding and dovetail joints and dark mauve leather bellows. It took 10 x 8 inch exposures on plates or roll-film. The bellows could focus to 47 inches using a double extension rack & pinion movement. It had a reversing and tilting back and rising front.⁴⁴

He was in demand for photographing natural history specimens. In April an electric skate, *Torpedo fairchildii*, was caught in the lagoon, bought by Augustus Hamilton, pickled in brandy by Mr Bowerman, "photographed by Mr Carnell" and exhibited at the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute on 14 May.⁴⁵

Captain Quinlan, of the Sir Donald, captured a large female shark measuring over 12 feet in length in the outer harbor last afternoon. The "monster of the deep" was brought up to town in an express, and will be on view this evening and to-morrow in the hall at the rear of the Occidental Hotel. Mr S. Carnell took a photograph of her sharkship this morning.⁴⁶

The young lady members of the Rev. H. P. Cornford's Bible class, held at St. Paul's Church, presented him yesterday with a testimonial in token of their respect and esteem. The presentation took the form of a medallion picture, containing the photographs of each member of the class, with the portrait of the Rev. Mr Cornford in the centre. Each photograph is contained within an oval, the whole being arranged in a diamond pattern, and mounted in a handsome gilt frame. All the photographs, which are excellent specimens of the art, were

executed by Mr S. Carnell, and the picture as a whole is most artistic.⁴⁷

He would use that diamond shaped montage again for portraits of Ngati Kahungunu.

C A R N E L L ' S
ROYAL FINE ART
PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO.
VANDERWEYDE PATENT.

SHAKESPEARE-ROAD,
OPPOSITE POST-OFFICE, NAPIER.
[ESTABLISHED 1865.]
Awarded First and Second Orders of Merit
by the Commissioners of the Mel-
bourne Exhibition.
INSTANTANEOUS PHOTOGRAPHY.

 To Prevent disappointment engage-
ments should be made in advance.
DULL WEATHER NO OBJECT.

S. CARNELL begs to notify that he
has just received a complete
plant for Enamelling (from E. W. Mills, of
Wellington), and will, if requested, Enamel
all Photographs without any extra charge.

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We have received from Mr Carnell a photograph dealing with Messrs Gilberd and Anderson's nursery. The subject treated is the vineyard, and the photograph is a really magnificent one.⁴⁹

In the window of Mr S. Carnell's photographic studio may be seen an old photograph giving a view of the Spit as it appeared in 1867, before ever there was a Harbor Board, or extensive harbour improvements....⁵⁰

The certificates of success which are issued to the 6th Standard pupils in the Napier District School are in chromo-lithography produced at the HERALD office, and at the head of the ornamental work is a neat oval photograph of the school, which

greatly adds to the effect of the whole. These photographs have been taken and affixed to the certificates for the past two years by Mr S. Carnell without payment, and his kindness in the matter has been most acceptable to the recipients and the committee.⁵¹

On Saturday afternoon the Napier Rifle Volunteers under Captain Blythe, and Lieutenants King and Duncan, were inspected by Major Routledge. The men afterwards marched to the Government lawn, where they were photographed by Mr Carnell, in three groups.⁵²

The *Telegraph* advised its readers, "Materials and glasses for crystoleum painting may be procured at Mr Carnell's studio".⁵³

When the eclipse of the sun took place, Mr Neil Heath, who observed the phenomenon at Tahoraite, was able to secure a photograph at the moment of totality. Mr S. Carnell has prepared from this plate several enlarged copies, and these are well worth inspection. The photograph shows the corona as an immense halo of irregular form.⁵⁴

A special train had been arranged to take stargazers from Napier to Tahoraite: alas, the photograph has not survived.⁵⁵

When Major Garner was raised to his present rank he resigned the captaincy of the F Battery of Artillery, with which he had been connected for many years. The members of the battery decided to present to him a token of their esteem, the memento taking the form of a large photographic shield containing the portraits of past and present members of the company. This shield has lately been completed by Mr S. Carnell, and it was on view at his studio on Saturday evening, attracting considerable public attention....⁵⁶

TO CARPENTERS.

TENDERS are invited up till noon of **SATURDAY, 22nd inst.**, for making additions and alterations to Photographic Gallery for Mr S. Carnell. Plans to be seen at my office.

W. A. DUGLEBY,
Architect.

We have been shown some magnificent views of incidents on the day of the breakwater demonstration, taken by the instantaneous process by Mr S. Carnell. Two of the views, one showing the procession marching down Shakespeare-road, and the other showing the site of the works just before the formal laying of the block, are especially good. Persons desirous of possessing an artistic memento of Tuesday last will find the photographs answer the highest expectations.⁵⁸

In April 1887 he applied to the Colonial Secretary and was given permission to dispose of oil paintings by art union.⁵⁹ He advertised

G R A N D A R T U N I O N .

S. CARNELL has received permission from the Colonial Secretary to dispose by Art Union of Four Oil Paintings of Maoris, executed by the Celebrated Artist, HERR LINDAUR, whose pictures attracted such great attention in the New Zealand court of the Colonial Exhibition, and to whom the special medal and certificate were awarded. The Pictures are four in number, and are valued at One Hundred and Fifty Pounds.

First—Maori Woman, with child on her back; size, 34 x 27 inches.

Second—Portrait of Ihaka Wanga; size, 34 x 27 inches.

Third—Native Woman, smoking; size, 27 x 23 inches.

Fourth—The Maori King; size, 27 x 23 inches.

All the above Pictures are Handsomely Framed in Gold, and are now on view in S. Carnell's Show-room.

1000 Tickets 2s 6d each, so as to be within reach of all.

Despite predictions that tickets would “go off rapidly” he was obliged to advertise every day in both papers. A year later, on 6 April 1888 the draw was made at the Theatre Royal, before a Committee of Citizens—and four lucky ticket holders each took home a Lindauer portrait.⁶¹

When T Wills, “Opal Artist” for the Australian firm AC Giddings, advertised in February 1888 that he could supply “opal enlargements” from old photographs “at prices hitherto unheard of in New Zealand”,⁶² the *Herald* predicted they “would do a large business”.⁶³ Carnell not only started advertising his “Royal Fine Art Photographic Studio” again, but also leapt to his own defence,

SIR,—I notice a local in your paper in which you say the opal process is “new in Hawke’s Bay at any rate.” I beg to say that it is not new, as I have worked this process for the last 15 years, and on the matt opal ever since the plates came into the market, about five years ago.—I am, &c, SAMUEL CARNELL.⁶⁴

Commercial photography is not all “fine art” however,

The members of St. John’s Church Choir mustered yesterday afternoon at the side of the church for the purpose of having a photograph taken of the group by Mr S. Carnell. It is intended to present the picture to Mr J. Stephens, manager of the National Bank, before he leaves Napier, as a small recognition of his valuable services to the choir during his stay here.⁶⁵

At the Waipawa Exhibition in December 1888 Carnell showed “the wellknown ‘Maori Woman and Child,’ and ‘Renata Kawepo,’ by Herr Lindauer, both splendid examples of Maori portraiture”.⁶⁶

In view of Mr N. K. McDiarmid’s early departure from Napier, the officers of the branch of the bank over which he presides have taken the opportunity of expressing their respect and admiration for him by a suitable presentation. The latter took the form of a photographic group, very handsomely mounted in a massive gold frame of artistic design, and bearing a suitable inscription. The group, which a splendid specimen of the photographic art, is from Mr S. Carnell’s studio, and contains full length portraits of... officers of the bank.⁶⁷

At the Napier Bowling Club in September 1891,

When the opening game of the season commenced the ground presented a very animated appearance, the dresses of the ladies adding the requisite color to the scene. Mr S. Carnell was present with his camera, and took several negatives during the afternoon. These will be on view at his studio in a few days.⁶⁸

He photographed the Hawke's Bay Rugby team and the shareholders of the United Press Association when they met in Napier in 1891. In May 1892,

We notice in Mr Craig's window a large shield of photographs representing the cricket team which met and defeated the Canterbury Wanderers here at the beginning of April. The photographs have been executed by Mr S. Carnell, and do him much credit, they have been nicely mounted and framed, and altogether make quite a handsome picture.⁶⁹

Mr Carnell has a fine show at his studio now, the examples for inspection including some very striking specimens of the more recent developments of the photographic art. All the pictures displayed, from cabinets up to life-size, are most artistic in their lighting and posing, and those who wish to wile away an odd half hour pleasantly can do so with profit by paying a visit to Mr Carnell's studio.⁷⁰



Competition was increasing. The *Herald* of 13 December 1892 carrying advertisements for "Sorrell, the Practical Photographer", "Hawley & Cole, the Leading Photographers of Napier", "W.H. Neal, A.I.P." as well as "Carnell's Royal Fine Art Photographic Studio", advertising regularly again for the first time in years.

◀When Bishop Edward Craig Stuart left Napier for Persia in 1894 he was presented with a Lindauer portrait of himself based on a Carnell negative.⁷¹

Bishop Stuart, Samuel Carnell (b.1832, d.1920), gifted by Mrs M H Oxford, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawharo Tā-ū-rangi, 1269

The usual monthly meeting of the Fire Brigade was held last evening.... Photographs had been received from Mr Carnell representing a section of the main street with the engine in the foreground. It was resolved to forward framed copies of the photographs to the Borough Council, the Wanganui Fire Brigade, and Messrs Shand, Mason and Co., London.⁷²

In July 1896 George Hutchinson, MHR for Patea, moved the second reading of the “Photographic Copyright Bill”...

... which he explained was designed to afford to photographers an easy and inexpensive means for protecting, for a limited term, photographs, principally of our national scenery. Mr Carnell seconded the motion and referred to the piracy that had existed for some time past in regard to photographs of our scenery. He knew of a case in which photos of the Sounds had been sent to Germany where they had been reproduced in large quantities and sent out to New Zealand booksellers for sale. This was unfair to the photographers of the colony. Mr Seddon looked upon this as a very dangerous measure.... One of the strongest arguments against the bill was the assertion made by Mr Carnell that photos of our scenery were being reproduced in Germany, for it showed that the beauties of the colony were being advertised.⁷³

The *Marlborough Times* savaged the Bill,

The bill is an absurd and indeed iniquitous measure, for it proposes to copyright nature itself and to give the first man who happens to photograph a certain bit of scenery the sole right to deal in pictures of the scenery. To show how the measure would work in practice let our readers suppose that in this or any other district there is an exceptionally picturesque and beautiful bit of scenery, and that a photographer takes a picture of it for the purpose of reproducing it and selling the copies. By this bill of Mr Hutchison’s all the artist has then to do is to write “protected” on his plate, with the date the picture was taken, and then, if he reproduces the word and the date on the photographs no one but himself will be allowed to sell photographs of that particular bit of scenery for five years. It seems to us that this extraordinary “protection” is the most

impudent piece of attempted monopoly we have ever come across in New Zealand Parliamentary history.⁷⁴

The *Telegraph* jumped at this opportunity for drollery,

The Photographic Copyright Act, if passed, will be found to bustle with as many objections as a hedgehog has points. Take Hastings, for instance. Soon after the passing of the Act some duffer—for I suppose there are bunglers even in this business—comes along to Hastings, and in about a day jumped the whole claim. Presently down comes Mr Carnell to “take,” say, the Havelock Hills, from Hastings, for the London *Graphic*. Just as he has a nice bit focussed, someone taps him on the shoulder and shows him a miserable bungle of it, but with the fatal copyright in the corner. Well then the ranges. Copyrighted? The Council, the Eiffel Tower, the railway station. “Here yer are, sir, look in the corner—and blame yourself.” I think that in such a possibility, Mr Carnell, as he packed away his tripods and things in the van for home again, would register a resolution to do something different if he survived (politically) the general election.⁷⁵

He was advertising again,

**Cabinet Photos, 12s
6d Per Dozen.**

CARNELL'S

FINE ART

PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO

(Van Der Weyde Patent),

**SHAKESPEARE ROAD, NEAR POST
OFFICE, NAPIER.**

Awarded First and Second Orders of Merit
at Melbourne Exhibition.

[ESTABLISHED 33 YEARS.]

On and after this date—

**CABINET PORTRAITS
AT 12/6 PER DOZEN.**

To prevent disappointment, engagements
should be made some days in advance. 76

He photographed “in his usual finished style” the Napier Rifles team which won the Coleman Shield in 1897.⁷⁷

Mr Carnell, of Napier, was engaged in photographing for the Railway Department yesterday at Ormondville, being met there by Mr Troup, draughtsman in the engineer’s office at Wellington.⁷⁸

There is now on view in the window of Mr Allan’s shop, Tennyson street, a magnificent picture in the shape of a nearly life-size portrait of the late Sir George Grey. The portrait, which is from the studio of Mr S. Carnell, is a striking illustration of the standard of excellence attained by that gentleman in artistic photography. The picture, which is surrounded by a handsome frame, has been presented to the Hon. R. Seddon, Premier, by the Liberals of Napier, and bears date “March 8th, 1899.”⁷⁹

Grey arrived in Napier on 2 March 1894 by coach from Taupo and left for Wellington on the 5th. Carnell probably took the photograph then (he was MHR for Napier at the time): the chair Grey is sitting on appears in other Carnell portraits taken in Napier. Grey left New Zealand for England in April 1894.

The portrait survives in the Parliamentary collections.

In March 1899, a month after the death of Rev. William Colenso, Carnell presented his photographic portrait to the town,

At the meeting of the Borough Council last night a letter was read from Mr S. Carnell, asking the Council to accept an enlarged photograph of the late Rev. W Colenso, and permit it to be placed in the Council Chamber, “so that they who come after us may look upon the face of him who, in his large-heartedness, remembered in his last will the poor and needy of Napier, the castaway sailor, and those leaving the prison gate, regardless of country, color, or creed.” The offer was accepted with thanks, the portrait to be hung in the Council Chamber.⁸⁰

Carnell had taken this among a series of shots in 1887 for Coupland Harding’s essay on Colenso for the Chicago-based *Inland Printer*.



Sir George Grey, photograph by Samuel Carnell, March 1894,
the photograph 290mm x 360mm.
Parliamentary Collection no. SA959.



William Colenso aged 76: the photograph taken by Samuel Carnell in 1887 for Coupland Harding's essay "New Zealand's first printer" in *Inland Printer* No. 7 (1889-1890) p.504.



A marketing montage of Ngāti Kahungunu cartes de visit—
Māori portraits taken by Samuel Carnell 1870/1890.
ATL No. ¼-0220622-G.

In 1905 he “sold out his business to his nephew, Mr. Bunting” (actually his wife’s nephew) of Palmerston North and retired.⁸¹ FW Bunting was born in Waipawa in 1864 and had worked as a photographer from 1882 in Dunedin, with Wrigglesworth & Binns in Wellington and with Samuel Carnell in Napier. He joined Henry Billens, Photographer in Palmerston North in 1891: “His portrait work for softness, grace of pose, naturalness and perfect finish, is equal to the best Wellington productions”.⁸² The partnership dissolved in 1994.⁸³ Bunting died in November 1913.

SPECIAL CONCESSIONS
 FOR
FAMILY GROUPS
FAMILY GROUPS
 AT
BUNTING'S
STUDIO (late S. Carnell) SHAKES-
PEARE-ROAD, NAPIER.
 And at
PALMERSTON NORTH.

1 Naomi Rosenblum, Helmut Erich Robert Gernsheim, Andy Grundberg, Beaumont Newhall. *History of photography*. Encyclopaedia Britannica.
<https://www.britannica.com/technology/photography>.

2 *ibid.*

3 <https://cwfp.biz/kevinklein/collodion.php> accessed 27 September 2018.

4 *Wanganui Herald* 25 July 1913.

5 *Hawke's Bay Times* 16 October 1871.

6 *Hawke's Bay Times* 12 December 1871.

7 *Daily Southern Cross* 21 February 1872.

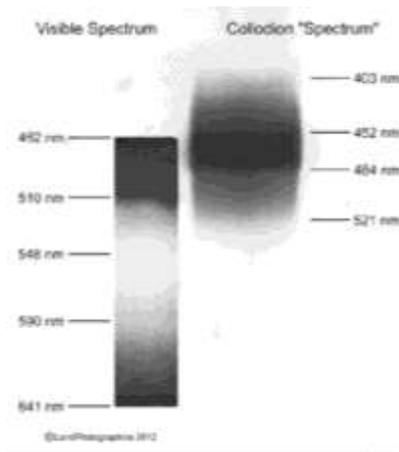
8 *Hawke's Bay Times* 5 June 1874.

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- 9 *Hawke's Bay Times* 13 October 1874.
 - 10 *Hawke's Bay Times* 13 October 1874.
 - 11 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 10 May 1877.
 - 12 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 21 May 1877.
 - 13 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 31 May 1877.
 - 14 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 18 May 1877.
 - 15 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 5 July 1880.
 - 16 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 6 February 1878.
 - 17 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 26 February 1878.
 - 18 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 27 February 1878.
 - 19 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 16 May 1878.
 - 20 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 11 March 1880.
 - 21 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 8 June 1880.
 - 22 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 10 June 1880.
 - 23 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 26 July 1880.
 - 24 *Daily Telegraph* 28 February 1881.
 - 25 *Daily Telegraph* 21 April 1881.
 - 26 *Daily Telegraph* 10 September 1881.
 - 27 *Daily Telegraph* 29 October 1881.
 - 28 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 29 October 1881.
 - 29 Auckland City Art Gallery. Lindauer online. Whakaahuia Māori.
<http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/background/piecing-parts-of-a-puzzle-together-researching-ana-rupene-and-child> accessed 2 October 2018.
 - 30 Leonard Bell. "Lindauer, Gottfried", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand,
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2112/lindauer-gottfried> accessed 2 October 2018.
 - 31 Sarah Hillary. Merging techniques – new research into Lindauer's use of photographs. <http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/artist/merging-techniques-%E2%80%93-new-research-into-lindauer%E2%80%99s-use-of-photographs> accessed 2 October 2018.
 - 32 Ron Brownson. Photography and the portraits of Gottfried Lindauer.
<http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/artist/photography-and-the-portraits-of-gottfried-lindauer> accessed 2 October 2018.
 - 33 Sullivan JP 1990. The Photographs of Samuel Carnell. Turnbull Library Record. 23(1): 69-76; Sullivan JP 2002. The portraits of Samuel Carnell: The representation of Ngāti Kahungunu in colonial photography. *History of photography*. 26(4): 351-357.
 - 34 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 5 December 1881.
 - 35 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 11 February 1882.
 - 36 *ibid.*
 - 37 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 16 February 1882.
 - 38 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 8 March 1882. JT Cassin had recently moved his grocery and kitchenware shop to a site "opposite the *Telegraph* office".
 - 39 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 5 April 1882.
 - 40 *ibid.*
 - 41 *Daily Telegraph* 16 December 1882.
 - 42 *Daily Telegraph* 5 January 1883.
 - 43 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 29 March 1883.
 - 44 http://www.earlyphotography.co.uk/site/entry_C96.html accessed 3 October 2018. See cover photograph,

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- 45 *Daily Telegraph* 10 April 1883.
46 *Daily Telegraph* 12 April 1883.
47 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 24 December 1883.
48 *Daily Telegraph* 5 February 1884.
49 *Daily Telegraph* 20 February 1884.
50 *Daily Telegraph* 27 February 1884.
51 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 27 February 1884.
52 *Daily Telegraph* 17 November 1884.
53 *Daily Telegraph* 15 May 1885. The crystoleum process was a method of applying colour to an albumen print, popular from c. 1880 – c. 1910. An albumen print was pasted face down to the inside of a concave piece of glass.
54 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 10 October 1885.
55 Orchiston W 2016. The 1885 Total Solar Eclipse: An Amazing Public Spectacle. In *Exploring the History of New Zealand Astronomy*. Springer. 447-479.
56 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 15 November 1886.
57 *Daily Telegraph* 18 January 1887.
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59 Archives no. 1887/1392.
60 *Daily Telegraph* 30 April 1887.
61 *Daily Telegraph* 7 April 1888.
62 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 7 February 1888.
63 *ibid.*
64 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 February, 1888.
65 *Daily Telegraph* 29 June 1888.
66 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 6 December 1888.
67 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 25 September 1889.
68 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 28 September 1891.
69 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 2 June 1892.
70 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 8 December 1892.
71 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 30 January 1894.
72 *Hastings Standard* 8 July 1896.
73 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 23 July 1896.
74 Quoted in *Hawke's Bay Herald* 25 July 1896.
75 *Daily Telegraph* 29 July 1896.
76 *Daily Telegraph* 17 February 1897.
77 *Hastings Standard* 6 December 1897.
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80 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 16 March 1899.
81 *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* 1908 (Taranaki, Hawke's Bay & Wellington Provincial Districts). Cyclopaedia Co., Christchurch.
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<http://canterburyphotography.blogspot.com/2014/05/bunting.html> accessed 24 October 2018.
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CHAPTER 4: THE LOST MOKO

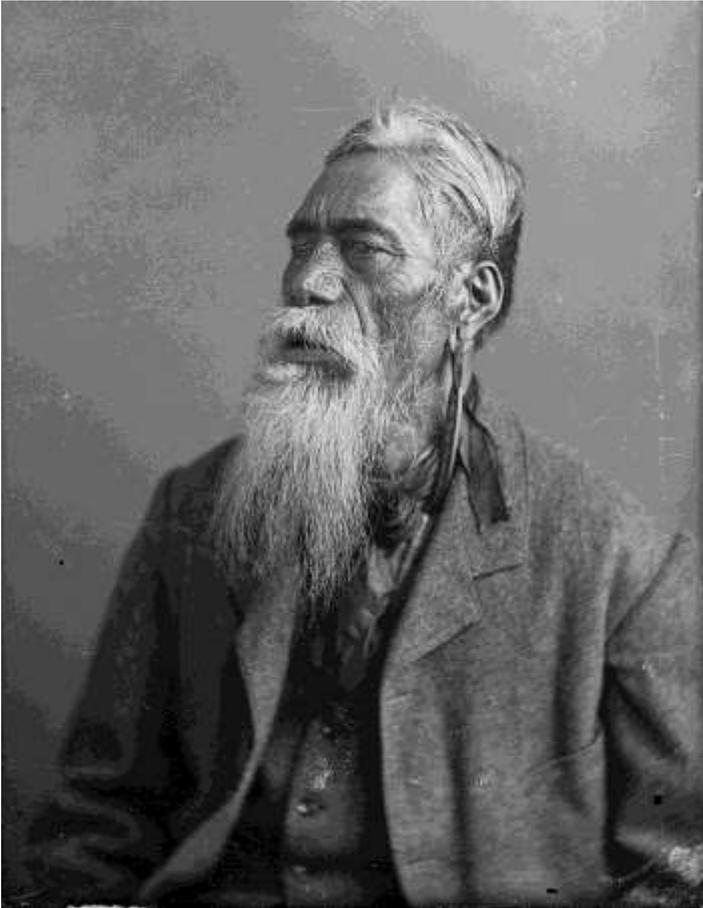
One difficulty with the collodion process, which, in the late 19th century, was a difficulty almost peculiar to New Zealand, is that the emulsion is not sensitive to all components of white light. It is very sensitive to blue but less so to other colours, with the result that the blue markings of tattoos show as pale and do not contrast well against the facial skin.¹



Collodion is very sensitive to blue, less so to green, violet and ultraviolet and quite insensitive to the warm end of the spectrum of visible light.²

Carnell wanted to photograph Māori to show their moko, but unless the moko had been deeply incised they were almost invisible on the collodion plates. We know from oil paintings of some of Carnell's subjects, notably those by Gottfried Lindauer, that these moko were strikingly vivid, yet in the photographs they have all but disappeared.

Carnell photographed Renata Kawepo without greasepaint and although the deeper-incised moko markings show on the print, it is only Lindauer's portrait (copied from the photograph, but the detail added at live sittings) that shows the true contrast and extent of Renata's moko.



Renata Kawepo, photographed by Samuel Carnell.
ATL No. 1/4-022223-G.



Renata Kawepo, oli on canvas by Gottfried Lindauer.

Carnell photographed Lindauer's painting of Tareha Te Maonanui and even here the blue moko on Lindauer's canvas is largely lost compared with a modern photograph of the painting.



Tareha Te Moananui, Lindauer's portrait photographed by Samuel Carnell.
ATL No. 1/1-019389-G.

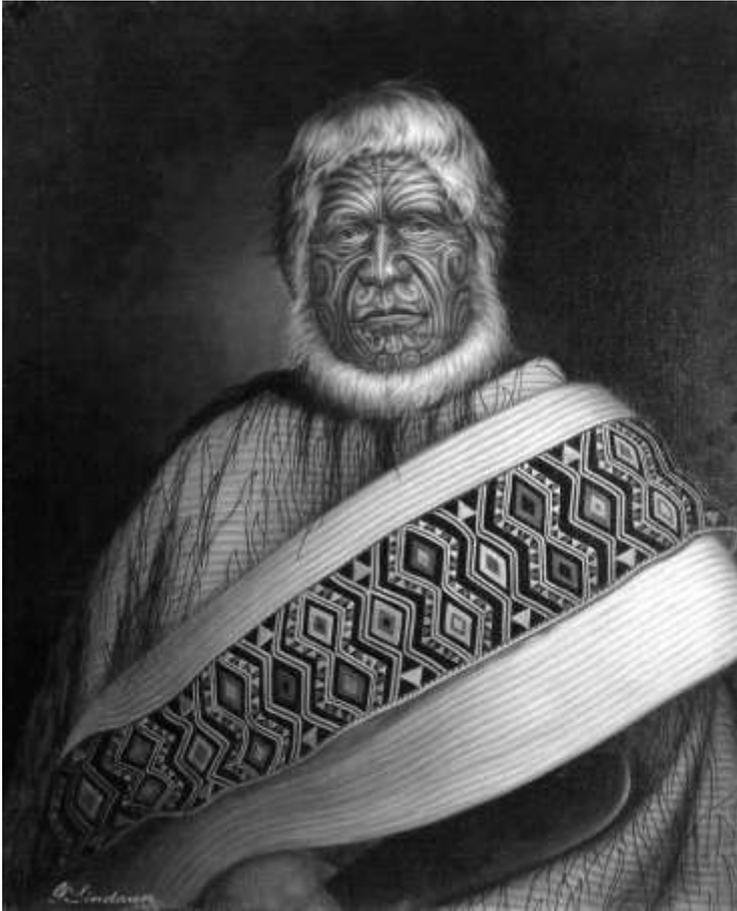


A modern photograph of Lindauer's painting of Tareha Te Moananui.

The loss of the moko is perhaps even more striking in Carnell's photograph compared with Lindauer's painting of Te Hapuku.



Te Hapuku, photograph by Samuel Carnell.
ATL No. 1/4-022221-G.



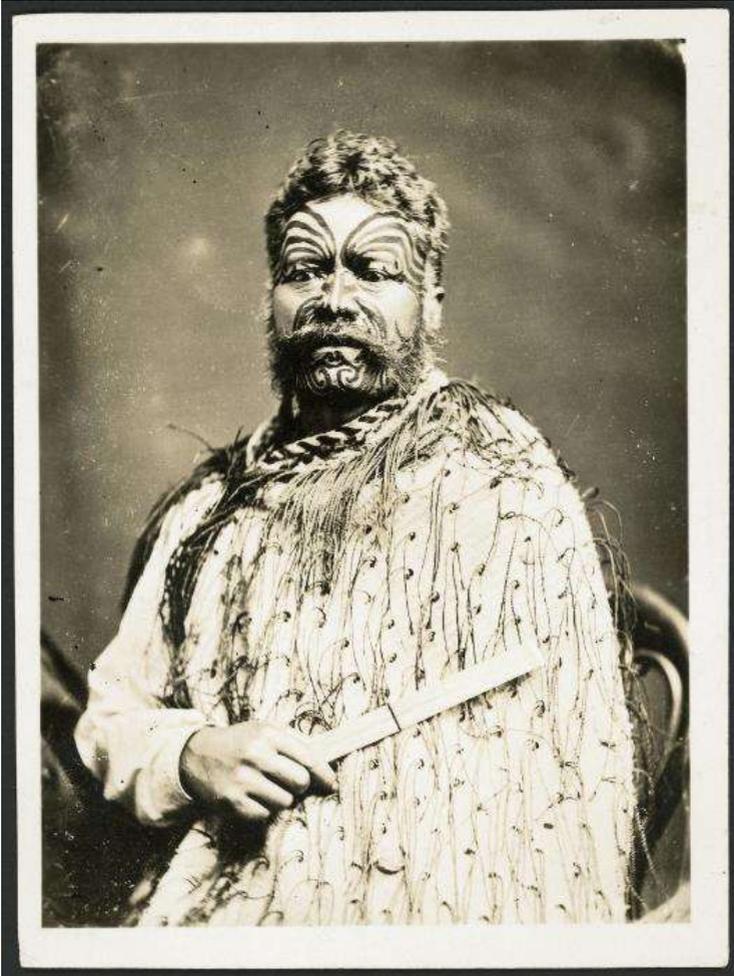
Te Hapuku, oil on canvas by Gottfried Lindauer.

To make up for this deficiency Carnell offered his subjects greasepaint, to be applied along the lines of the moko. The results were often bizarre and garish—most obviously so in his portrait of the sad and bewildered Kereopa Te Rau, prisoner in Napier jail, his eyes lifeless as he awaited trial for the murder of the missionary-spy Carl Volkner.



Kereopa Te Rau, detail of photograph by Samuel Carnell ATL No. 1/4-022022-G.

But even when the greasepaint was more carefully applied (did Carnell apply it? or did his subjects make themselves up?) the ribbons of pigment gave an effect that was exaggerated, too contrasty, flat, unsculpted, never as detailed nor as delicate as the original moko.



Hami Te Hauerangi, photograph by Samuel Carnell.
ATL No. PAColl-6181-26.

The collodion was insensitive to the warm end of the light spectrum, so reds and yellows were rendered as black: photographs of women in bright dresses made them appear to be in mourning, their red lipstick so dark it looks black.



Beti Karaitiana photograph by Samuel Carnell
ATL No. 1/4-022197-G

CHAPTER 5: A CITIZEN OF NAPIER

The Napier Artillery Volunteers unanimously elected Samuel Carnell as its Second Lieutenant at its meeting in March 1879³ and in that role “Under the distinguished patronage of His Worship the Mayor, Major Routledge, Captains Garner and Gibbons, Lieutenants Pell, Carnell, and Batham” appeared with the Artillery Band at the Theatre Royal on 14 April.⁴ In October he passed his examinations as a Sub Lieutenant in the Napier Artillery F Battery, in Company Drill and Gun Drill and was recommended for a Commission.⁵

In July he was nominated to the Napier Borough Council but withdrew a few days later.⁶ He was voted a committee member for the Liberal Association in September⁷ and again nominated for the Borough Council,⁸ but was unsuccessful in the election.⁹

He challenged Frederick Sutton, MHR for Napier, in a letter to the editor,

NOTICE.

DURING the recent elections numerous bets were made re erection of Port Ahuriri Bridge. The undersigned having confidence in the Grey Government as to the fulfilment of their promises, made certain bets for any amount of hats, amongst others a bet of two to one with Mr F. SUTTON, which he repudiates. As the bridge is now in good progress, I call upon Mr SUTTON to pay the cost of the hats to the Napier Hospital Fund, as owing to my winnings I have a sufficient number of hats to last me for some time. S. CARNELL.

Browning-street, January 12, 1880.¹⁰

Carnell was regularly in the news, arguing with Sutton at political meetings, taking part in rifle shooting, attending Volunteer parades in Clive Square. In May 1880 he claimed he “had been a Volunteer for 21 years”¹¹ suggesting either he had participated while in England—or that he had little concept of the passage of time.

In June he applied to the Colonial Secretary for a supply of naturalisation forms, explaining, “several aliens are desirous to become British subjects”¹² and the *Telegraph* let the aliens know,

We are informed that aliens residing in Hawke's Bay, and desiring letters of naturalization, can obtain forms of application from Mr S. Carnell.¹³

In July 1881 he wrote to the *Telegraph*,

A CONTRADICTION.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY TELEGRAPH.]

SIR,—Will you allow me through your columns to give a most emphatic denial to every statement contained in a local in yesterday's issue of the *Hawke's Bay Herald* referring to a meeting of Liberals, and also to the statement contained in an editorial note to a letter signed "Liberal" in this morning's issue of the same paper.—I am, &c, SAMUEL CARNELL.¹⁴

Napier, July 8, 1881.

The *Herald* had reported a meeting of Liberals at which Mr Sheehan was invited to stand as a Liberal for the Napier seat at the next election. Carnell contended that no such meeting had even taken place. An election was looming, Carnell was offering his help to men wanting to enrol and the rhetoric was deteriorating,

THE LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

[To the Editor of the Daily Telegraph.]

SIR,—If anything were wanted to show the depth of degradation to which the Liberal Association has fallen under the management of the half-dozen obscure individuals who claim to be the representatives of all that is honorable, all that is liberal, all that is noble in the human family, it would be the short and offensive effusion that appeared in last night's issue bearing the signature of "S. Carnell." I trust the person who appended that signature is not our respected fellow-townsmen Mr Samuel Carnell, for whom I bear very much respect.... Mr Carnell says that he is the "ex-treasurer" of that remarkably liberal body. I would ask who is the present treasurer? Does any one know outside the sanctum sanctorum of the Caledonian Hotel? And if there is a Treasurer, who elected him? It being deemed an impertinence for a true liberal—your correspondent says he is, and I believe him—to ask a plain question of the committee, I also may object to the vulgar sneer Mr Carnell indulges in about paid touts of the Conservatives. I may reply

that the Conservatives never have attempted “to stuff the rolls,” and that the party only holds together in order to save the colony from the effects of the secret cabals and hidden machinations of the “Liberals” who work in the dark because, may be, their deeds will not bear the light of day.—I am, &c,
A CONSERVATIVE.¹⁵

July 20, 1881.

“A True Liberal” added,

... why have not the adopted rules of the (Liberal) Association been adhered to? and why have a certain number of gentlemen arrogated to themselves the functions of perpetual office bearers? The solution, I think, is very simple. Mr MacDougall, Mr Carnell, and Members of the Committee, evidently believe that in themselves only is centred the great truths of Liberalism; that no other persons are capable of holding Liberal views but them, and that the cause would perish in this town but for their exertions. The principles of Liberalism only require dissemination among the people to ensure their adoption; secret meetings are only necessary when illiberalism is in the ascendant, or when the autocratic views of a few will not bear the light of criticism. I ask the Liberals of Napier not to be hoodwinked or led astray by special pleading or abstruse argument, but to consider seriously—(1.) Whether these gentlemen have loyally carried out the trust confided to them when they were elected to office; (2) have they any right to assume offices which they do not legally hold; and (3) are these the kind of leaders which we should follow? I say no, and the sooner the Liberals of Napier show that they have severed every connection with such autocrats the better it will be for the cause.—I am &c,
A TRUE LIBERAL.¹⁶

July 20, 1881

Carnell was secretary of the Napier Mutual Improvement Association, was a member of the Acclimatisation Society and continued as Sub-Lieutenant in the Rifle Volunteers until September 1882 when he resigned.¹⁷ He was a member of the Athenaeum and Philosophical Institute committees and was elected to the Napier School Committee

in January 1882:¹⁸ its members met fortnightly. In February 1882 he applied to the Colonial Secretary,

Sir, I have the honor respectfully to apply for your permission, in accordance with Section 18 of "The Gaming And Lotteries Act, 1881", a valuable large oil painting of a Maori chieftainess and child in native costume, painted by the well-known artist Gottfried Lindauer, and worth as a work of art, the sum of £60; at which price I propose, if you, Sir, should be pleased to grant me the necessary licence, to raffle the same. The proposed number of members is 60, at £1 each. That number of gentlemen and ladies have already expressed their desire to take chances in the raffle, and comprise, amongst them, several Justices of the Peace, members of the Local Governing bodies, and a large number of the principal run holders, Merchants, professional and other gentlemen residing in Hawke's Bay.

Trusting that, subject to such conditions and restrictions as you, Sir, may think it right to impose, you will be so good as to grant me a licence for that purpose.

*I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant
Samuel Carnell, Photographer.¹⁹*

He would run similar raffles later. Carnell was a keen marksman and each year was listed among those possessing a licence for game shooting; in July 1882,

Samuel Carnell was charged on the information of Constable Villers with having fired off a gun in the New Taradale-road on the 28th of June. Mr Lascelles appeared for defendant, who pleaded not guilty. John Dalton stated that he was driving a cart on the New Taradale-road on the day stated in the information, and, as he passed defendant, the latter fired a gun and startled witness's horses. J. Haplin, a roadman, stated that he heard a shot fired on the day referred to, but he was a good way off and did not see who fired it. Mr Lascelles admitted that defendant had fired a gun, but Dalton was a long way off at the time. Defendant was fined 1s, with 11s costs.²⁰

A real specimen of an Irish "bull" was let out in the Resident Magistrate's Court yesterday. A witness who spoke with a genuine brogue was giving evidence as to Mr Carnell firing off

a gun close to the Taradale-road. The gun was fired twice—the second time after the witness had passed with his horses. Mr Lascelles asked him whether he looked when the second shot was fired. “Na; Oi was busy luckin’ to me horses. “Then,” asked Mr Lascelles, “how do you know it was Mr Carnell who fired the shot?” The witness indignantly responded: “What ! ‘Ow did oi kna? D’ye think I was so *deaf* I couldn’t *see* him?” The Court roared.²¹

Carnell dressed as “Doctor Quack” for a fancy dress ball in aid of the Children’s Ward at Napier hospital.²² In October at the Institute he exhibited a fossil bivalve lined with crystals of calcium silicate²³ and at the Athenaeum a “magnificent oil painting by Herr Lindauer”.²⁴ He gave prizes for rifle shooting and school prowess and to the Poultry and Canary Association; he gave money to local charities.

Subscribers to the hospital had the right to vote for Hospital Committee members and in January 1882 Carnell stood for election and topped the poll.²⁵

He was outspoken at the Hospital Committee,

Considerable discussion ensued on that portion of the report referring to two trivial complaints by convalescent patients, Mr Carnell speaking strongly on the groundlessness of the complaints. He added that there was a good deal of insubordination on the part of convalescent patients. They took up the cry that the hospital was now a Government institution and therefore they were not under the control of the committee. One convalescent patient was asked to do something by the warden, and though it was pointed out to him that the rules required that convalescent patients should give assistance when required, he absolutely refused, his plea being that it was a Government institution and that the rules were nothing.... Another convalescent patient came down to town and carried drink back into the institution. He thought patients should not be allowed to come into town without permission.... Mr Carnell said that one patient took brandy into the hospital. It should not be allowed.... Mr Williams said that something would have to be done to suppress subordination, otherwise the committee would have to appeal to the Government to ascertain their

position. After some further discussion the secretary was directed to write to the surgeon-superintendent, requesting him to exercise more strict control over the inmates of the hospital.²⁶

In July 1883 the newly formed Napier Freethought Association handed Carnell a letter to deliver to the School Committee making formal application for the use of a class-room.

The letter was handed to Mr Carnell to deliver, but when it was read it was evident that the committee were not prepared to grant the request contained in it. Mr Carnell considered that to refuse that request, while allowing Bible lessons to be given by Mr Hovell and Mr Lewis, was inconsistent, and he therefore gave the notice of motion (to exclude ministers of religion from giving Bible instruction to the children after school hours)... as we have already indicated, we entirely differ from the view (Carnell) takes, and fail to see any parallel between that which was asked for by the Freethought Association and that which is accorded to Mr Hovell and Mr Lewis.²⁷

The issue was postponed to the next School Committee meeting, when Carnell explained that,

He did not come forward as an Agnostic, or an antagonist to Christianity; he objected on moral grounds to the Old Testament as a book full of obscenities, bloodthirstiness, and language calculated to corrupt. It was not a fit book to put into the hands of boys and girls. It might be said, and was said, that parts calculated to corrupt were not read. That was quite true, but when Bible lessons were given an inducement was held out to the children to read it, and if they did so they must meet with a great deal which could only do them moral injury. Some people said they were ready to agree that a few parts of the Bible could not be placed in the hands of boys and girls, but he contended that almost the whole of the Old Testament fairly bristled with obscenities. He had prepared a list of texts which were indecent. [Mr Carnell then read out a very long list, extending from Genesis to Jeremiah, and said he had not then completed it.] He held that they should try to bring up their children in a moral way, and if morality were to be taught the teachers and the books must be clean, and the teaching by

example at home must enforce the teaching from the books. It was argued that morals could be taught from the Bible; but let the honey be taken from the sacred writings of any country, and the same could be said of them. He went further, and said that the Bible did not teach morality. It told what God used to do, and then delegated such acts to the devil. He said again he would not object if the New Testament only were taken, nor if Christianity were taught, if those who taught it practically lived up to their teaching. But the Old Testament was immoral. The *Decameron* was considered too evil for it to be freely translated into English and published, but it was not so lewd and suggestive as the Songs of Solomon. He knew that a lot of mud had been thrown at him for his action in this matter; he could not help feeling that those who preached charity lacked it so much in spirit. He held very strong convictions, and those who decried him for expressing them would be the first to complain of persecution if they were prevented from expressing their convictions. He wanted nothing more than to train up the coming generation so that they should make good men and women and good citizens. But would putting the Bible in their way do this? Had not each member of the committee, when a boy, fished out all the “smut” in it? It was not a fit book to be placed in the hands of a child. Educated men like Mr Sidey told him the book had never been interpreted properly, and confessed their inability to understand or explain much of it; yet from it all horrible tortures had been inspired and justified. But in spite of such cruelties, a few able spirits upheld the right of freethought, and through their efforts the world had progressed. It was not through servile belief, but through rebellion, that progress was achieved. The Bible was not of use even as a history; Mr Colenso had shown them that the desert in which the Israelites were said to have wandered for forty years was about the same size as the tract of country between the Kidnappers and Cape Palliser. Yet huge maps pretending to show the Holy Land were often displayed on the walls of our school-room, to mislead the children; he was glad there was no such map in the Napier schools.²⁸

(After some manoeuvring) The Chairman felt that the motion was conceived in an illiberal spirit, and he could better

have understood it had it emanated from some narrow-minded ecclesiastic rather than from a Free-thinker, his own experience of the latter class being that they were men of very liberal views.... Mr Carnell combatted the chairman's remarks respecting the desire of to have the Bible read in schools, and, quoting from Hansard, said Mr Sutton in the House had pointed out that only 637 out of 17,000 European residents of Hawke's Bay had signed the Bible in Schools petitions....²⁹

Carnell's motion was lost. The Secretary was instructed to decline the use of a room for the meetings of the Free-thought Association.

On 31 December 1883 the whole family sailed for Melbourne in the s.s. *Wairarapa*.³⁰ In August 1884 Carnell became a committee member for the newly formed Napier Liberal Reform Association³¹ and later in the month was elected to a provisional directory for a new Napier newspaper to be called the *Hawke's Bay Evening Times*. In the event the monthly *Liberal Napier Evening News and Hawke's Bay Advertiser* was established in January 1885; Coupland Harding was its printer and in August 1886 Edward Alexander Haggan became its proprietor.³² It had a troubled career (the *Waipawa Mail* referred to it as the "Napier Freethought Journal and General Scurrility Company"), finally succumbing in 1897, when Coupland Harding wrote, "Very few people... will be sorry to see it disappear beneath the billows of the sea of oblivion".³³

In October a meeting was called to discuss the scarcity of pheasants. Some blamed hawks, others poison, others weka which ate the eggs—Carnell thought it was "half-sportsmen shooting hens". He asked how the Acclimatisation Society money was spent and was told "in procuring trout for stocking our rivers. In a few years there would no doubt be good fishing". Carnell: "Oh, yes; for the favoured few".

Carnell suggested the best way to conserve game would be to issue gun licences, but the chairman did not believe Parliament would ever pass such a law. Another man objected to the proposal and added that no town representative would dare to propose such a thing. "Mr Tanner laughingly replied that it was Mr Carnell's suggestion, and Mr Carnell might be regarded as representing the Radical element in politics."³⁴

In January 1885 he was voted off the School Committee³⁵ and in February,

By the last boat from Auckland Mr S. Carnell received a case containing twelve healthy specimens of the lizard tribe, each averaging over a foot in length. They have been procured to the order of Mr Lindauer, at a cost of £2 each delivered in Auckland, and are to be forwarded to Germany to enrich zoological collections in that country.³⁶

Carnell continued to bicker with Cohen at hospital committee meetings, the heat culminating, in August 1886, with,

The greater portion of the Hospital Committee meeting this afternoon was taken up by a discussion between Messrs Cohen and Carnell in connection with the respective amounts they had received for furnishing the Hospital. Mr Carnell stated that he had never received a penny for the pictures supplied through him. Mr Cohen said in reference to Mr Carnell's charge that of the goods he had supplied £13 were for blankets purchased through him from a wholesale house, and £27 worth in all had been supplied by him. Having the interest of the Hospital at heart he intended to retire until Mr Carnell was off the committee.³⁷

Cohen was persuaded to stay, though, and at the next meeting,

Mr Cohen: If the committee think I have no right to speak on the subject I am perfectly willing to cease, providing that I have the opportunity to say a few words later. My character has been assailed—my reputation has been assailed in a very unmanly way—

Mr Carnell (rising): I take exception to any member speaking. He is pointing to me....³⁸

At the Hospital Board meeting in November,

The Chairman stated that the daily average of patients attended last month was only 14, but it had risen this month to over 21. The expenses had consequently increased.

Mr Carnell thought that it was no doubt very pleasant for the doctor to know that his services were appreciated, but there

were a great many persons going to the hospital for advice and medicine who could well afford to pay for medical treatment. Persons who had property were going to the hospital as outpatients. It was a great shame that the institution should be so abused, and he would move that in future, in addition to the ordinary list of in-patients, a list containing the names of persons who received advice and medicine as outpatients should be laid on the table monthly. The Press could then have access to such a list, and abuses would be stopped. This action was not that any difficulty should be placed in the way of poor persons getting the benefits of the hospital, but to stamp out abuses. Consequently the names of such persons would not crop up at the Board meetings, but the names of persons who could pay for medical treatment, and would not do so, would be known.

Mr Swan seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.³⁹

In February 1887 Carnell stood for election to the Harbour Board and the conservative *Herald* predicted he would be returned, but suggested that, if he *were* defeated,

... he will owe it to his connection with the small but noisy party, who are so widely distrusted when they meddle in public affairs. Apparently, possessed by the idea that they have a "mission," and that the best way to prosecute it is to misrepresent opponents, and generally to be overbearing and insolent, any candidate for a public position who is known to be connected with them runs great risk of being ignominiously rejected by the ratepayers. Apart from that consideration Mr Carnell should stand a very good chance.⁴⁰

The *Telegraph* went further,

... Mr Carnell on the Hospital Board has not been a conspicuous success. The fault that we have had to find with Mr Carnell has been that he cannot disassociate his political leanings, his likes and dislikes, from his public duties. He is a thorough party man, and sticks to his principles through thick and thin. Now, we think the electors of Napier do not want to see politics, or political feeling introduced in the deliberations of the Harbor Board.... we should like to ask whether Mr

Carnell can be reckoned a supporter of Mr Ormond? We may be wrong, but we are under the impression that he is still in the ranks of the party who would go to infinite pains to bring about Mr Ormond's political humiliation.... We rather think that his political sympathies would carry him away to vote against Mr Ormond on every possible occasion. That, and that only, is our reason for not wishing to see Mr Carnell occupying a seat on the Board, and we think this same reason will influence a large number of the electors. As we said recently, the Board has important work before it in the improvement of its endowments. In the course of its deliberations differences of opinions are sure to arise, but they ought not to originate from a mere spirit of captious opposition, and from a blind desire to follow party. What is wanted is the thorough ventilation of various opinions, but a hearty unanimity of action in the execution of anything that may be determined upon. What is certainly not wanted is an unreasoning opposition to anything and everything that may be proposed by Mr Ormond, than whom no one is more desirous of securing for Napier a harbor worthy of the town and district.⁴¹

Carnell advertised in the *Herald* and *Telegraph*,

HARBOR BOARD ELECTION
TO THE RATEPAYERS OF THE BOROUGH OF
NAPIER.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— As you are aware, I am a Candidate for one of the vacant seats on the Harbor Board. If elected, I shall endeavor to discharge the duties pertaining to the office in a conscientious manner, guarding to the best of my ability the interests you have at stake.

Yours obediently, S. CARNELL.⁴²

He was defeated, polling fourth of the five candidates.⁴³ In April both he and his son William were defeated in an election for the School Committee⁴⁴ —but he had refused to stand and was “somewhat surprised” to find that he had been nominated.⁴⁵ In May the *Telegraph* announced with heavy irony that he was appointed to the Hawke's Bay Waste Lands Board...

... in the place of Mr Hagen, resigned. Mr Hagen's appointment was justified on the ground that he residing at Woodville was well acquainted with the bush settlements; Mr Carnell being a resident of Napier, scarcely ever leaving it, is probably appointed to the Board because he does not know anything of the country, and will therefore prove a valuable assistant to the new Commissioner of Crown Lands, who has yet to learn something of Hawke's Bay.⁴⁶

The *Herald* was a tad cynical too,

The monthly farce called "Land Board" was played yesterday. The Chief Commissioner, who does all the work there is to do, occupied the chair, and suggested how certain letters dealing with routine business should be replied to. There were present to hear the suggestions, and to graciously intimate their assent, Mr Charles Hall, J.P., &c, from Woodville, and Mr S. Carnell. The former, in addition to travelling from the bush at the expense of a country taxed up to the eyes, of course experienced that glow of proud satisfaction which follows the efforts of a patriot to serve his country. None of the business to be transacted was of any public importance, and when it was finished the two members of the Board present solemnly adjourned themselves, and the chairman went back to his interrupted work.⁴⁷

Perhaps Carnell took this to heart for his voice began to be heard at the meetings,

Mr. Carnell was of the opinion that some people just took up Crown lands for the purpose of speculation.... he thought it should be stamped out.... Mr. Carnell: A takes up a section, and has taken it up merely for speculative purposes. B is a man who desires to settle there and can't get the land. A has got it, then I say it is wrong for A to have it. Mr. Hall said of course it would be that the settlers would either have to reside there or do double the improvements. Mr. Carnell was of the opinion that the lot of the bush settlers was not a very happy one. Mr. Hall disagreed with the previous speaker. The lot of the bush settlers was a happy one. A great deal happier than Mr. Carnell's lot in town.⁴⁸

Mr. Carnell wanted to know why the matter (illegal bush felling) was to be referred back again to the Government? Were the members dummies, with no power at all? If the Government desired to wink at such an action he thought the Board should not do the same thing.⁴⁹

Mr. Carnell: Oh, then that isn't part of our business; the facts are not to be disclosed to the Board? The more he saw of the New Zealand Government the more he thought they should be under a Royal Commission.⁵⁰

There was some talk about a man who had been stealing totara timber at Tautane, and Mr Carnell suggested that probably the thief was a supporter of the Government, or he would have been prosecuted.⁵¹

Carnell chaired the jury at a Coroner's inquest and was appointed by the Governor to the Hawke's Bay Charitable Aid Board.⁵² In April 1890 he had obtained permission to raffle

*... two ancient Italian Violins by Carlo Bergonzi and Amati respectively. They are works of art and the only means I have of disposing of them is by the means of an art union....*⁵³

In March 1891 he was on the Napier Hospital Trustees committee and the Charitable Aid Board and was nominated by the Temperance Society for the Licensing Committee;⁵⁴ John Ballance's Liberal government came into power in January 1891 and appointed Carnell to the Napier Harbour board; the conservative *Herald* was aghast,

The appointment of Mr S. Carnell as a member of the Harbor Board is but another example of the utter disregard of the present Government to all decency when the opportunity occurs to give rewards in the shape of petty honors to prominent political supporters. To Mr Carnell, considered merely as Mr Carnell, we have no objection whatever. He may possibly make a useful member of the Board, though he has not hitherto, during a long residence in Napier, shown any special fitness for office in local governing bodies. But to Mr Carnell as a representative of the country settlers in place of Mr Harding there are serious objections. It is, moreover, morally wrong, if

not actually illegal.... Honorable men... believed that any Ministry in power would carry out the expressed wishes of the Councils despite any irregularity or informality in their proceeding. Those who believed thus have received a sharp lesson. They have learned that the present "Liberal" Ministry spells "honor" in a different way.... So far as our own views are concerned Mr Carnell may be expected to fall in with them, and had he been appointed one of the Government nominees on the Board we would not have had a word to say, though we might have thought his selection an odd one. But he is appointed as a country representative, and neither his interests nor sympathies are in accord with such a position. To pitchfork him into the Harbor Board instead of Mr Harding, in defiance of all rules of fair conduct, and despite the spirit of the Act under which the Board is constituted, is nothing but a piece of flagrant political jobbery.⁵⁵

During 1892 the Woodville Ladies Benevolent Society had applied, through the Charitable Aid Board, for state funding to match what its members had raised voluntarily. The Board received advice that it could not procure state subsidies for the Society and Carnell actively opposed the application on the grounds that it was illegal. The majority agreed with the Society, however,⁵⁶ and at the Annual Meeting of the Society its President, Mrs Burnett read an address that included,

It is a matter for congratulation that our claim upon the Government for subsidy upon the amount raised by the entertainment given last winter seems at last in a fair way to be recognised, the District Charitable Aid Board at Napier having agreed to apply to the Government for the subsidy upon the condition that we expend the amount received as subsidy under their supervision. For this satisfactory result we have to thank the untiring energy and persistence of our honorary secretary, Mrs Hall. Our thanks are also due to several of the Charitable Aid Board who championed our cause manfully and stuck to us through good and evil report, and in spite of the vicious hostility to our Society by Mr Carnell, who did not hesitate to impute the most improper and dishonest motives to the officers and members of our Society in applying for subsidy, to which I consider we are fully entitled.⁵⁷

Carnell was upset and tried to raise the issue at the next Board meeting; he thought "that the Board were interested when one of the members was singled out for attack and insulted in such a fashion merely for doing his duty on the Board". Chairman HP Cohen ruled him out of order "and after a little more informal talk the matter dropped".⁵⁸

Uncharacteristically, or perhaps opportunistically (for it was opposed to women's suffrage), the *Herald* defended Carnell against Mrs Burnett,

MALE OR FEMALE.

It will be seen from our report of the proceedings at the meeting of the Charitable Aid Board yesterday that Mr Carnell wished to bring a personal grievance before the Board, but was prevented by Mr Cohen. The latter was quite right in his ruling, for it is evident that if public bodies set themselves to discuss animadversions upon individual members their proceedings would have no end. Yet one cannot help sympathising with Mr Carnell. Altogether apart from whether he has not all along been in the right in opposing the Board procuring a subsidy for the Ladies' Benevolent Society of Woodville, nothing is plainer than that his opposition was consistent and honest. The fact that he has incurred so much odium without shrinking from the position he took up proves that he was not popularity hunting, but was according to his lights seeking to do what was right. Under those circumstances for the ladies of Woodville to publicly refer to his conduct as "vicious hostility" was a piece of bad temper finding its outlet in insolence. Indeed, the expression is so insulting that we do not believe females framed it. "Ladies" certainly never did. In our opinion the phrase is the composition of some mischief-making male who has hidden himself behind a few petticoats to fire off a shot at Mr Carnell. If it could be proved that females did perpetuate the insult, the fact would augur very badly for the success of woman suffrage as a working policy. The world has been asked by advocates of the rights of women to believe that politics would be purified by the cooperation of women, but if "lady" politicians are to be judged by the asserted utterances of some females at Woodville, it would appear that the only result of extending the franchise to them would be to make politics more personal than at

present. But as believers in the theory that women would as voters exercise a purifying influence upon politics, we decline to believe that women composed the insults which Mr Carnell desired to refer to at yesterday's meeting. This in our opinion is no case of *Cherchez la femme*, but an instance of some cowardly male using an unsuspecting woman as his mouthpiece in an attack upon an individual he dislikes.⁵⁹

Mrs Burnett would not be so easily silenced,

SIR, —My attention was drawn a day or two ago to the article in your issue of the 12th of April headed "Male or Female." Mr Carnell's chief complaint seems to be the use of the words "vicious hostility" in my reference to him in my speech at the annual meeting of the Woodville Ladies' Benevolent Society. In your article you characterise these words as "a piece of bad temper finding its outlet in insolence." I certainly consider that I was fully justified in speaking of Mr Carnell's hostility to our society as "vicious" by the way he attacked us and the very grave charges he made against us at the meeting of the Charitable Aid Board on February 14th, reported in your paper the next day. Both you and Mr Carnell have apparently quite forgotten that at that meeting Mr Carnell charged us with "attempting to defraud the Government" and also stated that "the attempt to get the subsidy really amounted to false pretences" and that "the same £27 would be used as a nest egg upon which to draw subsidies indefinitely," and "that the society would again put on the original £27 and ask for another subsidy." I think that when your readers are reminded of these very grave charges and imputations of absolute dishonesty on our part, they will admit that my description of Mr Carnell's attitude towards the society was fully justified. Had Mr Carnell confined himself to fair and honest argument in his opposition no reference would have been made to him at all, but when he heaped such grave charges upon people quite unknown to him he cannot expect those people not to resent his conduct. He appears to be sensitive for a man occupying a public position, and that being so he should be more careful in attacking other people. As to your own opinion that "the phrase is the composition of some mischief-making male" I can only say that I alone am responsible for

every word contained in my speech. I have no intention of troubling you any further, whatever anyone else may say upon the matter,—I am, &c, EDITH BURNETT,

President Woodville Benevolent Society. April 22nd, 1893.⁶⁰

It was a tactical error on Carnell's part. The *Woodville Examiner*, under EA Hagggen, was the most liberal of all the local newspapers and would, but for this, have probably been a friend when he needed one. As it was the *Examiner* came out strongly in support of Mrs Burnett.

People were taking notice of Carnell,

A report is current in Napier that Mr Samuel Carnell is to be appointed to the Upper House. Another canard we suppose.⁶¹

Indeed it was. In May 1892, though, he was made a Justice of the Peace⁶² and sat on the Bench for the first time on the 27th—when a first offender for drunkenness was brought before him and discharged with a caution.⁶³

A poor woman named Sarah Ann Pointon, who has on previous occasions betrayed symptoms of mania, was yesterday brought in from Taradale by Constable Leitch and formally charged before Messrs F. Sutton and S. Carnell, J.P.s, with being a lunatic not under proper control, The unfortunate creature was remanded for medical examination.⁶⁴

Messrs Blythe and Carnell, J.P.s, sat on the Bench at the R.M. Court this morning; John Woods, who was brought in from Taradale, was charged with drunkenness. He said it was his first offence, but the Sergeant suggested that a week's incarceration would do defendant good. Woods said he had taken very little, and whatever he had must have been very bad stuff. The Bench agreed, and discharged accused, subject to payment of expenses of bringing him into town.⁶⁵

Three young lads were brought up at the Resident Magistrate's Court yesterday, before Messrs S. Carnell and H. P. Cohen, Justices, charged with stealing cherries to the value of sixpence, the property of Ann Murphy. It appeared from the statements made that the boys entered complainant's garden in her

absence and stole the cherries from a tree. They were reprimanded and discharged.⁶⁶

His star was rising,

It is reported about town that a deputation waited upon Mr S. Carnell last week, and asked him to become a candidate for the position of Mayor of Napier. Mr Carnell's answer has not yet been given.⁶⁷

The News announces that Mr S Carnell will be the Liberal candidate for Napier at next election. Our contemporary considers his victory is certain.⁶⁸

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- 1 Dominico Zapata 2018. Wet-plate photography and the resurgence of tā moko . Stuff. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/106652213/wetplate-photography-and-the-resurgence-of-t-moko> accessed 25 September 2018.
 - 2 <http://www.bordinphotographic.it/spectral-sensitivity-of-collodion/> accessed 27 September 2018.
 - 3 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 19 March 1879.
 - 4 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 10 April 1879.
 - 5 Archives record no. M&V1879/1780.
 - 6 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 10 July 1879.
 - 7 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 1 September 1879.
 - 8 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 5 September 1879.
 - 9 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 13 September 1879.
 - 10 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 13 January 1880.
 - 11 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 21 May 1880.
 - 12 Archives record no. 1881/2373
 - 13 *Daily Telegraph* 21 July 1881.
 - 14 *Daily Telegraph* 8 July 1881.
 - 15 *Daily Telegraph* 20 July 1881.
 - 16 *Daily Telegraph* 20 July 1881.
 - 17 *Daily Telegraph* 14 September 1882.
 - 18 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 24 January 1882.
 - 19 Archives C320 579 IA1 469 (7) 1882/849.
 - 20 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 11 July 1882.
 - 21 *ibid.*
 - 22 *Daily Telegraph* 7 October 1882.
 - 23 *Daily Telegraph* 10 October 1882.
 - 24 *Daily Telegraph* 16 November 1882.
 - 25 *Daily Telegraph* 10 January 1883.
 - 26 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 4 August 1883.

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- 27 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 4 August 1883.
28 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 15 August 1883.
29 *Daily Telegraph* 15 August 1883.
30 *Daily Telegraph* 31 December 1883.
31 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 9 August 1884.
32 Haggen sold again early in 1886. See Laraine Knight (above). Several papers reported he was the editor, but he denied "any foundation to the rumour".
33 Harding RC. *Typo* 27 February 1897.
34 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 24 October 1884.
35 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 27 January 1885.
36 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 24 February 1885.
37 *Daily Telegraph* 16 August 1886.
38 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 17 August 1886.
39 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 18 November 1886.
40 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 11 February 1887.
41 *Daily Telegraph* 12 February 1887.
42 *Daily Telegraph* 12 February 1887.
43 *Daily Telegraph* 15 February 1887.
44 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 26 April 1887.
45 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 27 April 1887.
46 *Daily Telegraph* 16 May 1887; George Watkyn Williams was appointed Chief Surveyor and Commissioner for Crown Lands for Hawke's Bay in May 1887; his only connection with Hawke's Bay is that he had worked with the 18th Royal Irish in Taranaki, where he probably met WI Spencer who had just resigned as Napier's third mayor.
47 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 September 1888.
48 *Daily Telegraph* 19 December 1888.
49 *Daily Telegraph* 20 February 1889.
50 *ibid.*
51 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 18 April 1889.
52 *Bush Advocate* 16 January 1890.
53 Archives IA1 583.
54 *Daily Telegraph* 24 March 1891.
55 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 25 April 1891.
56 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 24 November 1892.
57 *Woodville Examiner* 24 March 1893.
58 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 12 April 1893.
59 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 12 April 1893.
60 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 24 April 1893.
61 *Bush Advocate* 27 October 1891.
62 *Daily Telegraph* 7 May 1892.
63 *Daily Telegraph* 27 May 1892.
64 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 11 August 1892.
65 *Daily Telegraph* 31 October 1892.
66 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 17 December 1892.
67 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 15 November 1892.
68 *Bush Advocate* 19 November 1892.
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CHAPTER 6: THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1893

By early 1893 the *Telegraph* could advise its readers,

Report says that Mr S. Carnell has been selected by the sagacious majority of the Knights of Labor to contest the seat with Mr Swan. Mr Carnell is said to be a Liberal of the most approved pattern, but until he has been heard from the public platform on the political questions of the day, we must withhold our judgment. Our experience of a considerable section of Napier electors is that a candidate who first screams out "I'm a Liberal," gets their votes, and they don't take the trouble to find out anything more about him. In that way an out-and-out stranger—Joe Ives—a man who just came to see whether he could make a living here or not, was put up to oppose one of our oldest settlers, whose interests and family were centred here, and whose fortunes were bound up with the prosperity of the town and district. Joe Ives was off like a red-shank as soon as ever he could get away after the election, but because he could bellow out that he was a Liberal, the section of electors of whom we speak followed him as bees follow a tingled frying-pan. If it gets into their heads that Mr Carnell is a Liberal they will do the same by him, no doubt, and he need not open his mouth from his nomination to the polling-day. But we need not say that Mr Carnell will not be the member for Napier. He will be more badly beaten than ever Joe Ives or Mr Gannon was. Both of those candidates were confident of victory, and yet they failed, as Mr Carnell will fail for the all sufficient reason that the party to which he professedly belongs does not comprise a majority of the people in the district. It may therefore be taken for granted that Mr Swan will be re-elected.¹

And within a week,

We believe that though the Knights of Labor favor Mr Carnell as the "Liberal" candidate for the Napier seat, the local Liberal Association does not, and intend securing someone else on whom to waste their votes. In that event Mr Carnell will probably retire.²

Premier John Ballance had died and Richard John Seddon come to power; he spoke at Napier's Gaiety Theatre in May ("among those present were a number of ladies") and Carnell proposed,

That this meeting thanks the Hon. R. J. Seddon for his address, congratulates him upon his accession to the high office of Premier of this colony, and expresses its entire confidence in the policy of the Ministry of which he is the head.³

On 1 July 1893 Samuel Carnell announced that he would stand for the Napier seat at the November election, an election at which women would vote for the first time in New Zealand. The women's vote was likely to support temperance ideas and in July he wooed them by attending a meeting of the Hawke's Bay Temperance League, which that evening changed its name to the Prohibition League.⁴

There was uncertainty as to who would represent the Liberals, but in October Carnell made his formal announcement,

TO THE ELECTORS OF NAPIER.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to inform you that I shall be a Candidate for the above Seat at the next Election. I shall take an early opportunity of addressing you on the leading Social and Political Questions of the day.

S. CARNELL.

5

His opponents were Frederick Sutton who had been MHR for Napier 1877-1881 and for Hawke's Bay 1881-1884 and George Henry Swan, wealthy brewer, Mayor of Napier since 1885 and MHR for Napier since 1890—the man from whom Carnell had bought his studio in 1869.



Frederick Rayner's sketch of Frederick Sutton, 1894



Frederick Rayner's sketch of George Henry Swan, 1894

The *Herald* thought Carnell hadn't a hope,

THE NAPIER SEAT.

MR SWAN has definitely announced that he will contest the Napier seat again. He has deserved well of his fellow-townsmen, for he has initiated or been to the front in every progressive step during the last fifteen years, and we have no doubt that he will be returned by a substantial majority. He has for his opponent Mr Carnell. We congratulate the Radical party on having at last got a local resident as a candidate, and perhaps they could not have made a better selection from their ranks. Mr Carnell is sympathetic and energetic but his curiously suspicious and rashly impulsive nature is not the best qualification for public life. However, he is in many points a marked improvement on the outsiders his party have supported at the last two elections, and though we shall do our best to prevent him ever going to Parliament as the representative of the Napier electorate, at the outset of the contest we shake hands with him and congratulate him on his pluck in coming forward against such a well tried veteran as Mr Swan. The fight will be between them, Mr F. Sutton has also announced his intention to stand, but though he may prove a disturbing element in the election we cannot regard his candidature in a serious light. Mr Sutton's day is past. We do not wish to say anything unkind of him, and will only remark that, had he acted differently when misfortune overtook him some years ago, he might have come forward with some chance of success. As it is, he will find among his strongest opponents those who were once his most active supporters. He may possibly poll a sufficient number of votes to save his deposit, but if he persists in his candidature he will most certainly be at the bottom of the poll. If he is wise he will not risk humiliation, but will retire gracefully at the outset.⁶

Carnell was controversial: even those (purporting to be) from his own party were suspicious,

MR CARNELL'S CANDIDATURE.

SIR,—.... It is not true that “the candidature of Mr Carnell has been accepted by the whole party,” and it is not true that “the

party are loyally supporting him." Mr Carnell came forward wholly unsolicitedly, and it is a fact that there are several who are far more suited for the post, and would have been much more acceptable to the great body of Liberals, who were prevented offering their services solely from the fear of splitting the votes, but who still deprecate the idea of his being in anywise a representative of the party. Nor can it be wondered at. Fancy a House composed of Carnells! There are many of the most influential amongst the Liberals who say that they will not vote at all, and one of the leaders of the party, and a thorough good man, has more than once expressed his hope that "Swan may get in."—I am, &c.,

ELECTOR. November 1, 1893.⁷

Carnell advertised his candidacy in the *Herald*,

MR CARNELLS ELECTION.

TO THE ELECTORS OF NAPIER.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In response to the request of the Democratic Party of Napier I beg to offer myself as a Candidate for the Napier Seat at the coming Election. As the issues must be clear and well defined, I now declare that I am a staunch supporter of the present Liberal Government, and that I will, if you honor me by returning me, do my best to advance your interests, as well as those of the people of the Colony as a whole. Reforms of an urgent nature are still required, and I shall be found supporting these with all my strength.

I shall address you shortly on the great questions of the hour, and I now ask you not to pledge your votes until you know my views.

I have the honor to be,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
SAMUEL CARNELL.⁸

Swan also advertised his candidacy in the same issue of the *Herald*,

TO THE ELECTORS OF NAPIER.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

At the urgent request of my friends and supporters, both in Town and Country, I have decided to again Contest the Napier

Seat at the forthcoming General Election.

I will take an early opportunity of addressing you on Political Matters generally.

Trusting to be favoured with a continuance of that confidence and support which you have accorded me during the last 20 years of Public Life,—

I have the honor to remain,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

G. H. SWAN.⁹

At least one “lady” took exception to Swan’s misogyny and his brewery,

Mr Swan’s Candidature

SIR,—It was with some surprise that I read the announcement of Mr Swan’s candidature a day or two ago, headed “Ladies and gentlemen.”—Why, Sir, does Mr Swan trouble himself to address ladies at all? Has he already forgotten that a few weeks ago he presented a petition to the Governor asking him to refuse his assent to woman’s franchise? Does he really imagine that the women of Napier intend to make themselves ridiculous on their very first appearance, so to speak, by returning a man who has been fighting tooth and nail to deprive them of their privileges? As for our gallant member’s reason for the very ungallant course he thought fit to pursue, they are very obvious. Either he honestly thinks women too ignorant and uneducated to be allowed to meddle with politics, or else he fears (and with good reason) that their vote will be detrimental to his particular trade. Most sensible women would, I fancy, be in favour of the direct veto, a measure which Mr Swan will certainly not support. I have always considered myself a Conservative, but nothing shall induce me to vote for a man who dreads the influence of women from such purely selfish and interested motives. In any case, I think that Mr Swan need not count on much support from the women of Napier.—I am, &c,

A WOMAN VOTER

Napier, October 28th, 1893.¹⁰

Carnell’s opponents gleefully testified,

For the information of the women voters, a correspondent says that at the conclusion of Mr Carnell's meeting at Taradale last night, an adjournment for liquid refreshments was made. As Mr Swan has been "reproved" by Mr Carnell's supporters for being guilty of an alleged similar proceeding, the women should note that it was not at all a bad ending of a prohibition candidate's meeting.¹¹

Mr Carnell is in favour of the abolition of the totalizator. The chairman of his town committee is one of the principal totalisator proprietors in New Zealand!¹²

Napier's Gaiety Theatre was the venue for the candidates to address the electors. Sutton's address was reported in the *Herald* of 2 November and the *Telegraph* commented,

The reception Mr Sutton got on Saturday night at the Gaiety Theatre must have clearly shown him that his candidature for the Napier seat is not very favorably viewed by the electors. They regard it as an intrusion, and perhaps rightly so, seeing that the contest is being made a strong party one. Handicapped as he was by encountering wet weather, preventing a full attendance, Mr Sutton's speech was painful to listen to, and by the time he had finished he had dismally failed to impress his audience of the necessity of his candidature. If Mr Sutton is wise, he will take good counsel, and so save his £10 deposit.¹³

After his second meeting ("the most noisy ever held in Napier"), the *Herald* remarked,

... It ought to be patent to him that the only course consistent with what dignity is still possible is to at once retire. His candidature, so far as getting any reasonable support at the polling booths is concerned, is absolutely ridiculous.... (The contest) lies between Mr Swan and Mr Carnell, and although possibly a few votes may be taken from Mr Swan if Mr Sutton persists in his utterly hopeless and undignified attempt at a candidature, the result will not be affected in any appreciable degree.¹⁴

Carnell's first Gaiety Theatre performance was reported in the *Herald* on 18 November and fiercely criticised two days later (see Chapter 1).

Swan's address to the Napier electors at the Theatre Royal was reported in the *Herald* of 21 November. Sutton withdrew his candidacy on 27 November, too late to recoup his deposit.

The once liberal, now conservative *Telegraph* preached muddle-headedly to its readers, probably inducing the opposite response from that intended,

THE NAPIER SEAT.

THE three candidates for the Napier seat have now addressed the electors, and set forth their respective views on matters political. They are none of them orators, but there can be no doubt that of the three Mr Sutton is at once the best speaker and the ablest politician. Few men in the colony, indeed, have a clearer understanding or firmer grasp of political questions, but he has put himself in a hopelessly false position. He has gone over to the Government, but stands against the Government candidate, and, more than this, while he professes to support the Seddon policy he still speaks, as if from habit, the old language of moderation and good sense. His address on Saturday evening last was really an excellent one, but his audience must have felt that it was more in harmony with the opinions of the Opposition than with those of the Ministerial party. Mr Sutton has thus ruined his chance of election. Ministers, by their adoption of Mr Carnell's candidature, practically disown him, and he can expect no support from the party which he has deserted. It is strange how often a man's judgment bears no proportion to his abilities. The least reflection ought to have shown Mr Sutton that it would be labor in vain to fight an election under the circumstances we have just stated. It is true that he was in the field before Mr Swan announced himself, but if Mr Sutton's good genius did not whisper him to retire as soon as the latter came out it must have sadly failed in its duty. Mr Sutton, indeed, should have known without a monitor that there was no possible chance of his going in for Napier on an independent ticket, and we can assure him that we have no byend whatever to serve when we say that we are quite sure his wisest course would be to withdraw even at the eleventh hour. The contest clearly lies between Mr Swan

and Mr Carnell. Of these two the electors can have no difficulty in deciding which is the fitter man to represent Napier in Parliament. Mr Swan has no more claim than the Ministerial candidate to anything like brilliant or original statesmanship. He is simply a plain man, with good common sense, and a total freedom from the fads which ferment so unwholesomely in weak fanatical minds. He is essentially a safe politician, and that is of no little importance in these days of rash experiments, when it seems to be the aim of our advanced reformers to turn things topsy-turvy with a reckless disregard of consequences. It is one thing to make steady progress along the predetermined road, and quite another thing to rush head-long over a precipice. Mr Swan has already served the Napier electors faithfully in Parliament, and so far as we can see nothing has arisen to diminish his claim to their confidence. A good deal has been made of the fact that he opposed the female franchise. But we do not for a moment suppose that any woman in Napier believes that his opposition was prompted by unworthy motives. We ourselves claim to have as high a regard, as deep a reverence, for woman as any of Mr Carnell's supporters, and we are not ashamed to say that we also opposed the female franchise. We did so for two reasons—first, because we were in doubt, as we still are, as to whether it was desirable for their own sakes that women should be turned into politicians, and, secondly, because we thought the measure premature even if it were desirable. As we have no doubt that Mr Swan's opposition sprang from much the same causes (indeed he expressly said it had done so), we have just as little doubt that no reasonable woman will refuse him her vote on that account. Then it is objected to Mr Swan that he is a brewer, and we frankly confess we should have preferred that the candidate whom we supported had been in no way connected with the liquor traffic. But there is no reason why a brewer should not be an honest man, or make a good representative, nor must it be forgotten that it was at the urgent request of the Napier electors and against his own inclinations that Mr Swan agreed to contest the election. The fact that he was yesterday elected Mayor without opposition for the ninth time—a record which probably no other man in the colony could match—shows the high esteem in

which he is held by his fellow townsmen, and though he cannot boast that he has burst up all the large estates within a hundred miles of Napier, or reduced the "money bags" to the proper ultraRadical dimensions, we shall say for him that he worked faithfully in the interests of his constituents, and, in the absence of the ideal candidate, again deserves their hearty support. We may remark by the way that although Mr Swan happens to be a brewer, the political party to which he belongs has much stronger sympathies than the Seddon Government with the temperance reformers. Why, it is not long since the Premier himself kept a public house, and he is understood to be still interested in the liquor trade. One thing, at least, is absolutely certain, that he would have introduced no Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Bill had it not been to cut the ground from under the feet of Sir Robert Stout and the total abstainers. It was the Atkinson Government that first introduced the principle of local option in our licensing laws, and we repeat that the temperance reformers have infinitely more to hope for in the way of sincere and hearty support from the party to which Mr Swan belongs than they have from the present Government. Of Mr Carnell, the other candidate, we have no wish to say a single unkind word. We admire the energy he has shown in pushing himself forward, and we should never dream of ridiculing his ambition to represent the town in which he has made his modest reputation in Parliament. We will go further, and say that we sincerely sympathise with some of his opinions and approve of some of the objects which he has at heart; and we have no doubt that when he gets more experience he will abandon his cruder views and come to recognise that violence in thought is only less injudicious and only less calculated to advance a good cause than violence in action. His style of thinking on political subjects is still too much in the beggar-my-neighbor strain. He seems to imagine that the only way to reform the world is to pull down everybody and everything above himself, and what he says is consequently more in the nature of a hysterical scream than of calm and rational argument. Out of this hobbledehoy stage of the ardent reformer Mr Carnell will emerge as his views expand, and he will probably come to see that the indefinite subdivision of the land

is not an infallible panacea for a nation's ills. The average English day artisan, to say nothing of the more highly paid artisan, would consider the condition of the average French peasant worse than purgatory; and French statesmen and publicists, alarmed at the fact that the nation can barely keep up its population—a fact shockingly significant as well from the moral as from the economical point of view—are seriously discussing the expediency of a radical (not a Radical) change in the land laws. Mr Carnell, at all events, would surely not reduce the settlers of New Zealand to the condition of a peasantry who cannot afford the luxury of children. This candidate is anything but satisfactory on the temperance question, and, to do him justice, he does not attempt to conceal the awkward fix in which he has placed himself. He said he would vote for the direct veto “as straight as he could,” and when questioned on the subject said more explicitly that he would not vote for it if it was made a party question. In that case he would support the present law. If the total abstainers imagine that they have a champion in a man who is bound hand and foot to a Government whose support of temperance, now that Mr I is dead and gone, is pure hypocrisy, they will find themselves mightily mistaken. In regard to Mr Carnell's religious or irreligious opinions, which he has been at no pains to conceal, we shall only say that he cannot reasonably complain if people whose most sacred feelings he has wantonly outraged decline to think him a fit and proper person to represent them in Parliament. But compared with Mr Swan simply as a public man, he has not the shadow of a claim to the suffrages of the electors. There is nobody within the boundaries who has done so much to further the interests of the town as our late member, and we have no doubt that his election yesterday to his ninth term of office as Mayor is a sure augury of his success at the polling booths on Tuesday next.¹⁵

A correspondent objected to Carnell's lack of religion,

SIR,—I note in reading the report of Mr Carnell's meeting that Mr Carnell is reported to have said that it was a fact that his opponents had called him an Atheist, but he was not one and never had been one. Surely Mr Carnell is so much taken up now with electioneering matters that he must have forgotten

what his past life has been in this town—that is, so far as matters pertaining to religion are concerned. Possibly Mr Carnell now finds it convenient to be like his friend, Mr Donald Fraser, another example of rapid conversion, or else he has deliberately posed for years past in a different role. Not only your humble servant, who has known Mr Carnell for twenty years, and not only the Napier inhabitants, but all Hawke's Bay residents of any term of residence here, know that it has been his sole pleasure and delight to cause religious argument and discussion with anyone and everyone, including our leading representatives of the different places of worship. I can state, and with much regret knowing that so many can support me in what I write, that Mr Cornell has for many years past ridiculed the Scriptures, notably the Creation and the nativity of Christ as a Redeemer. Many of us have put down Mr Carnell's views to fanatical notions, and have thus put up with what, only within the last few years, would have been severely punished as sedition and blasphemy. In conclusion, if Mr Carnell would really like to represent the Napier constituency as a member of Parliament, I would suggest to him the advisability of learning as well as he did his speech on Friday night the little proverb that "A leopard cannot change his spots."—I am, &c.,

SPIRITUALIST.¹⁶

Another correspondent, "Verax", wrote along the same lines, but Carnell had a supporter who quoted "Holy Willie's Prayer",

SIR,—I think your correspondent "Verax" misunderstood Mr Carnell's remarks about the Deity. Mr Carnell, I am sure, did not deny the existence of the Creator, but only of his being erroneously believed in by certain sects who, as described by Burns,

Sends ane to heaven an' ten to hell,
A' for Thy glory,
And no for ony gude or ill
They've done afore Thee!

The old belief in a Supreme Being who sends unbaptised infants to eternal torment, and decrees the same fate to men and women of good character, merely because they cannot

believe in certain dogmas, is practically extinct among all thinking people at the present time.—I am, &c, LIGHT.¹⁷

On 22 November the Women's League held a meeting at the Theatre Royal "in order that the ladies might hear something of political subjects from what was known as the Conservative point of view. Another meeting would beheld, at which speakers on the other side of politics could address them. The object was that the women might get an understanding of these questions, so that they might exercise their votes wisely. The League had decided not to support any particular candidate but desired to hear both sides". Suffragist Emily Hill was in the chair.¹⁸

The second meeting arranged by the Woman's League to hear the Liberal point of view was not reported by either paper, though a disgusted correspondent wrote,

Mr Carnell's Women's League.

SIR,—Last night I was present at the meeting of Mr Carnell's Women's League, and after hearing Miss Browning's remarks upon the sincerity of the league and its desire not to associate itself with any political party, or candidate, I should like to know how she can reconcile such statements with the fact that, as each person entered the meeting, she was presented with several circulars addressed to the women of Napier and soliciting their vote for Mr Carnell. Miss Browning, I ask you, are you consistent when you make such remarks in seconding a motion in which we women were told by another member of your league to vote for the right man? Was any vote solicited for other candidates at your meeting on Tuesday? No, only your president was allowed to express her views, and she explained clearly whom she will support at the coming election. Verily, the Napier Women's League is a tool to assist Mr Carnell to obtain the votes of the women of Napier,—I am, &c.,

A DISGUSTED ONE.¹⁹

Katherine Browning was a teacher at the Girls' School. She was caricatured by Fred Rayner a year later in 1894.



Political activist Katherine Browning in Fred Rayner's 1894 caricature.

The sketch and text imply that girls who seek a higher education could end up like the “unfeminine” woman depicted: a teacher of science and statistics and a political activist. The message is that such activities, associated with masculine enterprise were unbecoming to a woman.... here is a woman, independent of man, full of herself and her own knowledge complete with loud voice and laugh, male stride, overweight and in masculine costume.... The image and text make clear that “Advanced Females” such as these are undesirable and fair-game for public parody.²⁰

Thrust and parry continued until, on the eve of the election, the *Telegraph* “summed up”,

THE excitement of the last few weeks will happily be ended tomorrow. This district has always returned to Parliament men of ability, intelligence, and integrity, who have taken a prominent part in the administration of public affairs. As far as Napier is concerned the question now is—Are we to take a retrograde step in our Parliamentary representation by electing Mr Carnell, who has not one single qualification to recommend him for public recognition, or are we going to show our appreciation of a man who has devoted a great portion of his lifetime towards the improvement and advancement of this town? Let the electors set aside the scandalous abuse that has been heaped upon Mr Swan, and consider the comparative merits of the two candidates (Mr Sutton having wisely retired). In Mr Carnell they have a man imbued with the strongest Socialistic tendencies, whose immediate aim seems to be to burst up everything and set class against class. Mr Carnell is totally unfitted for the responsible duties of a Parliamentary representative. In the few public offices he has held—into which he has been thrust by the Government, irrespective of qualifications—he has done nothing but created discord by his excitable temperament. Such a candidate would only prove an obstacle in the way of any useful legislation that may be introduced; and we need not say that there is always a superabundance of men of that stamp in the House. Mr Carnell is, besides, thoroughly insincere on the temperance question. The total abstainers may well be dissatisfied with the attitude he

has assumed. As a matter of fact he doesn't know his own mind on this question, and a man who is so uncertain in his opinions does not deserve the confidence of the people. He has distinctly stated that he would make the cause of temperance, as advocated by the Prohibitionists, give way to the interests of the Government. On the other hand, Mr Swan has told the electors without the slightest hesitation that he will vote for the direct veto, and they may depend that he will do so. We do not think the temperance party can have much difficulty in deciding which of the two candidates they will trust. Ever since the contest began the electors have been asked by his opponents to believe Mr Swan capable of everything that is vile and corrupt. He has been represented as the enemy of the people, when the simple fact is that nobody connected with Napier has ever done so much, or anything like so much, to further the interests of the town. Mr Swan certainly cannot be classed with those men—many of them flaming “Liberals”—who grind the faces of the poor. As far as public services are concerned, there is no comparison at all between the two candidates. In his present candidature he is sacrificing his private interests to those of the public—and we need not say that he is also in other respects much more fit to represent the Napier constituency than his opponent. Nor have we the least doubt that a large majority of the electors will say so to-morrow.²¹

The *Herald*, on the morning of voting day, had this advice,

We regret) to hear that) a great many electors on the Napier roll, the great majority of them ladies, have expressed their intention to refrain from voting to-day. The reason they give is that they are not in entire accord with either candidate. If they wait until they get a candidate who can see eye to eye with them on every question they are not likely to register a vote in their lives. Politics must to some extent be a matter of compromise, and electors must choose those candidates whose views approximate most closely to their own.... A great many people cannot bring themselves to believe that any very considerable section of the electors will choose Mr Carnell as against Mr Swan. That might be the case if Mr Carnell simply stood as Mr Carnell. But he stands as the chosen representative of the

Seddon party, and he has at his back a strong and united party organisation.... We have not the slightest fear of the result if there is a full poll. But we frankly warn those who are apathetic through over-confidence that if they abstain from voting it is quite possible Mr Carnell may snatch a victory.²²

Indeed he did snatch a very convincing victory on polling day, with 2115 votes to Swan's 1594; 3709 of 4270 eligible people in the Napier electorate voted, a remarkable 87 percent turnout. The *Telegraph* was stunned,

The election fight has ended in what would have been called a crowning mercy in the old pious days. Our Seddonite friends are perhaps more apt to ascribe the glory to themselves than to heaven, but nobody can deny that they have won a "glorious victory." They are victorious nearly all along the line: the Opposition are simply annihilated.... So far as we remember, there was never such a rout before in a British community. If there is any remnant of superstition in Mr Seddon, he will tremble at the greatness of his triumph. It is to test their quality that the gods bestow such "crowning mercies" on mortal men. But in all sober seriousness the honourable gentleman can scarcely help feeling embarrassed by his victory. What will he do with the dictatorship with which the country has (at least, seems to have) invested him? Will he exterminate the social pests, nationalise the land, ostracise the Tories, take from the rich and give to the poor—in a word, introduce the millennium right off, and end by proclaiming himself King Richard? There is no saying what a masterful man like the Premier—a man, too, as much above truth and fact as he is above his h's—might not do. Happily there is a limit to human power, however limitless human ambition may sometimes be. Mr Seddon may find after a little calm reflection that his victory is not so great as it seems. The Opposition are indeed practically defunct, but even out of their ashes, so to speak, trouble may arise to the conqueror. In our system of government two parties are indispensable. If one happens, as in the present case, to be swept aside, the blank which it leaves is soon filled, and we have no doubt that the Premier already sees a phantom Opposition gradually assuming flesh and blood and threatening his reign. The remnant of Mr

Rolleston's force will soon rally; it will be the nucleus of the new Opposition. Nor is it difficult to say whence it will be recruited. Ministers are not fools enough to believe that their large majority were one and all returned purely and solely in their interest. We will not say that but for the women's vote the result of the elections would have shown the reaction which we frankly confess we expected, but we have no hesitation in saying that but for the women's vote the Government majority would not have been nearly so large. It is, in fact, impossible to tell what the actual result means; but the conjecture may be hazarded that it does not mean unlimited power to the Ministry. A large proportion of the newly returned members who are numbered among the Ministerialists certainly owe their election to the temperance party, and unless Mr Seddon is prepared to sacrifice his Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Bill and accept the Alliance programme, he will at once find himself in difficulties.... A strong vigilant Opposition is necessary to good government, and we have no doubt that such an Opposition will soon be formed to take the place of that which the political women have practically annihilated. We confess we see no great reason on the whole to regret the "boil over" of yesterday. We have frequently referred to the fact that there were no clear political issues before the country. Such a state of matters is not altogether satisfactory, and it may be that yesterday's voting will inaugurate a new era in this respect. It may, for aught anybody yet knows, have raised temperance reform or religious education into burning questions. Our politics generally may have been lifted into a higher region. We should hail such a result with delight, but as yet nothing definite can be affirmed on this head.... Mr Seddon himself is no revolutionist, and if we do not confidently expect, we yet venture to hope for a more cautious and more statesmanlike policy from Ministers in their second term of office. As to the individual elections, we cannot help regretting the choice of such a man as Mr Carnell or the rejection of such a man as Mr Rolleston. But we bow to the will of the people, and we are sure we shall never be found wanting in proper respect for our new member.²³

The *Herald*,

The contest in Napier was carried out very good humoredly all through. As will be seen by the totals, a large number of electors must have abstained from voting. The Arrangements for polling were excellent, and reflected credit upon the returning officer. Shortly after 8 o'clock last night crowds of people began to congregate in the neighborhood of the two town committee rooms, and as the various returns began to come in enthusiastic partisans cheered and otherwise manifested their elation at what by both sides were considered tokens of victory. Later, however, Mr Swan's supporters had to face the fact that the polls were against them, and although when the result was announced the large majority was a surprise, the victory of Mr Carnell was not. There can be no doubt whatever that this result was due to woman voters, who went to the poll not so much upon any political question as upon that of the liquor traffic. The peculiar sight was seen of women mustering at the booths in defence of a Government who are accused by the temperance party of having passed into law the worst measure yet devised to deal with the liquor traffic headed by a Premier who is an ex-publican, and yet voting for a Government candidate pledged to both support and oppose them when that question is raised. It was a peculiar combination, but it served its purpose. The Herald and Telegraph offices were lit up, and as the returns came in they were placed upon boards at each office, which thus became centres of attraction for the large number of people perambulating the streets. The declaration of the result of the Napier poll was followed by a tremendous burst of cheering from Mr Carnell's supporters. A number of them hoisted him shoulder high and carried him to his committee room, where he made a brief address. He shortly congratulated them upon the victory achieved, which he attributed principally to the votes of the women, who were in earnest on the direct veto question. He advised all to bury the political hatchet, and now that the election was over to shake hands and be friends with all opponents. He would do his best to justify the confidence reposed in him, and to serve the interests of the district. Mr Carnell's remarks were received with great cheering, and he was again carried out into the street on the shoulders of supporters, who in their eagerness to honor him ran a very good chance of

seriously injuring him. He at last seized a favorable opportunity for slipping away, and a cab being obtained for him he retired to get a well-earned rest. The news of the defeat of Mr Swan was received with equanimity at his committee-room. When Mr Swan rose to address his supporters he was as heartily cheered as though being congratulated upon a victory. He referred to the fact that he had been beaten by a large majority, which he considered was due to extremists using his business as a means of prejudicing many of the lady voters against him, but he also said that he willingly bowed to that majority, as nobody was a stronger believer than he was in the theory that the majority must rule on any question. He hoped that Mr Carnell would never give any cause for regret that the electors had reposed trust in him, and that now the election was over all of them would be good friends, and look forward with hope to turning the tables at the next election.²⁴

Carnell the liberal had been elected in a conservative-held seat in spite of both local newspapers holding strong conservative views and in the face of family adversity and a barrage of malevolent personal criticism; he had been swept up in a great wave of liberal sentiment and would become a member of a parliament where Seddon had 51 seats, the opposition 15, with 4 independents.

The *Telegraph* regained its composure, forgot its heat-of-the-moment statement that “we are sure we shall never be found wanting in proper respect for our new member” reverted to misogynist form and vented its conservative spleen in diluvian metaphor,

THE women have voted, and the result is—the deluge. The Opposition have been swept away, the Government feel as if the ground were slipping from under their feet, and nobody knows what it all means. A deluge as a rule does not tend to clear up matters. Its business is to make a clean sweep, and give the survivors the pleasure of staring in consternation at the general wreck. This is exactly what the political woman has done. Mr Rolleston has disappeared, Mr Seddon is anxiously trying to find out whether he is in a quicksand or on terra firma, and the universal question among the poor dejected men folk generally is “Where are we?” The women, on the contrary, are

said to be in high glee; they have been, gone, and done it, though what they have done not one in a hundred of the valiant electresses has the remotest idea. Nor indeed anybody else. All that is certainly known is that the deluge has been, and (speaking of our own little community) that Mr Swan is out and Mr Carnell in.

THOUGH it is not at all clear what will be the upshot of Tuesday's voting, it may be surmised (still keeping to our own town, Taradale, of course, included) that the women prefer a teetotal unbeliever to an orthodox brewer. There is no accounting for tastes. Another guess is that they prefer a nonentity to a man of common sense and good abilities. But Napier is not the only place where this preference has been shown; and there is no doubt a reason for it, as for most things. Did anyone ever hear of a very clever woman choosing a clever husband? Clever men, indeed, are said to marry dolls of women for the same reason, viz., that they may not be outshone by their partners. In the present case the jealousy has become a class one, the political women presumably voting for noodles on purpose, in order as it were to reduce government by man to an absurdity. They have made some mistakes, notably in Wellington, where three men of mark have been elected; but that was only to be expected in a first attempt. Wait till the next general election, and see if there are not a dozen Carnells or E. M. Smiths for every Stout or Duthie. It is the political woman's ambition to rule, and as this she can only do by abasing man, she will be sure to pack the next Parliament with her creatures (the kind of half-created males who admire masculinity in woman), every one of them pledged to make her eligible for election to Parliament and all offices in the State; and then, oh, then!—but who can imagine the consequences and possibilities of a Parliament in petticoats? If indeed the petticoat will be still worn. The likelihood rather is that the political woman will divest herself of that venerable badge of subjection and don the divided skirt in the hour of her deliverance. If she could change her sex, too, her triumph would be complete, her ambition fulfilled.

IT is delightful to see two “contemporaries” like the New Zealand Times and the Evening Post agreeing for once. They are indeed both professedly of the same colour, only the Post has an odd habit of opposing Liberalism when it is in office. For some time its main occupation has been to bite and devour the Times. The morning journal has been mercilessly ridiculed and abused, and, to say the truth, it has taken the ill-humours of its evening contemporary with exemplary meekness. But the elections, we say, have made them for once see eye to eye. They are both in raptures. All the predictions of the enemies of the female franchise have been falsified. Women have not been hustled or otherwise insulted at the polling booths; wives have not been estranged from their husbands, the “cordial companionship” of man and wife being one of the features of election day; the babies have not been neglected, and the dinner has been duly cooked. So the two journals exclaim with one voice, and no doubt in the main truly. There would, of course, be some exceptions. Are there not in the best regulated communities good women who make a point of never agreeing with their husbands in any matter? And are there not monsters of husbands who coerce their poor dear wives even in a free country like New Zealand? Such things will happen as long as the female Parliament is only a dream. But our Wellington contemporaries are right in saying that Tuesday—which will be one of the most memorable days in the history of the universe—was more like a pleasant picnic than a day of decision. The strange thing, however, is that two such mutually antagonistic journals should say (whatever in their hearts they think) that the women have voted intelligently, and that the result of their vote will be to purify and elevate the politics of the colony. We are glad to hear it, but when we remember that women have voted out men like Mr Rolleston and voted in men like Mr Carnell, we have our doubts as to the alleged purification and elevation. There is another little difficulty we should like solved. If the women, as the Post declares, have displayed so much wisdom and independence in the exercise of their new privilege, how comes it about that they have voted back by an overwhelming majority a Government which that journal has constantly and

vehemently denounced for its tyranny and corruption? Perhaps our contemporary will explain.²⁵

The metaphor was chillingly prophetic: 3 days later,

THE FLOODS.

MEANEE, CLIVE, AND
TARADALE UNDER WATER.

FARMERS SUFFER TERRIBLE
LOSS.

POTATO AND HAY CROPS
RUINED.

OMAHU BRIDGE WASHED
AWAY.

REV. S. DOUGLAS DROWNED.

DUNCAN MACFARLANE
DROWNED AT MARAEKAKAHO

RAILWAY COMMUNICATION
ENTIRELY SUSPENDED.

DESTRUCTION EVERYWHERE

Never within the history of Hawke's Bay has such devastation been wrought as by the floods consequent on the present heavy rains. Napier is fortunately free of danger,

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- 1 *Daily Telegraph* 24 February 1893.
 - 2 *Daily Telegraph* 28 February 1893.
 - 3 *Daily Telegraph* 18 May 1893.
 - 4 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 25 July 1893.
 - 5 *Daily Telegraph* 18 October 1893.
 - 6 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 27 October 1893.
 - 7 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 3 November 1893.
 - 8 *ibid.*
 - 9 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 4 November 1893.
 - 10 *Daily Telegraph* 30 October 1893.
 - 11 *Daily Telegraph* 14 November 1893.
 - 12 *Daily Telegraph* 17 November 1893.
 - 13 *Daily Telegraph* 20 November 1893.
 - 14 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 November 1893.
 - 15 *Daily Telegraph* 22 November 1893.
 - 16 *Daily Telegraph* 20 November 1893.
 - 17 *Daily Telegraph* 23 November 1893.
 - 18 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 22 November 1893.
 - 19 *Daily Telegraph* 24 November 1893.
 - 20 Kay Morris Matthews. Katherine Browning. Unpublished Ms.
 - 21 *Daily Telegraph* 27 November 1893.
 - 22 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 28 November 1893.
 - 23 *Daily Telegraph* 29 November 1893.
 - 24 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 29 November 1893.
 - 25 *Daily Telegraph* 2 December 1893.
 - 26 *Daily Telegraph* 5 December 1893.
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CHAPTER 7: WILLIAM AUGUSTUS CARNELL 1858–c.1935

A piece in the *Daily Telegraph* in June 1884 hints at Samuel Carnell's 26 year old elder son William's use of alcohol and its effects on him,

What we might call the first fall from a seat during the East Coast election eventuated last evening. An accident, which might have been attended with serious results, took place yesterday on the Napier side of the Petane road to two respected townsmen, viz., Messrs Prain and W. Carnell. Mr Prain, being appointed returning officer for the Tongoio district, was proceeding to Petane in company with Mr Carnell

about 9 o'clock last evening. After calling to see "a friend" at the Railway Hotel the gentlemen resumed their seats in the buggy. They had not gone more than forty yards on their journey when the horse, through the darkness of the night, went a little too far over the embankment between the Port Ahuriri bridge and the hotel. Luckily the buggy did not capsize, but the shock caused both gentlemen to be precipitated into a mud-hole close by. The horse, which is a quiet one, stood perfectly still and waited for the return of his friends. On again mounting the buggy, neither of the occupants could for a few moments make out the approach to the bridge. Ultimately it was reached in perfect safety. In order to steer clear of the side rails, which are certainly dangerous even in broad daylight, it was found necessary for one of the gentlemen to walk before the trap, waving a handkerchief in front, in order to safely pilot his friend who held the ribbons over the inner harbor. The bridge being successfully negotiated, a halt was made at Mr John Villers' Ferry Hotel, when soap, water, and other ingredients completely erased all traces of the late contretemps. It must have been very trying to the nerves of two shivering gentlemen on such a cold, dark, and wet night, without moon, stars, or lamps, to guide them to be forced to take turn about on shank's mare, waving his little white flag in order to make straight the path of his comrade in the buggy. They arrived all right at the Petane Hotel, when, under the hospitable treatment of Mr W. Villers, who administered hot baths and two tablespoonfulls of his best medicine, the travellers shortly recovered. We are happy to say both gentlemen slept soundly all night. This morning they appeared nothing the worse for the shaking they received. Mr Prain made an early start for Tongoiio to-day. It is to be hoped that the great fresh in the rivers will not retard his progress. Mr Carnell arrived in town by Mr Viller's 9.30 coach this morning. On the road he pointed out to our correspondent the zig-zag track of the wheels of the buggy, the appearance of which left no doubt on his mind as to the horse and buggy being a little in the dark.¹

In November 1879,

Henry Martin White & William Augustus Carnell have passed their examination in general knowledge required by the Supreme Court of New Zealand, with credit.²

William Carnell stood unsuccessfully for the Napier School Committee in 1885, was a committee member for the Parliamentary Union in 1886.

In 1887 the Carnells' second son, Walter, married but shortly afterward died suddenly of meningitis at age 27. There is no mention of the event in the newspapers but the family must have been devastated.

William served as law clerk to Carlile and McLean, passed the law examinations as a solicitor and set up in the Cathedral Chambers in Church lane in 1889; in 1891 he joined other lawyers in Court in welcoming the new Resident Magistrate to Napier. Shortly thereafter he appeared before the RM and was ordered to pay a £5 debt within a fortnight.

William's drinking, at least in his father's eyes, was becoming an issue by 1892.

A prohibition order was applied for at the Resident Magistrate's Court yesterday against William Augustus Carnell, on the ground that by excessive drinking he wasted his estate. He applied for a week's adjournment on the ground that he wished to procure evidence to refute the charge. The Justices were not inclined to grant an adjournment, and he left the Court. The order was granted.³

Samuel Carnell had applied for the order, and requested special attention to the Working Men's Club, whose President responded in the *Herald*,

SIR,— A prohibition order was applied for at the R.M. Court today, and a request was made that it be particularly enforced at the Napier Working Men's Club. Why this should be so pointed I am at a loss to understand, as the person in respect to whom the order was applied for is not a member of the institution. The committee endeavor to conduct the affairs of the club in such a manner that no one can throw stones at it,

and say that drunkenness or any other unseemly conduct occurs on the premises. Why the club should be specially named is a puzzle to the whole of the members, unless it is for spite.—I am, &c,

W. J. GRUNDY, President, December 19, 1892.⁴

Carnell, hurt, angry, hit back, perhaps unwisely,

SIR,—Kindly grant me space in which to reply to the president of the Working Men's Club. I may say that I had no intention of casting any particular slur upon the club or its management. All I was asking for was that every possible avenue might be closed, and that it would be made as difficult as could be for my son to get drink. Can I not claim the sympathy of every right-thinking man and woman in the community in so doing? I care not if 60 clubs stand in my way, with their pretended respectability, and their sheltering themselves under the plea of private institutions. I have been told on reliable authority that last year no less than £3700 was taken over the bar of the Working Men's Club. Now, I say that such a state of things is a disgrace, not a credit, to the workers of Napier. Many an unfortunate mother of a family will agree with me that the club keeps men away from their homes and causes them to spend money that should by right go to pay debts and clothe and feed their families. I hope that the day is not far distant when with woman franchise we shall be able to take the drink out of those and other clubs. In Napier the history of the clubs is written in the ruin of many a good citizen. The Working Men's Club! A nice name to call a place that could not be maintained were it not for the drink that is sold there. It is not under police supervision; but I say it should be, and so with all of the clubs.

I may tell the president that I have no spite against the club. I want to save one whom I have a right still to protect from an awful curse, and I am not afraid to ask the men of Napier to help me in the matter.—I am, &c.,

SAMUEL CARNELL. December 20, 1892.⁵

The Club secretary weighed in...

SIR,—Mr Carnell in his letter this morning says he has no wish to cast any slur upon the Working Men's Club, or its

management—well, on that head I certainly think there may be more opinions than one. If his sole aim had been to protect the members of his own family, why did he not apply to the management in place of using his utmost endeavors to hold the institution up to obloquy before the public? Mr Carnell was once a member of this same club himself, and I can assure him that the tone of the institution has in no way deteriorated since he ceased to be connected with it. His son, against whom he recently applied for a prohibiting order, is not a member of the club, and so far from encouraging him to drink, or resort to the Club in any way, some six months ago a letter was written to him—under instructions from the committee—requesting him not to come to the club at all, and the steward was instructed not to serve him under any circumstances with anything should he be introduced by any of the members. Mr Carnell is pleased to quote one item of figures from the club's balance-sheet. True, £3702 was taken during last year, but not as he would infer, for intoxicating drinks. A large portion of this amount is for members' subscriptions, library, tobacco, cigars, &c, but even taking the fall amount it must be borne in mind that the club has a membership of over 600—not to mention visitors—amongst whom this formidable sum averages something less than 2s 6d per head per week for everything. Now I would ask any reasonable being whether this is an excessive amount of pocket money, or failing the club, would men be induced to abstain from their pipes or a glass of beer?

Does Mr Carnell wish to pose as a temperance reformer or as a friend of the publicans? Perhaps a little of both, in which case I would remind him of the old adage, "Between two stools," &c. He "may tell the president" he has no spite against the club, but it seems to me you can hardly read anything else from the first line of his letter to the last.—I am, &c,

P. LOUND, Secretary.⁶

Soon after came this curious report,⁷

The H.B. Herald of Tuesday states:— What promised to be a rather peculiar case came to an abrupt ending yesterday, when Messrs Sutton and Neal sat at the Resident Magistrate's Court to hear two informations preferred against Baron H. DeCosta by William Augustus Carnell. The first information charged defendant "That he did knowingly and feloniously threaten one Samuel Carnell to accuse the informant, William Augustus Carnell, of having committed a certain crime now punishable by law with penal servitude for not less than seven years, to wit, burglarly, with a view and intent then and there to extort and gain money from the said Samuel Carnell." The second information was similar to the other except that for "Samuel Carnell" was substituted "Sir William Wasteneys." Defendant, who pleaded not guilty, was represented by Mr Lee and Mr Cresswell. The informant was represented by Mr Lascelles. The Court was crowded, it being supposed that some material for gossip would be heard. Mr Lascelles, however, asked leave to withdraw the informations, on the ground that there was a technical error in the informations, which set out "not less than seven years' penal servitude" instead of "not less than three years' penal servitude." The informations were accordingly withdrawn, and then a great many persons went outside the Court and laughed.

And then this,⁸ gleefully repeated in newspapers throughout the country in 1893,

RATHER AWKWARD.

(PER PRESS ASSOCIATION.)

NAPIER, This day.

At the R.M. Court Mr Cornford, solicitor for the Law Society, challenged the right of Mr W. Carnell to appear as solicitor, he being three years in arrear with his subscriptions to the Law Society, and having no certificate. Mr Carnell withdrew the cases he was appearing for. Mr Cornford expressed regret for the course he was compelled to take.

On 2 April William filed for bankruptcy, with debts of £200, of which he owed £150 to his father. In his statement of causes he wrote,

I commenced practising as a Solicitor at Napier in the year 1889 without any capital. Since that time I have continued in practice and have not earned on an average of more than £75 per annum. I have principally carried on business with money borrowed from my father and other friends. I have made losses in my progression through the bankruptcy of some of my clients notably James Irvine for £122 for which a dividend of £7..10..0 or thereabouts was only received, and the departure from the district and the inability of others to pay the amount owing. For the last six months I have not earned more than £10 through the continued depression of trade and the fierce competition in the profession. The immediate cause of my bankruptcy is the illegal action of Mr John Vigor Brown who issued a judgement summons against me on a claim I consider not properly due and in despite of a suit I had commenced in the Supreme Court to prohibit further proceedings in the lower court he persisted in issuing a warrant of arrest against me. Upon which I was imprisoned and I filed my own petition to get out of gaol.⁹

A week later,

We understand that Mr W. Carnell has notified Captain Forster (clerk of the S M. Court, Mr O'Rourke (bailiff), and Mr J. V. Brown, that he intends shortly to serve a writ on them claiming £1000 for illegal arrest and imprisonment, causing him suffering in mind and body. Up to the present the principals are understood to view the matter in a jocose light.¹⁰

William played in a banjo and mandolin duet at a "Grand Minstrel Entertainment" in 1895. In August 1895, "a constable arrested Mr W. Carnell on the Marine Parade, took him to the police station, and charged him with drunkenness".¹¹

A letter from the Magistrate's office in Coromandel to the Napier Assignee of Bankruptcy in September stated that William Augustus Carnell was now practising in Coromandel and asked when he obtained his discharge from bankruptcy. The reply said, "Bankrupt has not yet been discharged" so he was practising illegally.¹²

He must have returned, at least briefly, to Hawke's Bay, for on 23 March 1896,

A prohibition order was granted against William Carnell, to have effect in the borough of Napier and Hastings and of Hawke's Bay for the space of one year. An application by Mr Lee on behalf of the defendant for a fortnight's postponement was refused.¹³

In November 1896 the *NZ Herald's* "Coromandel News" column informed its readers,

Amongst the new arrivals is Mr. W.A. Carnell, solicitor, son of Mr. Carnell, M.H.R. for Napier. Mr. Carnell will practise in conjunction with Sir William Wasteneys.¹⁴

"Sir" William Wasteneys had fled to New Zealand after a marital breakdown; he was bankrupt in 1903 following a messy and expensive divorce that went all the way to the Privy Council, Mrs Wasteneys eventually leaving him for Australia "on the invitation of the manager of a travelling theatrical company".¹⁵ The baronetcy had long been deemed extinct and William Wasteneys's claim to it was never recognised by the College of Arms.¹⁶ It reads like *Huckleberry Finn*.

Events must have improved for William: in 1897,

Mr W. Carnell, a well-known solicitor practising in Coromandel, is now on a visit to Wellington. He has just concluded a holiday trip to Australia.¹⁷

In 1898 he appeared before the official assignee in Coromandel on behalf of a bankrupt client,¹⁸ and over the following years represented various clients, largely as criminal defence lawyer. In 1901 he was referred to as “the senior member of the local bar”.¹⁹ In 1905,

It is rumoured that Mr W. A. Carnell, solicitor, of Coromandel, a pronounced Liberal, will stand against the Hon. J. McGowan at the coming election.²⁰

He didn't succeed. James McGowan was MHR for Thames 1893-1909.

In 1910 he was charged in the High Court in Auckland with contempt of court.²¹ 1903-1914 he was the Coromandel representative on the Society for the Protection of Women and Children and for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.²² In 1917 he was in the newspapers again,

SOLICITOR'S ACCOUNTS. AUDIT OF TRUST FUNDS.

APPEAL CASE DISMISSED.

THE decision of a magistrate in dismissing an information against William A. Carnell, solicitor, Coromandel, for an alleged breach of the Law Practitioners Amendment Act, 1913, was upheld by Mr. Justice Cooper in a judgment delivered yesterday. At the hearing in the Lower Court, Carnell was charged that he failed to cause his trust account for the year ended March 31, 1915, to be audited by a qualified accountant within three months after the end of the year.

The magistrate found that the plaintiff always received his fees in cash, that during 10 years he had had no banking account, either private or trust, that he kept no diary, letter-book, cash-book, costs, ledger, or any book of account of any description, and that during the year in question he received no trust money. He therefore dismissed the information. The Crown Law Office, (Mr. Mays) appealed against the decision of

the magistrate, on the ground that it was wrong in law. Dr. Bamford appeared for the respondent.

His Honor held that the magistrate's judgment was a correct one, and he therefore dismissed the appeal. "Whether the Governor-General-in-Council," concluded His Honor, "has power to make regulations compelling a solicitor to keep proper books of account showing all moneys received by him, other than trust moneys, and to require such books to be audited, it is not necessary to express an opinion. It is sufficient for me to say that the present regulations are strictly limited to trust moneys, and it follows that if no trust moneys have been received by a solicitor there can be no account kept in accordance with the regulations, nor can there be an audit of a non-existing account."²³

His father left him out of his will,²⁴ as did his mother,²⁵ everything going to his sister. He never married and died at age 77 and was buried as "William Arthur Carnell".

1 *Daily Telegraph* 16 June 1884.

2 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 21 November 1879.

3 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 December 1892.

4 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 December 1892.

5 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 21 December 1892.

6 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 23 December 1892.

7 *Poverty Bay Herald* 22 December 1892.

8 *Bush Advocate* 28 March 1893.

9 Archives AAOW W3846 7669 Box 692.

10 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 8 April 1895.

11 *Daily Telegraph* 9 August 1895.

12 Archives AAOW W3846 7669 Box 692.

13 *Daily Telegraph* 23 March 1896.

14 *New Zealand Herald* 9 November 1896.

15 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 7 July 1900.

16 *Sun* 23 May 1914.

17 *New Zealand Mail* 13 May 1897.

18 *New Zealand Herald* 22 July 1898.

19 *Waikato Argus* 29 July 1901.

²⁰ *Waikato Times* 23 August 1905.

21 Archives, Auckland R19166162.

22 *Auckland Star* 1 May 1914.

23 *New Zealand Herald* 7 August 1917.

24 Archives AAOW 22774 W3846 Box 847.

25 Archives AAOW W3846 22775 Box 865.

CHAPTER 8: FRED RAYNER'S CARICATURE 1894

Cartoonist Frederick Richard Rayner visited Napier in the spring of 1894. On 4 September William Colenso wrote to Coupland Harding,

“a y(oun)g. man named Rayner, agent (?) or somethg. for the “Bulletin” p(aper)., he promised to call again: was chatty, &c.... R(ayner). asked me to allow him to take my likeness (profile!) proceeding instanter to do so! I refused, & rose up—stating, I could give him a small photo—this I got, & then showed him yours (for Inland Printer, Chi(ca)go.), this he admired, but left both saying he should call again in few days (he found me busy): he has not done so (down to time of my leaving on 17th.) and I heard, at Craig’s, he had taken some of our old town “Celebrities”—as George Richardson, &c—he seems to have a special knack that way—some exhibd. in Craig’s window:—I felt glad I had escaped.”

Rayner was interviewing Napier celebrities for a booklet of caricatures and it was published on 17 October: *Fred Rayner’s sketch book of 50 caricatures: “things you see when your out without your gun” in Napier, Hastings & Waipawa*: lithography Brown, Thomson, Wellington.

Rayner had produced the similar *Fifteen lightning sketches of Dunedin celebrities, with apocryphal biographies* (Dunedin: Fergusson and Mitchell, c.1893) and later *Tena koe! Rayner’s reminiscences of peculiar pakehas in Wellington, Wanganui, Palmerston & New Plymouth* (Bock & Co., c.1895). He published a weekly, *The exhibition sketcher: a weekly paper of social news, personal portraits, kind, kurteous karicatures [i.e. courteous caricatures]*. (Christchurch: F.R. Rayner, 1906–1907) to coincide with the New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch. This continued as *The Sketcher* (Dunedin). He published further booklets: *The Sketcher souvenir of the Royal visit to Dunedin, June 25th, 26th, 27th, 1901: a collection of specially-taken photographs and numerous sketches*; *The Sketcher’s coronation cartoons* (Dunedin 1902); *The Sketcher souvenir: British rugby football team v. New Zealand: Dunedin, June 6th, 1908*. [Bagnall R90–R95].

Among the prominent people lampooned in the Napier booklet was Samuel Carnell,



Frederick Rayner's sketch of Samuel Carnell, 1894

Rayner wrote,

The present member had been a latent amateur politician for years, but only blossomed on the labor ticket some short time ago. Wonderful thing, the labor ticket! Sammie feels the responsibility of his position, and the clothes he has bought, and eye-glass, new hat and bell bottomed pants, have created a pleasant and beneficial furore in his favour. And he deserves it!! Any man that will risk all, and take his family down to the silly Session, and make them spread themselves, should be supported. I believe the ink-slingers and the gallery above Sammie to debate on the polished top of “our own’s” head, which is mean, and like those Pitman blokes. Of course Sam was going to play up hill with a stick— close pubs, stop racing, etc.; but then, Sam finds that it is different bossing a House full of gas bags that fill up every day with the fresh stuff. It was right enough to waylay a “mug” under the verandah outside the studio, and flop out some of the latest lines culled from the “Bulletin.” They didn’t know where they came from, and it went down kai pai. Yes, Sammie used to knock ’em in Brewster Lane. He could meander around from one great question to another without committing himself, and still leave you with a feeling that you had spent an hour with the great man; a man who could, if he strove, and went into it with all the great powers that God had given him, make a success— a marvellous success— of a decent little photo biz.

“Those lamps” refers to Carnell’s criticism, in the House, of the Hawke’s Bay Provincial Councillors—most of them wealthy landowners,

Mr Carnell... said that in Napier, which he had the honor of representing, the Municipal Council had for years been packed by a clique which misappropriated the funds of the borough. (Laughter.) He corrected himself about the misappropriation business, but said that one could always tell where a Councillor lived in Napier by the gas lamps and roads that led to his door.¹

Hyman Phineas Cohen JP was chair of various local bodies, including the Hospital Board in May 1894, when he made a casting vote in favour of an amendment,



Frederick Rayner's sketch of Hyman Phineas Cohen, 1894

Mr Carnell: I consider it was very improper.

Mr Rymer, to Mr Carnell: It is you who are improper. You are out of order.

Mr Carnell to Mr Rymer: Do you call me to order?

Mr Rymer: Yes. You are out of order.

Mr Carnell: We have a chairman here, and he should call you to order for addressing me.

The Chairman (Cohen): I hope you will behave yourselves, gentlemen. I will not sit in this chair to be insulted. If I am to be insulted the Board will have to get another chairman.

Mr Carnell: I did not insult you.

The Chairman: Yes you did, sir. You said I acted improperly. I never acted improperly in the whole course of my life, and I will not allow you to say to the contrary.²

The caricatures are rather crude and the humour rather schoolboyish, and conservative Napier took offence—the *Hawke's Bay Herald* of 19 October offended on Miss Browning's behalf,

MR RAYNER'S SKETCH BOOK.

SIR,—When several of our citizens are publicly caricatured it raises a laugh, the caricaturist not being worth powder and shot, but when a most respected and honored lady is subjected to such an insult horsewhipping is the right thing to administer to one who is incapable of being made to feel except by personal chastisement. The astonishing thing is that respectable tradesmen should support, and newspapers praise, a publication containing such a piece of work, but more and beyond all, that the “gentlemen of Napier” should give a complimentary benefit to the author of it. It is satisfactory, however, to hear that several tradesmen refused to have anything to do with it in the present form, and that at least one firm of publishers refused to print for the same reason, and as for the gentlemen who supported it, well—I am, &c.,

CITIZEN.³

Napier, October 18.

SIR,—Mr F. Rayner's little book of sketches of some of our local celebrities, which was issued to the public yesterday, has been

eagerly inquired for, and very varied were the facial expressions of the purchasers as they turned over the pages and discovered who were depicted thereon. Bat, although there is undoubted cleverness in many of the sketches, one cannot help thinking that the artist has exceeded the limit of fairness in some of his portraitures and descriptions, and I believe the agent has expressed regret that he has unwittingly lent himself to the circulation of what may have caused pain to the individuals concerned. Still, as the book is only produced and issued for the humor of the thing it is to be hoped that none will make too serious an interpretation of what it contains.—I am, &c.,
B.B.H.⁴

October 18, 1894.

Indeed, JW Craig, Napier bookseller, sole agent for Rayner's *Sketch book*, withdrew it from the market,

We are informed that Mr J. W. Craig, who was appointed sole agent for Mr Rayner's Sketch Book, recognising that the publication is one that is needlessly offensive, has decided not to allow any more copies to be sold in his shop; he has also called in the supplies of the book that were sent out to other retailers.⁵

"Disgusted" wrote,

SIR,—Since reading the anticipatory notice in your columns of Mr Rayner's booklet, I have been much exercised as to the meaning of the word "snappy". Unable to find it any dictionary, I concluded that it meant lively, pungent. Now, having read the pamphlet to which it was applied, I should define "snappy" writing as that which combines the minimum of ability with the maximum of coarseness, for never have I come across such a compound of dulness and vulgarity. "Save me from my friends!" must, I think, have been the exclamation of the gentlemen whom he intended to flatter, whilst among the portraits of those whom he feebly satirises, few would have been recognised had he not put their names underneath, as children write "this is a horse." An honest laugh is a good thing, especially when it is at the expense of knaves, fools, and imposters who can be reached in no other way, and has a

substratum of fact; but Mr Rayner does not make us laugh, and instead of facts he draws on his own imagination. The cause of the peculiar coarseness of some of the sketches and descriptions is not far to seek. One refers to a scandal of a class always attractive to prurient minds; whilst one of the subjects furnished by Hastings is a zealous and respected clergyman striving to check the spread of profanity and coarseness. *If I could get up any interest in a writer of his stamp I should like to know* (1) whether he has ever studied anatomy; 2. whether he is ever the author of the criticism of his own books; 3, whether he is still on the staff of a Sydney paper. If so, I pity Sydney.—I am, &c.

DISGUSTED.⁶

October 19, 1894.

My copy of Rayner's *Sketch book* is annotated in longhand, "Spencer Gollan very offended and pulled Rayner round the lawn at the Park Race course by the nose".⁷ Rayner had to publish an apology in Dunedin and was assaulted in the street by EM Smith MHR in New Plymouth.⁸

Undaunted in Napier, Rayner mounted a free concert at which he gave away copies of his *Sketch book*, sang, drew lightning sketches and generally pleased a packed house.⁹

Much later, cartoonist David Low would write warmly of Rayner,

"It was in 1907 that I had just fluffed my matriculation examination. As consolation I now had a thundering piece of luck. A spurt of local enterprise called forth by the holding of an international exhibition at Christchurch in that year included the publication of a skittish new weekly, the *Sketcher*. Fred Rayner, the proprietor, was a caricaturist himself, the first real caricaturist I had met. In the academic sense he could not draw, but his portraits were penetrating and intimate because he had that rare thing, a sense of individual character and, even rarer, the wit and confidence to represent it freely in line without troubling about technical shortcomings. I was waiting with my brown-paper parcel of drawings of local celebrities when he opened his office. He took me on at two pounds a week. But what I gained watching him taking notes behind a newspaper in

the street and working them later into caricature portraits was more precious than rubies.

“Cathedral Square was the Piccadilly Circus of Christchurch. If one stood long enough everybody in the local world passed by. It was an excellent observation ground. My maestro, with his red hair, sharp pink nose, twinkling blue eyes bespectacled and shaded by a rakishly worn straw hat, took full advantage of it, lurking, shadowing and making secret notes. At his elbow I lurked too, fascinated.

“‘Haven’t quite got his mouth, my boy,’ he would say, screwing a critical nose at my attempt on the back of an envelope to catch some nob waiting for his tram a couple of yards away. ‘That fellow’s all in his mouth. Now just watch it. Watch the way it opens and shuts.’ So saying he would calmly walk over and politely request the subject to direct him to the next street or to give him a light for his cigarette, while I stood by studying jaw-action.

“That kind of direct examination greatly improved my judgment of essentials. So character may reside in a boot, an ear could be the man. The difference between good work and trash in the caricature of personality became clearer. I learned to scorn the so-called likenesses taken from photographs, both the wooden or polite kind and the aimlessly distorted funny kind, and to appreciate the art that lay in the synthesis and emphasis of truth perceived in the living person.

“The *Sketcher* ended and Rayner departed, leaving me with enough local reputation to justify, almost immediately, a return to the *Spectator* now to a full-time job as its political cartoonist, no longer a reserve junior.”¹⁰

1 *Hawke’s Bay Herald* 29 June 1894.

2 *Hawke’s Bay Herald* 24 May 1894.

3 *Hawke’s Bay Herald* 19 October 1894.

4 *ibid.*

5 *Hawke’s Bay Herald* 20 October 1894.

6 *Hawke’s Bay Herald* 23 October 1894.

7 Spencer Gollan, son of Donald Gollan, owned Mangatarata Station.

8 *Poverty Bay Herald* 22 April 1895

9 *Hawke’s Bay Herald* 18 October 1894.

10 David Low 1956. *Low’s autobiography*, Michael Joseph, London.

CHAPTER 9: THE MEMBER FOR NAPIER 1893–1896

Immediately after his election in 1893 Carnell was selected for a committee headed by the mayor GH Swan to oversee flood relief, but feelings were hurt and he soon got himself into trouble,

There was a meeting of the executive committee last night to discuss the position and ways and means in connection with the late floods here. A quantity of business was transacted, but an unpleasant incident occurred during the evening. Mr Carnell, M.H.R., who is one of the executive, made a few remarks in connection with the distribution of clothing, etc., and asked who supplied the seventy-two pairs of blankets (sent out by Messrs Neal and Close)? Further, who gave the distributing committee—Messrs Johnson, Garner, Cleal, Walton, Lascelles, and Wiig—power to act at Farndon? These gentlemen, who had been designated as “those fellows,” felt themselves aggrieved, and at once resigned, but the meeting asked them to re-consider their decision, and Mr Carnell asserted that he had no wish to insult them in any way. However, Mr Carnell’s remarks were not in good taste, and were deemed insulting in character by those against whom they were directed. He said he would resign himself, but sat the meeting out. Mr Swan, it might be mentioned, refused to answer Mr Carnell’s questions at the particular stage at which they were asked.¹

The aggrieved sextet took their opportunity in the correspondence columns,

SIR,—Never a grosser insult was inflicted on those who have gratuitously given their time in assisting their fellow citizens than was given to the undersigned by Mr Carnell, member of the House of Representatives, of this town. Owing to the late disastrous floods it was well known to us that voluntary assistance was necessary, and we volunteered to distribute the articles so kindly and freely given by the Napier people. In addition to the several contributions, we were supplied with blankets and mattresses for the relief of the poor and needy, which for the past four days we have been engaged in. We to

night heard the question asked by Mr Cornell at the central committee meeting, "Who supplied this stuff? Who authorised these fellows to act? If this kind of thing is going on I will not act on this committee." Who asked you to act, Mr Carnell? And what have you done for the Clive relief fund? The above treatment at the hands of Mr Carnell causes us to reluctantly decline to further assist the central committee (but to the Clive people let us say, "Send to us if you want anything further "). If willing hands are to wait the beck and call of meetings to be held whilst the poor are starving and ill-clad to please Mr Carnell, it is not the wish of yours truly,

BEN B. JOHNSON, GEO WIIIG, THOS, ROBT, WALTON,
A. R. CLEAL, FRANK W. GARNER, HENRY LASCELLES;
December 8, 1893.

A correspondent to the *Herald*, "Manners", blamed women,

... the lesson to be learnt from these incidents ought not to be lost. We are told that the eyes of the world are on New Zealand watching the result of woman suffrage. The mere list of members returned ought to convince all who know anything about New Zealand politics that this colony is to be looked upon rather as a warning than as an example.²

Meanwhile Carnell spoke at a temperance meeting,³ was elected to the Licensing Committee,⁴ continued on the Hospital and Harbour Boards and the Flood Relief Committee. He chaired a meeting of those interested in the formation of a branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in Napier.⁵

In connection with the unemployed agitation Mr Carnell forwarded the following telegram to the Hon. W. P. Reeves, Minister for Labor:—"A large number of unemployed ask me to wire to you to open up a Labor Bureau here, also to give them work. Something must be done to meet the emergency of the case."⁶

Labour Minister Pember Reeves told him he had been consulting with one of his colleagues, and they would take immediate steps to relieve the unemployed difficulty in Napier. Work was found for many men on the Napier-Wairoa road.

His sparring with Cohen at the Hospital Board continued,

Mr Carnell said he desired to ask a question. He would like to ask if Dr. Menzies could account for the high mortality in the typhoid fever cases in the hospital from December, 1893, till the 21st of April, 1894.

Mr Cohen: I will not allow it. There shall be no discussion.

Mr Carnell: I am quoting figures from a book containing the cases.

Mr Cohen: I don't care. I want you to sit down, as you were sitting down just now. (Addressing the Board): Gentlemen, Mr Carnell asked this question at the last meeting. I then told him as I tell him now, that the question he raises is one of such importance to Dr. Menzies that notice of motion on the subject should be given, so that I could be here ready with all the answers and statements required. You (the speaker here addressed Mr Carnell) promised to give notice of motion, and you have not done so, and for that reason I will not allow you to discuss anything whatever.

Mr Carnell: Do you mean to say you rule that I, as a member of this Board, shall not read an extract from the hospital book and ask a question about it?

Mr Cohen: I say it is very wrong of you to try to injure the hospital by asking any question of the kind.

Mr Swan: What is the question?

Mr Cohen: Mr Carnell wants some information that I can give him if he will ask for it in writing, and he shall not have it before

Mr Carnell (holding up a paper): Then I shall give this to the Press.

Mr Cohen: You can do what you think proper.

Mr Carnell: I quite understand the position. There is a determination to burke the question.

Mr Cohen: I have put up with insults from Mr Carnell till I can't do so any more, and I shall have to retire from the chair. I have told him that any information I can obtain for him I will obtain, but I will not sit here and be told by him that I am burking a question of public importance, I think it only right that notice of questions of that kind should be given, so as to allow the doctor an opportunity to give the information asked

for. Gentlemen, Mr Carnell has had a month in which to give notice of motion. He asked the question at the last meeting, and Dr. Menzies had prepared an answer, but yesterday, as Mr Carnell had not given notice of motion that the information should be given, I told Dr. Menzies he need not send in his answer.

Mr Carnell: I don't insult you, but you insult me often enough.

Mr Cohen: I only do my duty.

Mr Carnell: Your duty? Why you have told people outside that you will sit on me as often as you can.

Mr Cohen: I am not in the habit of talking over my business outside. Why don't you give notice? It is unkind of you to embarrass me in this manner.

Mr Carnell: I am not embarrassing you.

Mr Cohen: I did think that I should be allowed to finish my year of office without any more trouble of this kind, but it seems impossible. It is cruel of you. It is unkind of you....

The subject then dropped.⁷

On 21 June Carnell was in Wellington for the election of the Speaker of the House and his first Parliamentary session. He spoke on the second reading of the Hawkers and Peddlars Bill,⁸ supported a motion to "abolish the totalisator as an instrument of gambling and a source of public revenue",⁹

During the discussion this afternoon on Mr William Hutchison's motion for the abolition of the totalisator Mr Carnell strongly supported the motion. In doing so he referred to the large number of racing clubs in the Hawke's Bay district, and to the immense amount of gambling that took place in Napier owing to the existence of the totalisator. He told the House that he had some little time ago taken round a petition in Napier praying for the abolition of the totalisator and people of all classes had signed it except one person, who gave as his reason for refusing to sign the petition that he owned a half share in the machine itself. Captain Russell, later on in the debate, good humoredly chaffed Mr Carnell, and said that judging by the engaging manner in which the member for

Napier had just addressed the Speaker nobody could refuse him when he asked them to sign the petition. Captain Russell went on to say that notwithstanding Mr Carnell's remarks he (Captain Russell) could go round next day and obtain more signatures for the continuance of the totalisator than the member for Napier had got to abolish it. As you will see from your report, Mr Hutchison's motion was "talked out" at the dinner adjournment, and will probably not come up again, at any rate not for some considerable time.¹⁰

At the evening session on 11 July, Dr Newman moved the second reading of a bill to admit women to the general assembly of New Zealand.

He held that as women now possessed the franchise in the colony there was no reason whatever why they should be subject to the disability of not being allowed to sit in Parliament....

Captain Russell.... Although he had the highest respect for women, he held that it would be a great mistake to bring them into the House.

Mr Russell (Riccarton) supported the bill.

Mr Hone Heke would like to see the question put before the country.

Messrs Pirani and McGuire supported the bill as the logical outcome of women franchise.

Mr Mills thought the bill premature, but even if it passed he did not believe any woman would gain a seat in the Chamber for many years to come.

The Hon. Mr Reeves said he should vote for the principle of the bill. It could not be contended that all women would be fitted for this position, but it was hard that exceptional and highly educated women should be debarred from seeking a seat in Parliament. He did not think, even if the bill was carried, they would have any lady members for years to come.

Mr Willis supported the bill.

Mr Allen held that until women had gone through a certain political education it would not be wise to allow them to enter the House.

Mr O'Regan opposed the bill as premature.

Mr Flatman supported the bill. He thought ladies could not get a better political training than in the House itself.

Mr Massey said that women had domestic duties to perform, which were more in keeping than having seats in the House.

Mr Carncross could not do anything else but support the bill, seeing the way in which he had opposed women suffrage in the past, and the way in which the women at the last election had supported him, and thus heaped coals of fire on his head.

Mr Saunders held that while there were no valid objections to giving women the franchise, there were very strong objections to allowing them to have seats in the House. They should be very careful, now that they had given women the franchise, not to take such a rash step as this bill proposed.

The division on the second reading resulted in—Ayes 28, noes 28.¹¹

Carnell was an aye. The Speaker's casting vote was too. The next day in the House Carnell asked the Premier whether he would place a sum on the estimates to replace the Napier Police Station, now dilapidated; on 28 July,

Mr Carnell this afternoon pointed out the dangerous condition of the railway line from Napier to the Spit, in consequence of the number of curves. The Premier read a reply from the Railway Commissioners stating that an alteration in the line would cost £2600 or £3000; and the commissioners have no funds to devote to the work. Further, they think better works might be undertaken, and therefore would not recommend the Government to do anything. Mr Carnell said successive Governments had promised that this line should be straightened.¹²

Two days later the House debated the Land for Settlements Bill until very late. The *Herald* reported,

The member for Napier was evidently burning with impatience last night to address the House on the Land for Settlements Bill, as he rose in his place about half-a-dozen times to "catch the Speaker's eye," but failed to do so till 1 o'clock in the morning. Mr Carnell then rose to speak to the Bill, but a minute or two

after he got on his feet he launched out into a violent tirade of abuse of the Hawke's Bay settlers, whom he accused of being selfish land grabbers, in the same elegant style in which Mr W.C. Smith indulged so frequently in former sessions, but the House was absolutely wearied with the subject. Mr Carnell apparently was under the impression last night that he was quite original in the attack he made. He told the House that Hawke's Bay was noted for four things but in his eagerness to abuse the runholders of that district he forgot to say what they consisted of till one honourable member jokingly asked what the four things were. Mr Carnell said the first thing was its large landed estates, the second its Twelve Apostles, the third the shady "manner" of its land transactions, and the fourth its Toryism. Members of both sides of the House were by this time indulging in suppressed laughter at the vehemence of Mr Carnell's language and his peculiar style of debate, but he proceeded to quote from figures to show the size of the holdings in Hawke's Bay, Captain Russell interjecting more than once that his statement was absolutely incorrect. There was scarcely a quorum of members present when your member was speaking, but he resumed his seat evidently under the impression that he had made one of the most powerful speeches of the debate.¹³

A writer for the Christchurch *Press* submitted satirical "Political Portraits" of Members of the House. He used the pseudonym "Phiz",¹⁴ and wrote this of Carnell,

A man he was to all the country dear.
And passing rich with forty pounds a year.

—GOLDSMITH.

Goldsmith's hero was "dear" in one sense to all the country, probably because, as he was "passing rich on forty pounds a year," that was all he cost the country. Mr Carnell is dear to all the country too. Because he costs it £240 a year, which is expensive for a legislator of his political knowledge and experience. Mr Carnell is decidedly one of the mysteries of the late general election. For many years Mr Samuel Carnell, better known in Napier as "old Sam Carnell," has been licensed to talk, in season and out of season, to whoever would listen to him, and without listeners, the wildest, most inconsequent

radicalism, freethought, socialism, spiritualism, and every other ism that has vexed the hearts of people of dyspeptic temperament and defective reasoning power. And no one—least of all Mr Carnell himself—professed to take good “old Sam” seriously! And yet the Napier electors appear to have taken him seriously at last? Or perhaps they are wild, waggish humorists! Who knows?

There is a legend, true or false I know not, that once on a time, in the far back, Mr Carnell fought from behind French Revolutionary barricades. Whether this happened in the Great French Revolution, or that of 1848, or ever happened at all, I am not in a position to state. It is possible that the allegation is fiction pure and simple. If so, the story may possibly have arisen from the fact that Mr Carnell’s head is in the shape of the type we are apt to associate with revolution and political conspiracy. It may be that in some unguarded moment an ill advised friend assured Mr Carnell that he resembled Danton or Robespierre or Mazzini or Kossuth or someone, and Mr Carnell has been trying ever since to look and to live up to the character. This is certainly a pity, for a more harmless, good-natured and illogical little man does not exist. Mr Carnell, who is elegantly bald and wears glasses, and a Jove-like frown, always seems to be enormously busy in the House. He is a photographer by trade, and whether the enormous correspondence which he conducts in his seat relates to negatives and retouching, or to weighty matters of State, or to the designs of malign European conspirators and secret societies, there is no evidence to show. He may be conducting some stupendous plot which will simultaneously burst up every potentate on earth, or he may be simply advising the adoption of a new kind of mountings for photos. I should be inclined to favour the latter supposition. A quite obedient benchman and servitor of the present Ministry, Mr Carnell as yet has not made his mark upon the political sands of time. But he has delivered himself of a profound axiom to the effect that in his opinion the totalisator “does not breed horses.”¹⁵

In a long letter Robert Price of Ruataniwha strongly supported the large runholders against liberal plans to break up the runs into smaller holdings; he began with an attack on Carnell's loyalties,

Napier's Mistake

SIR,—I think it is generally admitted, even by the Radical party, and the Women's League, that the electors of Napier made a terrible blunder in sending to Parliament a representative of the Ministry, instead of a representative of the town. The mischief, however, has been done, and all that anyone can be concerned with is now to endeavor to awaken the public to such a sense of the duty they owe to themselves and to the colony as to prevent, if possible, a repetition of so calamitous a mistake. You cannot too often assert, as you did on Monday, that the present Ministry "are certainly the most ignorant and incapable set of Ministers New Zealand has yet seen." That being taken for granted, it follows that for your representative to be an out-and-out supporter of those men the electors of Napier endorse the ignorance, and the incapacity of the Government. If the electors do not do so then Mr Carnell is a Ministerial "dumb dog," obedient to the lash of the "Whips," and does not represent Napier. Let us hope for the honor of the chief town of Hawke's Bay that the latter deduction is the true one.

I understand that Mr Carnell signalised his maiden speech by decrying the large landed proprietors of Hawke's Bay. But those gentlemen can at least lay the flattering unction to their souls that by their industry and enterprise they have added to the wealth of the colony. They have converted fern hills into grazing lands, and they have turned swamps into rich pasture, so that when little-minded and covetous men see this result of labor and expenditure of capital, they cry aloud with envy, and lay their heads together with a view to rob toil and money out of a just reward....

An MHR must attend to electorate duties as well as participating in national debate,

Mr Carnell presented a petition from the members of the N.Z. Workers Union (Hawke's Bay branch), praying the House to pass the "Station Accommodation Bill." There is no such bill

before the House, but the Shearers Accommodation Bill is probably what is meant.

Mr Carnell has been working hard to get a separate building for the post and telegraph office and the branch Savings Bank at Taradale. The Postmaster-General sent an officer of the department to report, and his report was that there was not yet sufficient business to warrant a separate office being placed in charge of a permanent officer, and the Hon. Mr Ward has written regretting that the request cannot be acceded to.¹⁶

Mr Carnell has given notice of a question in the House asking whether the Government will institute an enquiry into the administration of the Napier cemetery, it being alleged that that place is loosely kept, and confusion arises respecting the ownerships of the plots? The member for Napier has also tabled a question asking the Government whether they will erect a lighthouse on the Kidnappers?¹⁷

The Premier told Mr Carnell that he would authorise an enquiry to be made into the administration of the Napier cemetery. Either the Commissioner of Crown Lands, the stipendiary Magistrate, or the Police Inspector would be asked to act.¹⁸

The Minister for Lands informed Mr Carnell that he expected in a few days to receive the report of the engineers on the best way to protect the Meanee district from floods.¹⁹

Mr Carnell has been informed by the Hon. J. G. Ward that a lighthouse is to be erected at the Kidnappers at an early date. The exact point at Cape Kidnappers upon which the light will be erected has not yet been fixed upon. Mr Carnell has also received, in reply to his representations as to the manner in which the Stock office in Napier is administered, a reply to the effect that the evils complained of will be remedied.²⁰

He seems to have been even less successful in the hurly-burly of debate,

An amusing incident occurred during the proceedings in Committee last night. Mr Crowther, the bluff outspoken

member for Auckland, was giving expression to his views on the question of a million and a half loan, when, hearing some interjection from the member for Napier, he said, "I wish the honorable parrot there—". Mr Carnell at once rose to a point of order. The Chairman: "What is the point of order?" Mr Carnell: "He called me a parrot, Sir!" (Laughter). Mr Hall-Jones, speaking to the point of order, appealed to the Chairman to decide whether the hon. gentleman was a parrot. The Chairman ordered the withdrawal of the offensive term. Mr Crowther: "I withdraw it, Sir, but hope the hon. gentleman will allow us to get to business, and not make continual interjections. Let him get upon his feet, so that all can hear what he has to say."²¹

The *Wairarapa Daily Times* grabbed the story with glee,

Mr Crowther, the member for Auckland, is a sturdy independent old gentleman, with a will of his own, and a habit of saying exactly what he thinks, in a manner which is more forcible than polite. Recently Mr Crowther fell foul of Mr Carnell, the elect of Napier, and greatly amused the House by alluding to that gentleman as the "Hon. Parrot." Mr Crowther had, of course, to withdraw the expression, but it was felt that he had described Mr Carnell to a nicety, and all the members except the injured one, greatly chuckled thereat. Mr Carnell is the gentleman who replaced the genial Mr Swan at the last General Election and how he could have defeated anyone, even a Chinaman, has been a mystery to everyone ever since. The member for Napier is a first rate echo, he "hear hears" everything which comes from the Government benches, good, bad or indifferent. He is, in fact, a perfect specimen of that not uncommon animal, the party politician, "who never thinks of thinking for himself at all" and always carefully votes "at his party's call." Originality is not Mr Carnell's *forte* and his speeches are generally rehashes of somebody else's ideas, and repeated like a lesson in English which savours strongly of Cockaigne. Notwithstanding these drawbacks Mr Carnell has an intense admiration for the member for Napier. He beams with the utmost self-satisfaction through those blue *pince nez* of his, and is quite proud when he is able to interject parrot-like some

second-hand expression which is apropos of nothing and has no bearing on the particular subject under discussion. Mr Carnell will never be Premier of the Colony, but he will be known as the "Hon. Parrot" as long as he lives politically, which will not, I venture to say, be very long.²²

To the *Telegraph's* expressed delight, Carnell did once oppose a Government move,

(Mr Carnell) voted for once on the side of right and justice, and therefore against the Government. To see his name on a list of those who assisted to read the Government a much needed lesson was such a remarkable experience, that at first sight it suggested an error in telegraphing or reporting. But it turned out to be neither, and our representative is to be congratulated upon his vote. The question now arises, is Mr Carnell to be regarded as a strayed sheep, that has escaped from the Ministerial fold and is now bleating around aimlessly, or as a reformed politician? If the latter, and if he has seen the error of his ways in following a Government who talk democracy but practise tyranny, his change of attitude will be welcomed as a sign of returning sanity on the part of a larger section of the House.²³

Further trouble was brewing in Napier. The *Telegraph* of 1 December 1894:

WHAT IS THE TROUBLE?

IF what was stated at the last meeting of the Waipawa County Council be correct, the Great Liberal Party in Napier appear to be slightly at loggerheads. At that meeting Mr Jull proposed that Mr S. Carnell, M.H.R., should be the Waipawa County Council's representative on the Charitable Aid Board. This was opposed by Mr T. Sidey, and rightly too, if he be held entitled to rely upon statements made to him by the Chairman of the Charitable Aid Board. Mr Sidey said that he had been informed by Mr Cohen that Mr Carnell was a nuisance on the Board, and interfered greatly with the discharge of the Board's functions. Now Mr Cohen is entitled to his opinion, and, assuming that he stated what he is credited with by Mr Sidey, the latter was

justified in opposing the appointment of Mr Carnell. But there are two sides to every question, and so far the public have not had Mr Carnell's views. He may possibly think that Mr Cohen is a nuisance on the Board. Indeed, from what we know of certain episodes, it would be safe to say that Mr Carnell does think so. But so far as is known he has not troubled to say so to members of other local bodies, confining his remarks to meetings of the Board at which he has been present. Supposing that Mr Sidey stated correctly what he had been informed, it looks as if Mr Carnell has a grievance. If he has, he will no doubt state it, for he is not devoid of the spirit of self-defence. We only allude to the matter, however, for the purpose of showing that the supposed happy family have their "jars."²⁴

Carnell was never one to resist a poke at the runholders. The *Herald* in early December:

RUBBING SALT INTO HOSPITALITY'S SORE BACK.

MR CARNELL, M.H.R., has furnished an evening contemporary with a copy of a telegram to the Premier, in which he very properly strongly protested against Canterbury unemployed being brought to Hawke's Bay on Government works while we have so many of our own residents searching for work. If Mr Carnell had stopped there we should have had nothing but commendation for his action. But he went on to say:—"Runholders will give neither work nor food, and they tell the men, 'Go to your Liberal Government.'" If Mr Carnell believes this statement he is so ignorant of facts as to be unfit for the public position he holds. It he does not believe it, but still stated it, he is still more unfit. *Two* runholders in Hawke's Bay have advertised that they will not accommodate "swaggers." We understand that this is directed mainly at the "professional" element, who simply prey on the runholders of the province. At two other stations we know of—probably there are more—this "professional" swagger element has become so severe a strain that a certain amount of woodchopping is insisted upon as a *quid pro quo* for tea, bed, and breakfast. It is also possible that one runholder, driven almost to desperation by the demands on his purse, did use the expression quoted by Mr Carnell. But to allege that our runholders as a body are doing what Mr

Carnell states is a gross libel on a much-suffering body of men. Nine out of ten still accommodate all-comers without any work test, though to some it means a tax amounting to a large percentage on their income. Several others, not in any spirit of revenge, but to bring *facts* home to the workers, have made it a rule to say to applicants for work, "I have this year to pay £ — — in direct taxes in one form or another. My means are crippled to that extent. The policy of the Government has also made money dear, and I cannot borrow at rates enabling me to employ men at the present low prices of wool and mutton. Were things different I might give you work, but at present it is out of my power." But that is a very different thing from refusing work when they have it to give—which is what Mr Carnell implies—or from telling the men to "go to your Liberal Government." Another "friend of labor" is advising open robbery where the runholder does not receive every loafer with open arms and part from him with a benediction. Mr Carnell, and these "friends of labor" who are advising unfortunates to pursue a course which must land them in gaol, are the true enemies of labor, for by their abuse and misrepresentations of a long suffering class they are hardening the hearts of the runholders, and they may end in doing that of which they are now falsely accused.²⁵

In January 1895 Carnell held a meeting of Napier constituents at the Gaiety Theatre. It is hard, when relying on two hostilely conservative local newspapers, to discern how effective or even perceptive Carnell was as a politician but for once the *Herald* reported dispassionately,

MR CARNELL AT THE GAIETY THEATRE.

... Mr Montaigne Lascelles took the chair, and opened the proceedings by a few eulogistic remarks on Mr Carnell's actions in the House.

Mr Carnell, who was received with applause, modestly disclaimed the praises of the chairman. He had only done his duty, and no man should receive praise for that. When he stood on that platform a little over twelve months ago, he promised three things if he were returned to Parliament—first, that he would faithfully support the present Liberal Government; second, that he would always be at his post, whether the House

sat long or short hours; and third, that he would give his vote pro or con on every question that came before the House. He claimed to have redeemed those pledges, the one exception being that he paired on the Licensing Bill when he was compelled to return to Napier owing to serious illness in his family. But he had not been a blind follower of the Government. He had voted against them on the second reading of the Midland Railway Bill, and often on details of bills, but never against a Liberal principle. The Tories said the Government followers were driven into the lobbies at the crack of the whip. There was no necessity for any whip, but rather for a restraining rein. With one or two exceptions the Liberal members were true to the Liberal cause.

SIR ROBERT STOUT.

He would give a little narrative showing the position of parties. On his way to Parliament he met one of the Tory party on the Manawatu railway. That party tried to pump him, and to draw out what his views were regarding Stout, because it was known that he had always been an admirer of Sir Robert, and it was no doubt thought that he would be a blind follower of him. Now, he never was a follower of any man, but of measures, and though he had been a great admirer of Sir Robert, who was a man of great ability, he was sorry to say he had altered his opinion of him. He was sorry that a man of Sir Robert's undoubted abilities had prostituted them to gratify a private grievance against the Premier. (Applause and "No, no.") Well, every man was entitled to his opinion. He would give a reason for what he said. At the interview referred to in the train he let his questioner think he was swimming with him, and he went away quite pleased. The next day he (Mr Carnell) was accosted in Wellington by another temperance man and high Tory, Dr. Newman. Dr. Newman began to talk about a meeting of "our party," and after some questioning he (Mr Carnell) found it was to be a meeting to decide who should be Premier. Sir Robert Stout was to form a great Middle Party and lead the temperance people, and with the aid of the Tories drive the present Liberal Ministry from the Treasury Benches. Sir Robert soon started to show his position by moving on the Sergeant-at-Arms question, the attack being followed up by Captain Russell in a very bitter

way. The Premier promised to make a statement on the matter. Sir Robert's next hostile move was as to how clause 21 came to be inserted in the Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act. Mr Seddon said he did not know, but supposed it was put in on the advice of the law officers, but he would take all the blame on himself, though he did not know the clause would have a retrospective or retroactive effect on the Sydenham licenses. Now, when the bill passed its third reading in the House, with that clause in it, Sir Robert Stout was present, but he did not object to it. It appeared on the Order Paper in the usual way, and there was ample time for one of Sir Robert's ability to see its effect. If he did not, how could it be expected that a man so busy as the Premier should be able to master every clause of a measure of that kind. In fact, Sir Robert opposed everything Ministers did—nothing was right for him. Either a bill was badly draughted or something else was wrong, and whenever the Premier was speaking he kept on interjecting and annoying him in the most petty way. He opposed everything, even down to the Advances to Settlers Bill. If any bill before the House last session was calculated to do good to the colony it was that measure to advance money to struggling settlers at a low rate of interest. Sir Robert tried to kill the bill by fighting it on every point. He tried to get money lent on town property, which was never intended; the bill was to promote settlement. When the bill was in the Council he got his brother-in-law, Mr McGregor, to reduce the money to be lent from £3,000,000 to £1,500,000, and to put in town and suburban lands. He (Mr Carnell) was present as a listener at the conference of both Houses on the bill, and he could assure his hearers that Mr McGregor, the nominee of Stout, was one of the most bitter opponents the Liberal cause had, (Hear, hear.) The next move was for an address to be presented to the Governor asking him to appoint some fit person to be Sergeant-at-Arms. Of course the Premier treated it as a hostile motion. Then the leaders of the Tory party could be seen in conference and notes passed backwards and forwards. Stout led almost every attack on the Government, Captain Russell playing second fiddle to him. Imagine a party formed by Russell and Stout! Had Stout shed all his Liberal principles and turned Tory now he was becoming rich? Was he

like the Scotchman who turned against the Liberal party, which he had always supported, and when asked his reason said "Why, mon, I've got a coo o' my ain noo." (Applause and dissent.) The division on the motion showed 19 ayes and 48 noes, and that fairly represented the position of parties. He (Mr Carnell) had not been a great talker, but he had been a listener and a voter. He thought that ordinary members could listen to the leaders on either side, and from that form their own conclusions and vote accordingly. It was not necessary for every man to blather away hour after hour merely that he might appear in *Hansard*, though that was not always a true record of what a man said, for members could correct their speeches, and even put in the opposite of what they said.

THE MIDLAND RAILWAY.

Mr Carnell then referred at some length to the Midland Railway Bill. He was not asked to vote for it, because his opinion about it was known beforehand, but he was asked to leave the House when the division was taken. He refused, and said he would vote against it. That bill was forced upon the Government by a combination of Canterbury and West Coast members, assisted by some Otago members who thought that if that bill were passed the Otago Central line would have a good chance of being pushed on. The bill proposed to give the Midland Company £618,000 for certain lands, and to abandon the Nelson-Belgrove section. The company was not to give up all of its lands, but only part which would not feed a goat, and then it was to keep the railway. He admitted that the part of the railway to be abandoned presented great engineering difficulties, but that was no reason why the taxpayers' money should be given to the company, so he voted against the bill.

CAPTAIN RUSSELL.

Mr Carnell then proceeded to criticise Captain Russell's speech at the "bread and butter soiree" at Hastings as reported in the *HERALD*. Captain Russell, he said, had referred to the "good old times" when his father proposed him, his brother seconded him, and he was the only other person at the election. He (Mr Carnell) could fill in details of the "good old times" that the Captain would not like, and he gave him fair warning. Those times were gone for ever. Mr Carnell then read certain figures

from Captain Russell's speech relative to the borrowing of the present Government. He claimed that Captain Russell wilfully misstated facts, by including the £618,000 for the Midland Railway Company, which he well knew had not been passed. What the Government proposed to do was to utilise the £3,250,000 in the Post-Office Savings' Bank to promote settlement. Part of the scheme was to lend money to struggling settlers at 3 per cent, instead of the 6, 7, 8, or even 10 per cent they had had to pay. This was opposed by the fat men who lent money at high rates. Sir Robert Stout held a retaining fee for one of the largest money lending companies in New Zealand, and Captain Russell was chairman of the octopus money-lending firm which had its head quarters in Tennyson-street. That was the beginning of the end of the break-down of monopoly. (Applause.)

MR WARD'S EXPLANATION

Mr Carnell then read extracts from Mr Ward's recent speech at Auckland dealing with the lending proposals of the Government. This was to the effect that there was no risk, as the money could be advanced only to a three-fifths valuation, so that the £3,000,000 authorised would be lent on land valued at £4,200,000. The Government could borrow at 3½ per cent, and lending at 5 per cent there would be a margin of £45,000 per annum when the £3,000,000 was lent. The expenses would not exceed £5000 per annum, leaving a profit of £40,000 per annum for 35 years, which would amount to £1,400,000. Thus there would be £5,600,000 to secure advances of £3,000,000, and where was the risk there? As to the other borrowing proposals, £250,000 a year was for the repurchase of large estates, and Captain Russell and his friends did not like that. If that money had been available last year, and the Lands for Settlement Act had been passed, the Elsthorpe estate would now have been cut up and settled. There were 10,000 acres there, and the Commissioners offered £5 per acre, but the trustees asked £6, so the purchase fell through. Another £250,000 per annum was for the purchase of native lands, and the fat men did not like that Act, because now the natives could not sell in large blocks to private purchasers, but only to or through the Government. They wanted the people on the land,

and not the people starving in the towns while the few monopolised hundreds of thousands of acres, spent nothing in the country, and employed no one. Another £250,000 was for roading and felling bush before land was offered for sale. That was added to the price of the land, and when let on lease in perpetuity at 5 per cent there could be no loss there. But he would not speak farther on that head, as soon Richard of the Lion Heart would address a Napier audience. (Laughter.) He always thought a gentleman like Captain Russell was above calling people frauds, charlatans, and Sequahs.²⁶

WHAT "THE TIMES" THOUGHT.

He would like to point out to them what the London *Times* said about the Lands for Settlement Bill. On October 12th it pointed to the bill as showing the curious evolution through which the Protectionist principles had passed. The scheme if passed, it said, would become of great value to the agricultural labourer. This was the opinion of the Great Thunderer which moved the Tory world. How different was this from the local papers, who, if they did not distort facts for themselves, reiterated them on the authority of other papers even after they had been refuted. The Hon. Captain Russell in 1877 proposed to borrow 20 millions in one lump at 5 per cent, and lend it out to settlers at 6 per cent. That was when he was a needy man; it was different now that he did not feel the pinch.

THE BANK OF NEW ZEALAND.

A lot of talk was made about the Bank of New Zealand. He could tell them this—if such a crisis occurred again they would do the same as they had done in this instance. If the bank had closed its doors the people would have been the same as in Melbourne, thousands would have been ruined. They had not guaranteed this £2,000,000 without security. They said, "Give us a bill of sale and you shall have the money." They insisted also that the directors should be changed, and that a good man should be put at the head of affairs—that certain powers of audit should be given, and that if necessary they could appoint a reviewer. The guarantee had not cost the colony one shilling. Why, if the worst came to the worst, the Government could take over the bank and turn it into a State Bank. (Cheers.) Why should they not issue two or three millions of notes of their own,

then there would be plenty of money for everyone, and plenty to make public works. It might be said they would want gold to back this issue up. What better security could they have than the credit of the colony; that was better than gold. If the bank had closed up the shareholders would have been ruined. There was talk of resisting the call. He would advise them to do nothing of the kind; they would only get themselves into trouble. (Laughter.) The call was made to pay off some of the Estates Company's debentures which bore a very high rate of interest, and so make matters securer.

THE UNEMPLOYED QUESTION.

He would give them an incident or two showing how the unemployed were being treated. (He would try and guard himself against saying too much). What had the big squatters done to lighten the burden? They blamed the Government for the depression. He would ask them if they thought the depression in Australia, Queensland, and America were caused by the Liberal Government? Why, if a tidal wave swept into the bay to-morrow they would say: "There's that Dick Seddon again." (Laughter.) He would ask them if the Labor party caused the low prices at which mutton and wool were selling. He would now hit wool-growers right in the teeth. (Laughter.) About a year ago, just before the Chicago exhibition, Mr Seddon came up to Hawke's Bay to ask them (knowing that the staple of wool here was the best in the colony) if they would send some exhibits to America; but they were not on. They said he must buy it—(Go on!)—and send it himself. It was argued that the McKinley tariff would not last for ever. Well, the tariff had been removed, and there was no sample of Hawke's Bay wool there. Their fellows had cut off their noses to feed their face. (Laughter.) He could tell them of the treatment of the men who were seeking employment. He would if he were alive place the names of the squatters referred to on the pages of *Hausard* next session. Their treatment was cowardly and dastardly towards men who were starving. One man, weary and footsore, had asked a squatter for work. The latter asked him whom he voted for last time, and being told "nobody" he was turned away with this remark, "Go to your Government if you want work." He was going to say something now that he could prove, and that

was that Captain Russell was head in front of them all and he went about saying that every man was to sack his men and employ Maoris. He was in a position to sheet this home, and he would do it. (Cheers.) Another man had “blewed” his cheque and went to a station heartsick, footsore, and miserable. (One of the men on the station had told him about this.) He had been for 40 hours without food, and when he asked the squatter for something to eat, the latter pointed to the tank and said: “There you are, take your fill.” The money bag had made up his mind to starve the working man till he voted against the present Government. Would they do it? (“No!” and cheers.) He would give them another instance which occurred in Napier. The great Squatters’ club said to themselves, “Now, we must get these men with us; we will have to turn the Government out.” So they sent the Working Men’s Club a challenge to play them a game of billiards, with the idea of getting them back again to banquet them, but the working men laughed in their sleeves. (Laughter.) The swaggers were not always hard cases. What made them hard cases? Their manliness was sapped and they were humiliated by going from run to run begging employment, and they became sundowners. Let them go to France—they would find nobody on the tramp there (“Yes!” “No!” and laughter.) He had got some names in his hand, and he didn’t know whether to give them or not, (“Yes!” and “No!”) He admitted the swagger taxed the runholder, but if he was distributed fairly when you could buy cull mutton for one shilling a piece the hardship was not very great. The names he was about to give were honourable exceptions. They never sent men away empty. He referred to Mr Douglas McLean, Rev. Samuel Williams—(a voice: “A lie”)—and Hugh Campbell, of Pakowhai. Those were the three. (Loud cheers.) Captain Russell had said “We are the backbone of the country.” All he could say was it was a very limp one. His opinion was that the backbone of the country was the working class and the small settlers. (Cheers.) The fat man never bought a single thing in the place; they imported everything they needed. Why his hon. friend the member for Hawke’s Bay even sent his watch Home to be cleaned. (Continued laughter.) Recently a shipload of furniture had arrived for a Napier

gentleman. It was not the Government but these people who were causing the depression.

THE CUSTOMS.

They were beginning the old story about the duties on tea and sugar. Who put these taxes on? Why, the Continuous Ministry, the Tories. They twitted the Government about the duties on the necessaries of life. Now the surplus of last year was £290,000; this in the face of those men who said they were galloping to a deficit. They should take that £290,000 off the necessaries of life and go in for a big loan for public works and settlement, and pass the Betterment Bill and finish those railways up to paying point. He did not see why they should construct public works out of the ratepayers of the country. They were benefiting posterity; let posterity do some thing for the benefits they were leaving them. After they had taken off £290,000 or £300,000 they could put an extra screw on land and go in for a £10,000,000 loan. There were certain Acts passed last session which they only got a vague idea of because there was only one paper in the place which had got any truth in it. (Laughter.) The other papers never gave true representations of what took place in the House. (Oh!)

THE WORK OF THE SESSION.

He reviewed the Acts passed last session. With regard to the Gambling and Lotteries Act, he had tried to kill the totalisator by making the commission 6 per cent, and he would do it again. As regarded the Newspaper Libel Bill, he would vote for it if it came up again, especially the clause requiring all writers to sign their articles. He then answered several questions asked him by a local paper. In conclusion, he asked them to relieve him of one of his pledges, and that was to vote on every division. There were many occasions when Bills of little importance were being discussed that he could pair and arrange to be in bed instead of in the House.

QUESTIONS.

Questions having been invited, Mr McBraid stepped forward and moved a vote of thanks and confidence in Mr Carnell, whom he characterised as "the grandest representative that stands in the world."

Mr Barrett: Will you ask the Minister of Public Works if he will see that platelayers getting 6s 6d a day are allowed 7s, or that every man getting 6s 6d is to get 7s?

Mr Carnell: My efforts will always be to get the working man the highest rate of wages possible to give them.

Mr Barrett: Will you see the Minister of Public Works and ask him whether he would raise the wages.

Mr Carnell: I am going to Wellington in a few days, and will see the Minister about it and write you.

Mr Barrett: Will you be in favor of committees of the Hospital and Charitable Aid Boards being elected by the people, instead of by the County and Municipal Councils as now?

Mr Carnell: I am in favor of that because I can see a great difficulty. There will be, I believe, a new bill brought up next session (there was one this) dealing with this matter. We shall have to separate the Hospitals and Charitable Aid and impose a direct rate, and conduct the elections on the same principle as the local bodies.

Mr Barrett: Are you in favor of more of the wage-earning community to be "J.P." instead of nearly all commercials and professionals?

Mr Carnell: I do not see why a man, because he is a working man, will be unfit for a Justice of the Peace, if intelligent and of good repute. But I will say this, that working men have got no time to attend to this kind of thing. The duties are anything but pleasant. I do not like myself to have to sit and admonish a man because he has been drunk, and fine him when I know I have got the wrong man; I ought to have had the publican. (Cheers and uproar).

Mr Hallam moved and Mr Temperly seconded a vote of thanks and confidence in Mr Carnell, and also in the present Government.

The Chairman put the motion and declared it to be carried unanimously.²⁷

Russell, stung by Carnell's accusations, entered into correspondence with him and, dissatisfied with the outcome, sent the series of

exchanges to the *Telegraph*, which published them on 21 January. Wellington's *Post* republished them, commenting,

The humor of the position is the more delicious to those acquainted with the relative calibre and character of the two men. The poor badgered and desperately- floundering member for Napier is evidently as hopelessly out of place in recess politics as he was in the House.²⁸

Southland's *News* was more sympathetic,

Mr Carnell may have few gifts of oratory, but he has at least the merit of telling unpleasant truths more plainly than men of higher endowments would perhaps venture to do.²⁹

Surely, the *Herald* protested, they meant "unpleasant untruths"? The *Herald* sighed patiently,

We do not propose to wade through Mr Carnell's curious address to his constituents. No one who knows Mr Carnell takes him seriously. When Dame Nature was distributing her gifts the supply of the judicial faculty gave out before the misrepresentative of Napier was reached. What passes with him for judgment is so swaddled in prejudice as to be as incapable of free action as an Egyptian mummy. He divides mankind into sheep and goats, or Liberals and Tories. The former are all next door to the angels, the latter are all only a wee bit better than Auld Cloutie himself. Tell him a tale to the discredit of, say, Mr Seddon, and he will promptly denounce it as an infamous lie, and no amount of proof will convince him. But tell him a tale to the discredit of Captain Russell, and he will eagerly gulp it down despite absolute proof of its falsity.³⁰

Seddon was in Napier on 18 January and addressed a crammed crowd at the Gaiety Theatre, supported Carnell and received rapturous and prolonged applause.³¹ Russell spoke at length at the Theatre Royal "in reply to the Premier" on the 28th, referring to Carnell as "Jack's Parrot".³²

On 28 January 1895 Carnell sent a memo to the Premier, RJ Seddon, *Sir, Dr Caro MD of this city also has just returned from an extended tour in Europe & America.*

His principal reason in visiting Europe and America was to hear something (of) his late son, and he also took advantage of the opportunity and visited the various schools of medicine and surgery and became acquainted with the latest modes and discoveries.

He received the greatest courtesy from the academic authorities, and he has brought out with him the new remedy "Toxin" for diphtheria: he called to see you when you was at Napier last but was unable to do so. He wishes me to ask you if this Govmt. can give him a little assistance to travel to apply the new remedy.

I enclose to you his letter to me also cuttings from the papers. I have the honour to be Sir your most obedient servant

S Carnell.³³

Polish born Jacob Selig Caro 1832-1902, MD Berlin 1862, was first registered in Dunedin in 1863 and practised in various parts of the South Island before settling in Napier. He was appointed public vaccinator for the Pelorus district in 1875 and Napier in 1878. His son Percy, a recent law graduate of Cambridge, died from a brain tumour on board ship returning to NZ in 1894.³⁴ Caro had written to Carnell on 28 January,

You are aware from private conversation and the series of my letters published in the local papers on the subject that, on my recent visit to England and Germany, I had made myself thoroughly acquainted with the nature and method of the new remedy against diphtheria. I was also successful in securing a small supply of "antitoxin" for the purpose of giving it a fair trial in the colony. Being just now in somewhat straightened circumstances, I cannot extend my benevolent intention of travelling through the colony, in order to look up any sporadic cases, without some assistance from the Government. On the Hon the Premier's late visit to Napier, I sent him my card respectfully requesting an interview, but Mr Seddon was evidently too preoccupied that day to grant me my request, and then the following day returned to Wellington. I shall feel, Dear Mr Carnell, very much obliged to you if you would please to represent the matter to the Government and ask on my behalf for a small grant— say 15 or 20 guineas— to enable me to travel for a few weeks with a view of testing the new remedy prior to the Government, possibly ordering a larger and costlier supply.

I am sending you a copy of my published letters on diphtheria for further perusal and a copy of my certificate from Dr Löhr.

The note from Dr Löhr is dated 12 November 1894 and reads,

I have much pleasure in stating that Dr. J.S. Caro of Napier, N.Z., an old graduate of the Berlin University, has for some time attended the institution and taken great trouble to acquaint himself with the new method for the treatment of diphtheria by means of injection with antitoxin, the remedy invented by Professors Behring & Ehrlich. This method of treatment has proved itself very serviceable in the clinical wards for children in the Charité which is under the charge of Professor Heubner and myself.

Caro's application was regretfully refused by the Colonial Secretary. Diphtheria antitoxin is derived from the serum of horses injected with diphtheria toxin. Its use has now largely been replaced by antibiotics but it saved many lives in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Jacob Caro deserves recognition as an important medical pioneer in New Zealand; others were soon using the remedy—an anonymous correspondent to the *Herald* wrote of the antitoxin's use in Napier,

... the first medico to inject diphtheria serum into the first of the little hospital patients was Dr. Locking. Dr. Berneau, I believe, also made successful use of the anti-toxin at the same time as the hospital staff did. I may also recall the fact that Dr. Caro was the first medical man in New Zealand to import Behring's antitoxin and to direct the special attention of the colonial profession to the great value of the new remedy....³⁵

The House started its next session in June 1895. In July,

MR CARNELL AND THE TOTALISATOR.

After repeated attempts to get the House to affirm that the totalisator should not be longer licensed, Mr Carnell to-day succeeded in getting a motion carried affirming the desirability of repealing the clause in the Act of 1881 authorising the issue of totalisator permits. Members treated the matter with an air of indifference, offering absolutely no discussion on the question. The division resulted in the motion being carried by 35 to 24, but it is recognised that no action will be taken on it, as the Treasurer will not be likely to surrender this means of swelling

the revenue. Mr Carnell raised a laugh by seriously asking whether the Government would carry out the resolution.³⁶

NAPIER-WAIROA ROAD.

The Minister of Lands has promised Mr Carnell that he will vote another £1000 for the Napier- Wairoa road.

KIDNAPPERS LIGHTHOUSE.

The plans are now complete for the Kidnappers lighthouse, and tenders for the ironwork will shortly be called.³⁷

The Parliamentary session ended in November and

Mr S. Carnell, M.H.R , returned home on Saturday evening, having completed his Parliamentary duties for this year, and witnessed the closing scenes of the session. Before leaving Wellington he obtained a definite promise from the Premier that the local volunteers would be supplied at once with a 6lb machine quick firing Nordenfeldt gun, which will replace the present antiquated and dangerous weapon of war at present in use here. Regarding the land for settlement question, Mr Carnell states that the purchase of 4000 acres at Hastings from Mr Wellwood has been concluded by the Government, and the property will be immediately cut up into small allotments and thrown open for selection. Endeavors are also being made to secure suitable land in the Petane district, with a view to advancing the interests of the port. The erection of Kidnappers lighthouse has been postponed for a year, the Government finding it impossible to proceed with this work as well as one of a similar nature at Cape Palliser. The matter was left to the Shipowners' Association to determine which of the two lighthouses was most necessary, and, as previously announced, Cape Palliser was decided upon.³⁸

Mr Carnell, M.H.R., returned to Napier on Saturday night, looking very careworn, as the result of rushing in and out of the lobbies, and reclining on the comfortless cushions in the Assembly Chamber during the prolonged and wearying session just passed.... The reason he had nothing to say during the four months and eleven days which constituted the session was that

he is essentially a thinker and a worker, and not one prone to lingual excesses.³⁹

He continued to sit on the Harbour Board, the Hospital Trustees Committee and the Licensing Committee but was voted off the Education Board in February 1896. In April he decided he would address the electors and did so at length in the Gaiety Theatre.⁴⁰ The *Herald* ran its usual critique,

MR CARNELL is not among those who acquire wisdom and knowledge with grey hairs. His speech on Monday exhibited him as still in political swaddling clothes.... we confess to total inability to understand what Mr Carnell was driving at in some of his other bungles, but that they were bungles is evident on the face of them. Even in the simplest matters he talked nonsense.... an exhibition of blank ignorance.... Every one of these statements was grossly incorrect.... Mr Carnell was equally nonsensical when dealing with the increase in production.... Now we have not a high opinion of Mr Carnell's capacity. But we credit him with a desire to be honest.... We do not, therefore, accuse him of wilfully distorting facts. But the only alternative is to accuse him of blatant ignorance.... the fallacies with which his whole long and dreary speech was loaded.... Flatness, dreariness, and dry rot were over everything....⁴¹

The *Telegraph* must have been thrilled to receive this letter...

A WORKER'S VOICE.

SIR,—Seeing by Mr Carnell's address that he promises great things to the working man in the sweet by and by, and asks them to stand shoulder to shoulder in their own interests, I can only say that if they do that Mr Carnell and party will not get that support. And I say as a working man it is gross presumption on their part to expect it. What have they ever done or tried to do to benefit the working man? They have been appealed to thousands of times for the last five years, but all to no purpose. Now that a general election is in view they throw out a bait. Their labor policy is as full of corruption as an egg is full of meat, which I will show Mr Carnell and the public later on. The co-operative system, I admit, benefits a certain class of old

fossils, the very near friends of Ministers and the most hurtful people in existence to the genuine working man. Mr Carnell's nature must have changed very much, if he condescends at the next sitting of Parliament to speak on any subject so unimportant as the working man's interest, as nothing could draw him at the last sitting. He simply kept his seat like a ship becalmed, day after day, without breath or motion, like, a painted ship on a painted ocean. The dear gentleman seems very shy of that monster he terms the National Ass. Thanking you for inserting these remarks.—I am, &c,

A WORKING MAN. Hastings, March 18, 1896.⁴²

... and the *Herald* this letter,

MR CARNELL DROPS INTO POETRY.

SIR,—I trust that Mr Carnell is more accurate in his political quotations than he was in his poetical on Monday night when he spouted:—

When none were for the party,
But all were for the State;
When the rich man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the rich(!)

What Macaulay wrote was as follows:—

THEN none WAS for a party,
THEN all were for the State;
THEN the GREAT man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the GREAT.

Perhaps it is hardly worth while to correct Mr Carnell's bundle of blunders, seeing that few educated people attach any importance to his utterances. "As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout," so is good poetry in the speech of a fourth-rate politician. I therefore suggest that Mr Carnell should leave poetry alone in future. If, however, he *must* have a jingle, here is a bit of doggerel quite good enough for his speeches. It has at least the merit of rhyme, which his garbled quotation had not:—

Sam Carnell's all for party,
And cares not for the State:
His chance of re-election though
I do not think is great.

I am, &c, H.H. MURDOCH,
Hastings, March 18th, 1896.⁴³

Rumours spread that Carnell would not stand for re-election or would be ousted by his own former supporters. Carnell is said to have blocked the elevation of Hyman Phineas Cohen, JP to the Upper House and he is the subject of this *Telegraph* editorial,

Things in connection with Seddonism in Napier are in that condition which is colloquially described as “awfully mixed.” A certain disappointed Justice, who was not called to the Upper House, is extremely anxious that his very good friend, Mr Samuel Carnell, shall not go back to the House. He has not made up his mind yet how best to spoil the sitting member’s chance, but he is understood to regard with anything but equanimity a political campaign on his own account. He once contemplated it, we are assured, not because he thought he could beat Mr Carnell, but in order to make sure of so splitting up the votes that whoever won Mr Carnell must lose. Since then, however, the Justice has considered that he might be “told of things” if he ran the election himself, so he has secured what that “famous mesmerist,” Mr T. A. Kennedy, would call a good “Subject.” This Subject—so the plot of the game goes—is to seek to form a new Liberal Association, and the duty of the new association is to claim the right to decide who shall stand at the Napier election in the Seddon interest, and in pursuance of that right to select the Subject as the candidate. On his side, the Justice is to obtain the support of the liquor party, and between the Justice, the Subject, and the Trade, it is hoped that Mr Carnell will be thrown out. When the time comes we may be impelled to do our best to prevent the return of Mr Carnell, but we will do it fairly if we have to act, and not trust to treason and to unholy alliances that are designed to gratify the diseased vanity of a small section of the community.⁴⁴

Seddon visited again and spoke at the Gaiety Theatre, where a heckler shouted, “Hang Sammy Carnell!” Seddon replied that Mr Carnell was elected by the votes of the constituency and was entitled to respect as their representative. But hard words break no bones and he undertook to say that at the next election Mr Carnell would bob up serenely.⁴⁵

Parliament reconvened in June and in the Address in Reply on the 18th,

Mr Carnell referred at great length to the Russell land grant, and contended that Captain Russell had not complied with the conditions of military settlers. He had got land wrongfully and he ought to restore it and pay interest on the money. The party to which he (Mr Carnell) belonged in Hawke's Bay had been boycotted out of existence, but the handwriting was on the wall, and when the numbers went up at the next election they would see a change. He made reference to several Hawke's Bay land transactions which he strongly condemned and said the Hawke's Bay landowners were discharging all men in their employ so as to intensify the labor difficulty.⁴⁶

Mr Carnell's speech of Thursday is commanding much attention amongst the members of both Houses. Mr G. W. Russell last night announced it as a disgrace, a discredit, and a degradation of Parliament. In the lobbies, also, it has been severely censured.⁴⁷

Thus "R.A.L." in the *N.Z. Times* on the Address-in-Reply debate:—"Mr Carnell follows, steps forward along the political path mentally, but soon wanders into things which make the House laugh.... Mr Carnell gives the House sport for an hour or so." Napier enjoys in addition to its many other distinctions the proud position of providing the buffoon of the House.⁴⁸

The degradation of the present House of Representatives proceeds apace. The speech delivered on Thursday afternoon by Mr Carnell, member for Napier, may be taken as a measure of the downward process. It was concerning this vulgar deliverance that Mr Thomas Mackenzie made the severe but just remark that there was a class of men in the House who were not fit to serve on road boards. And we fear that Mr Mackenzie was not far wrong.⁴⁹

The *Marlborough Express* used Carnell's speech to sum up his performance as a Member in a long editorial, largely reprinted in the *Herald*,

PARLIAMENTARY MUDTHROWING.

THE tone of the present Parliament has been gradually deteriorating from the first weeks of the first session, but it was

not until we had glanced through the two numbers of Hansard already issued this session, that we had any adequate idea as to the virulence of the attacks made by certain so-called honorable members at their opponents.... Members on both sides of the House have been to blame, but the discredit attaching to having made one of the most gratuitously offensive speeches it has ever been our misfortune to peruse in the Parliamentary records of this Colony belongs to a gentleman on the Government side of the House, Mr Carnell, member for Napier. Mr Carnell, who is, we believe, an old resident of Hawke's Bay, prides himself on being a Liberal of the most "out and out" description. In private life a worthy, if somewhat eccentric, citizen, his election for Napier was largely due to a passing wave of prohibitionist enthusiasm, which, combined with the Liberal reaction at the time, sent Mr Carnell to a place for which he is singularly unfitted. For two sessions, hugely to the surprise of Napier, Mr Carnell preserved almost uninterrupted silence, contenting himself with giving the Government a slavish support which was no doubt much more appreciated by his chiefs than his recent attempt to assist them by a speech has been. But when the third and concluding session came round, Mr Carnell felt it incumbent upon him to make what he no doubt would call a "splash," and accordingly during the debate on the Address-in-Reply, he at last emerged from his long silence, and, unfortunately for his reputation for that wisdom so frequently and mistakenly accredited to silent men, succeeded in breaking the Parliamentary record for bad taste and vulgarity by his abusive reference to the Hon Captain Russell, a gentleman who, intellectually, is as much his superior as is a University professor to a first standard schoolboy. We have read Mr Carnell's speech with care, and it is with difficulty that we can find terms sufficiently severe in which to condemn such a miserable display of political malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness. A few, a very few extracts will suffice to show our readers how the privileges of Parliamentary debate have been abused by certain members when attacking a political foe. After digging up a wretched story of an alleged misuse of a land grant by Captain Russell's father, an old gentleman who is now in England, and cannot defend himself, Mr Carnell proceeded:—

“To give you some idea of the holiness of Hawke’s Bay, I may say we have Twelve Apostles, and it should be called the Holy Land, but I think a more proper name should be the Land of the Forty Thieves. If he (Captain Russell) dares to say anything about spoils to the victors I shall show him how the spoils went to the vanquished. There are men at this very time actually with two billets. Men who have been behind the scenes, and knew the little games of The Twelve Apostles, have been kept sweet by giving them billets. Some time ago the son of one of these men I have been speaking of, committed a dastardly crime upon a child of a tender age, with the result afterwards that the child died. What did they do? They held a short enquiry with closed doors; then they put him in gaol one night, and next they put him on board ship and sent him out to Chili. But let one of the Liberals get into trouble and see the result. They will just jump on him and do all in their power to persecute him to death. How many bankrupts have been waltzed through? How many? I will not mention the names unless he challenges me to do it. What about the Heretaunga Block. The most dastardly, cowardly, wicked transaction that ever disgraced civilization was Heretaunga. The honourable gentleman did not appear on the scene, but he was in at the division of the spoils.”

Further on we find the member for Napier saying: “While the man to whom I refer was preparing all this villainy my honorable friend stood in the back ground; but he came in at the death and got 5000 acres of the Heretaunga Block, some of the best land in the colony.”! Next he dealt with an alleged agreement said (by Mr Carnell) to have been arrived at by the Hawke’s Bay sheepfarmers that they should give “no work to any worker known to be a “Liberal,” and continued:—

“I challenge the honorable gentleman. I say that he has been the prime mover of the decree that has gone forth that no Liberals need apply; in fact they did “sack” all the men known to be Liberals on their stations.”

Up to this point Captain Russell had, we notice, treated Mr Carnell’s long tirade with supreme contempt, but his feelings apparently being too much for him he here gave the latest charge an absolute denial. In spite of this denial, a denial made by a gentleman, and which Mr Carnell should in all courtesy have accepted, the member for Napier insisted the statement was true, and proceeded to charge Captain Russell with having said to him (Mr Carnell):

“If you impose that land and income tax it will fall upon the men. I will discharge all the men that I possibly can.”

Again the member for Hawke’s Bay gave Mr Carnell’s statement an unqualified denial, again the member for Napier persisted in his statement.... Wallowing further in the mire of personalities and recklessly-abusive charges, Mr Carnell charged Captain Russell with having (at the time the railway contracts were being worked by Messrs Brogdens, and there was a difficulty about the rate of wages) advised the Superintendent of Hawke’s Bay (Mr Ormond), who has been Minister for Public Works, to send round a circular to the Superintendents of the provinces asking their co-operation to introduce Chinese coolie labor to build our railways, and further that he, Captain Russell, was a member of the Provincial Executive at the time. This specific statement again received categorical denial at the hands of the Opposition leader, Captain Russell’s reply being “That is absolutely without foundation. I was never in the Provincial Executive, and I never gave any advice on the subject.” Mr Carnell having retorted: “If you were not in the Executive, you were their adviser,” the tardy attention of the Acting Speaker seems to have been aroused, and the member for Napier was told that he must accept the honorable gentleman’s denial. Mr Carnell did accept it, but continued “I will draw my own conclusions,” as no doubt will the electors of Hawke’s Bay and Napier when they read their Hansard. We have nearly arrived at the end of this extraordinary speech, but one more extract we must give, as it is a perfect gem.

Mr Carnell: I accused Captain Russell of having aided, abetted, and conspired with other large employers of labor to discharge their men, so as to revenge themselves on the Liberal legislation of the Government. I was on the platform when I did this. Captain Russell wrote to me demanding my authority. I could not give it then without risk of injury to my informants, but I shall give it now. It was *two of his domestic servants*.

The italics, of course, are ours. “It was two of his domestic servants.” Great Heavens, is this what true Liberalism is reduced to, that its advocates should go prying into an opponent’s doings by the aid of his “domestic servants!” We do

not know Napier nor Napier people, but we shall have a very poor opinion of the town and its inhabitants if Mr Carnell represents the Hawke's Bay capital in the next Parliament. Following Mr Carnell came Mr T. Mackenzie, who hit out at the traducer of his leader with much vigor. The member for Clutha, after attending to the lack of courtesy shown by the member for Napier in refusing to acknowledge Captain Russell's contradictions, and to withdraw his "calumny," declared, and very properly, that "we ought to have men here who have some idea of the dignity of debate; men, who, when they enter this Chamber will deal with the leading and important questions engaging the public mind in a statesmanlike and proper manner, and who will not abuse the high privileges conferred upon them by using Parliament as a medium for throwing mud at their neighbors and giving utterance to their personal uncharitableness." We blame Mr Carnell very much for his unwise and, indeed, most reprehensible outburst against Captain Russell, but ten times the blame is attachable to Mr Guinness, who, as Acting Speaker, ought to have stopped the member for Napier from affording the House so improper and absolutely indecent an exhibition.⁵⁰

Carnell redeemed himself to a small extent by the passing of the second reading of his Bill to abolish the totalisator. For once the *Telegraph* agreed with him,

THE Bill introduced by Mr Carnell for abolishing the totalisator has passed its second reading. We congratulate the author of the measure upon his success.

It will serve to set against his unfortunate exhibition a few weeks ago.

The question now is—What will the Upper House do? If it wishes to do what is right, and to confer a benefit upon the colony, it will endorse the measure if it should be sent from the Lower Chamber.

The division on the second reading of the Bill may be taken to indicate that it will pass the House of Representatives. In that case, unless the horse-owner clique in the Legislative Chamber can bar the way, the first step in the undoing of a great wrong will be taken.

Legalising the totalisator never had a shred of reason or right to recommend it. If gambling is wrong the totalisator is wrong. If gambling is not wrong it was wrong to prohibit all forms of gambling but the totalisator, and doubly wrong to grant a monopoly of the totalisator to a few.

If it was right to allow the totalisator to be used as a gambling machine, then the right to use it should have been within the reach of all who chose to avail themselves of it.

But it was never right. It has been a curse to the country. It has multiplied spieling assemblages and pothouse race-meetings. It has encouraged and intensified gambling. And it has not only failed to stamp out the bookmaker (who is quite as respectable, from the point of view of abstract morality, as the totalisator proprietor and user) but has multiplied him by increasing the gambling spirit.⁵¹

It might interest some of your sporting readers to learn that Mr Carnell's Bill to abolish the totalisator, which passed its second reading in the House by a good majority, is not likely to be persevered with, and probably nothing further will be done with it this session.⁵²

Replying in the House to Mr Carnell, who wished the Government to take up his Totalisator Abolition Bill, the Colonial-Secretary said that while regretting that there was such an evil as gambling, and that it was encouraged by the use of the totalisator, Government were not prepared on the evidence now before them to accede to the Honourable gentleman's request.⁵³

A *Telegraph* correspondent noted this inconsistency, as well as the further inconsistency when Carnell introduced L Binnie, secretary of the racing club, to the Colonial Secretary, in order to ask for an additional totalisator permit!

Oh, Sammy, now you're on the wheeze,
 And trying hard all men to please—
 Tell us, Sammy, tell us true,
 What occurred 'twixt Dick and you
 When you faked the Tote Bill?

As you winked the other eye
 And Dick returned the wink so sly,
 Did you think how augurs greet,
 When they do each other meet,
 As you faked the Tote Bill?

You must have been in happy frame,
 As you and Dick fixed up the game
 To draft the Bill, and have it read
 A second time—then kill it dead—
 What a lark, that Tote Bill!

But then, dear Sammy, came the rub,
 When you were asked by Binnie's Club,
 To get for them an extra day
 On which the bad machine might play,
 Despite your faked-up Tote Bill.

Consistency was then at stake,
 But did you, Sam, put on the brake
 To stop the wicked, carnal crew
 From playing on the Tote ?—Not you—
 You jumped upon your Tote Bill.⁵⁴

1896 was election year, yet by August there had been little activity,

I never knew of such listlessness on the eve of a general election, especially here in Napier, where the fires of party have burned so fiercely in the past. The fact is that there is a gap that will not be easily bridged over. There are those who plump for Carnell for all they are worth, but there are others again who say they cannot support him because of his prohibition proclivities. A new feature has been introduced through the uncertainty that exists as to what Mr Douglas McLean's movements will really be. Some say he will not be a candidate and others that he most certainly will. Longing eyes are cast by many at Mr Cornford, and it is their earnest wish that he should come forward, but Mr Carnell blocks the way.⁵⁵

The local branch of the Knights of Labor has passed the following resolution:— "That the secretary be instructed to write to Mr Carnell, and convey to him the thanks of this Assembly for his past efforts in the interest of the workers, and beg to

assure him of their continued support, also in their power to secure his return at the forthcoming election.⁵⁶

At last, on 10 November, the candidates were announced: Carnell for the Government and RDD McLean for the Opposition.⁵⁷ The Wellington *Evening Post* couldn't make up its mind,

The *Evening Post* considers it hard to suppose that the Napier constituency "could endure for a second Parliament to be represented by so feeble and incompetent a member as Mr Carnell, whose only political distinction lies in being the smallest end most pliable joint in the long tail of the Seddon party." It further asks how the Premier can possibly hope, against so strong a man as the son of the late Sir Donald McLean, to get his incompetent henchman returned for Napier.⁵⁸

The *Evening Post* says that the Government has, by acquiring the Woburn Estate, made Mr Carnell "a certainty for Napier".⁵⁹

The usual electioneering speeches began with Carnell in the Gaiety Theatre on 23 November. The *Telegraph* was unimpressed,

As Mr Carnell's candidature for a second term in Parliament is a public matter, and as in pursuance of that candidature Mr Carnell addressed a meeting of electors last night, we are to a certain extent called upon to notice the fact. We regret the liability, for it is quite impossible, to utter a single word of praise concerning the meeting. It was an exhibition which must have made even Carnell's political opponents sorry for him. We do not blame the speaker. He did his best, and, as an old proverb puts it, the best can do no more. But that an important constituency like Napier should have been compelled to witness, as a phase of electioneering, such a pitiful display as that which all too lengthily developed itself in the Gaiety Theatre last evening, is something for the constituency to be heartily sorry for. We have no intention of condemning Mr Carnell. Even his abuse of ourselves shall not lead us to do so. His meeting last night must be regarded as his sufficient condemnation; and at that we drop the subject.⁶⁰

The *Telegraph* did report the substance of the speech and the activities of the audience in more detail. At the end it was moved that “a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to Mr Carnell for his address, and of confidence in the Liberal Government”. Carnell’s longstanding ally Emily Hill seconded the motion, but on a show of hands it “was negatived by a large majority”.⁶¹ (At his next two meetings, in Taradale and the Spit, Carnell would not permit a vote of confidence). The *Hastings Standard* said he was “well received”.⁶² The *Herald* said “The whole speech bristled with... inaccuracies, but as the ready laughter of the audience showed his blunders and misstatements, it is unnecessary to dissect it further, especially as Mr Carnell will no longer represent Napier in Parliament.”⁶³

His opponents stirred up public opinion against Carnell by dragging out his 1893 opinions on the Old Testament, republicising his votes on reduced wages for some classes of working men, stressing his lack of independence from Seddon. The *Herald* was nothing if not partisan,

THE NAPIER SEAT.

TO-DAY the electors are asked to record their votes. We trust a majority of them will not place Napier again in the unenviable position of returning a candidate who by his past actions has shown that he is but a marionette in the hands of Mr Seddon. Napier has not been fairly represented in Parliament for the last three years, and we ask the electors in all seriousness to consider their position. It is a reflection on an important community like this that the people should have been so blind to their own interests as to return a candidate who has not the slightest qualification as a member. This much must be said for them, that they did not know Mr Carnell. But they know him now. At the election to-day an opportunity will be given of reversing their decision of three years ago in favor of a candidate who gives promise of a great political future if he is but given the opportunity. If indications go for anything, then Mr McLean’s election is assured. It is a sign of the times when everywhere in the community there is visible a strong revulsion of feeling against the party which the sitting member for Napier has so slavishly supported. Mr Carnell has displayed his thorough incapacity for the duties which were unfortunately thrust upon him, and the time has arrived for the electors to say that a better

man must take his place. That man is Mr Douglas McLean. He has shown in his political addresses that he has a thorough grasp of the politics of the day, and that he is a man of deep reading whose general knowledge will prove of great utility in Parliament. He will be a member of whom Napier may well be proud. We have a higher opinion of the electors than to think that they will vote against him, and for ignorance and incompetence. But Mr McLean's friends must make a point of recording their votes. We have heard some electors say that they will not trouble to vote, as Mr McLean's return is assured. But if his friends will not take the slight trouble involved in going to a booth and recording their votes they may find that their neglect has allowed the other side to snatch a victory....⁶⁴

Nationally there was a small swing towards the opposition, but in Napier it was almost a rout: Robert Donald Douglas McLean, sheepfarmer 2456 and Samuel Carnell, photographer 1709.⁶⁵

1 *Daily Telegraph* 9 December 1893.

2 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 14 December 1893.

3 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 16 March 1894.

4 *Daily Telegraph* 22 March 1894.

5 *Daily Telegraph* 26 May 1894.

6 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 1 June 1894.

7 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 13 June 1894.

8 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 30 June 1894.

9 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 6 July 1894.

10 *ibid.*

11 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 12 July 1894.

12 *Daily Telegraph* 28 July 1894.

13 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 30 July 1894.

14 Phiz was also the pseudonym of Hablot Knight Browne, the illustrator of many of Dickens's books.

15 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 14 August 1894, reprinted from the *Press*.

16 *Daily Telegraph* 29 August 1894.

17 *Daily Telegraph* 4 September 1894.

18 *Daily Telegraph* 6 September 1894.

19 *Daily Telegraph* 21 September 1894.

20 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 24 September 1894.

21 *Daily Telegraph* 26 September 1894.

22 *Wairarapa Daily Times* 4 October 1894.

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- 23 *Daily Telegraph* 19 October 1894.
 - 24 *Daily Telegraph* 1 December 1894.
 - 25 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 6 December 1894.
 - 26 A sequah was a Victorian celebrity quack.
 - 27 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 8 January 1895.
 - 28 Quoted in *Hawke's Bay Herald* 25 January 1895.
 - 29 Quoted in *Hawke's Bay Herald* 30 January 1895.
 - 30 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 9 January 1895.
 - 31 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 19 January 1895.
 - 32 *Daily Telegraph* 29 January 1895.
 - 33 Archives IA1 685.
 - 34 Wright St Clair RE 2003. "*Historia Nunc Vivat*" *Medical Practitioners in New Zealand 1840 to 1930*. Self published.
 - 35 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 July 1895.
 - 36 *Daily Telegraph* 18 July 1895.
 - 37 *Daily Telegraph* 13 September 1895.
 - 38 *Daily Telegraph* 4 November 1895.
 - 39 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 4 November 1895.
 - 40 *Daily Telegraph* 17 March 1896. *Hawke's Bay Herald* 17 March 1896.
 - 41 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 18 March 1896.
 - 42 *Daily Telegraph* 19 March 1896.
 - 43 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 19 March 1896.
 - 44 *Daily Telegraph* 20 March 1896.
 - 45 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 27 May 1896.
 - 46 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 19 June 1896.
 - 47 *Daily Telegraph* 20 June 1896.
 - 48 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 June 1896.
 - 49 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 23 June 1896.
 - 50 *Marlborough Express* 1 July 1896.
 - 51 *Daily Telegraph* 16 July 1896.
 - 52 *Hastings Standard* 24 July 1896.
 - 53 *Hastings Standard* 11 September 1896.
 - 54 *Daily Telegraph* 23 November 1896.
 - 55 *Hastings Standard* 4 August 1896.
 - 56 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 24 September 1896.
 - 57 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 10 November 1896.
 - 58 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 12 November 1896.
 - 59 *Hastings Standard* 14 November 1896.
 - 60 *Daily Telegraph* 24 November 1896.
 - 61 *Daily Telegraph* 24 November 1896.
 - 62 *Hastings Standard* 24 November 1896.
 - 63 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 25 November 1896.
 - 64 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 4 December 1896.
 - 65 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 5 December 1896.
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CHAPTER 10: THE MAYOR OF NAPIER 1904–1907

For the next few years Samuel Carnell resumed his civic responsibilities as Justice of the Peace on the Resident Magistrate's bench and in keeping his colleagues frustratedly honest at various committees, arguing with chairmen (never one to avoid controversy), for instance in December 1896,

The proceedings at the sitting of the Napier Licensing Bench yesterday seems to have been of the liveliest character, Mesdames Hill and Begg, and Mr Carnell, on the one side, seeming to cavil at everything that was being done or had been done, and the other members of the committee being of a different opinion. At one stage of the proceedings Mr Carnell claimed the protection of the chair from remarks made by Mr Sutton, saying "he was not going to be insulted by any man in doing what he considered his duty." Ultimately the business before the court, transfers, was granted in each case, and the following interchange of compliments took place:—

Mrs Hill: I am very sorry at your remarks, Mr Sutton. I don't think them at all gentlemanly.

Mr Sutton: I am sorry Mrs Hill's' remarks are so unladylike.

Mr Carnell, to Mr Sutton: They are more fitted for a tap-room.

The Bench then adjourned.¹

At the meeting of the Harbor Board yesterday Mr Carnell raised the question of the legality (or otherwise) of Mr Coleman's election to the Board. The chairman refused to allow any discussion on the matter, deeming it most improper to interfere.²

On 4 November 1898 Samuel Carnell "ex M.H.R." wrote to the Minister of Defence,

I have the honor, in the event of the Militia called out, to offer my services as a commissioned officer.

I may state that I was Battery Sergeant Major in the F Battery New Zealand Artillery Vol. from its first inception under the late Major Withers, for a number of years, and also for several years, held a

*commission as a Lieutenant in the same corps. If appointed I would gladly take the duties of drilling a company if appointed.*³

Tensions were rising in South Africa and Seddon decided to call out the militia for a fortnight's training the following Easter. The *Observer* thought it madness,

A FARCE IN DUNGAREE.

The Calling Out of the Militia.

The report came from Wellington some short time since that the Defence authorities intend to call out the militia for a fortnight's drill at Easter-time. Is this one of Dick Seddon's little jokes, or has he allowed his level-headed common sense to be played upon for once by a few military swashbucklers? If he is in real earnest, and the report came with a certain savour of authority about it, then Richard has vastly mistaken the temper of the people if he thinks they will tamely submit to this sort of useless burlesque.

The calling out of the militia for a fortnight's drill means that every man in the community, under forty years of age, must, for that period of time, allow his business to go to the demnition bow-wows, while he mortifies his self-esteem by masquerading around in a blue dungaree uniform. It is a pretty stiff price to pay for a Government fancy-dress show on the tented field. Only the very last extremity of war, with a hostile force beleaguering our gates, and the city in a state of siege, would warrant such a complete interruption to the operations of trade, commerce and manufacture.

Our people will be ready enough to make sacrifices for the common weal, and to lay aside the ordinary pursuits of the civilian for the stern business of war, when the foe threatens our hearths and homes, but to talk of mobilising the manhood of the city in the piping times of peace, and of turning topsy-turvy the work-a-day life of the community for a military fanfarronade, is a kind of midsummer madness that the average colonist will not meekly brook.⁴

As for Carnell's offer, Colonel Pole Penton, Commander NZ Forces, suggested,

*Thank this gentleman for his offer & say that his name has been noted in case his services should be required.*⁴

The next general election would be at the end of 1899 and throughout the latter half of the year rumours suggested various opponents for McLean: someone chosen by Seddon, ALD Fraser—and then in November,

The Government organ in Wellington says that Mr S. Carnell is to oppose Mr Douglas McLean for the Napier seat in the interests of the Government....⁵

SIR,—A report having been put into circulation to the effect that Mr A. L. D. Fraser is to be the Government candidate for Napier, I wish to say that nobody has had authority from me to state that I retire from the contest in his favor. I might say more, but forbear.—I am, &c, S. CARNELL.⁶

We have applied to Mr A. L. D. Fraser for information as to whether he proposes to stand for Hawke's Bay or Napier in the Government interest at the approaching elections, and he informs us that he does not yet know anything of the arrangements.⁷

At a meeting of the Napier Liberal Party on Saturday night Mr A. L. D. Fraser was definitely selected as the Liberal candidate for Napier at the ensuing election. Mr Fraser has consented to be nominated, and we understand Mr Carnell retires in his favor.⁸

Alfred Levasour Durell Fraser 1863–1919 was born in Canterbury, settled in Hastings and was a school-teacher, then a Native Land Court advocate. In 1896 he had unsuccessfully challenged William Russell for the Hawke's Bay electorate. Now he would contest the Napier seat and Samuel Carnell was appointed chairman of the committee elected to support his candidature.⁹ It was he who formally proposed Fraser and HP Cohen who seconded the nomination,¹⁰ much to the surprise of at least one correspondent,

Cohen, Carnell, and Company.

SIR,—But a short time ago Mr Samuel Carnell was boasting of how he had “put a spoke in Himey’s wheel” when he wanted the Premier to put him in the Hupper ’Ouse, for his services to the people.... Now both gentlemen are sworn brothers. What has happened?—I am, &c, HUNDRED PER SHENT.¹¹

Despite both Napier newspapers supporting McLean, Fraser won the Napier seat by a substantial majority.¹² Carnell returned to the routines of photography, committees and the Magistrate’s Court.

Swan would retire as Mayor of Napier in 1901 and in April the *Bush Advocate* reported, “J. C. McVay and Samuel Carnell have been nominated for the Mayoralty”.¹³ The *Herald* announced that Carnell would seek election to the Borough Council, but “At the last moment, however, Mr Carnell changed his mind. He will go for bigger game. He will contest the next Mayoral election”.¹⁴ McVay was elected.

Carnell was nominated for the Mayoralty in April 1902 and the *Herald* quickly came out in support of his opponent, FW Williams,

WITHIN the next day or two the burgesses of Napier are required to select one of the two candidates offering themselves for the civic chair. It is a contest between Messrs F. W. Williams and S. Carnell. We do not disguise our preference. Mr Williams has for a considerable time been a valuable member of several of our local bodies. It seems to us that he would adequately fill the chief position in our town. We require a man with administrative ability and a cool head, who will guide the counsels of our City Fathers with dignity and discretion, and that we believe we shall find in Mr Williams.¹⁵

The public record of the two men should easily lead the burgesses to a conclusion. The one is a keen, shrewd business man; the other, worthy citizen no doubt, but lacking, as shown by his short Parliamentary experience, all the essential qualifications which are required in a man whom we would have as our Chief Magistrate. For the credit of Napier, we hope that the burgesses to-day will not make a mistake.¹⁶

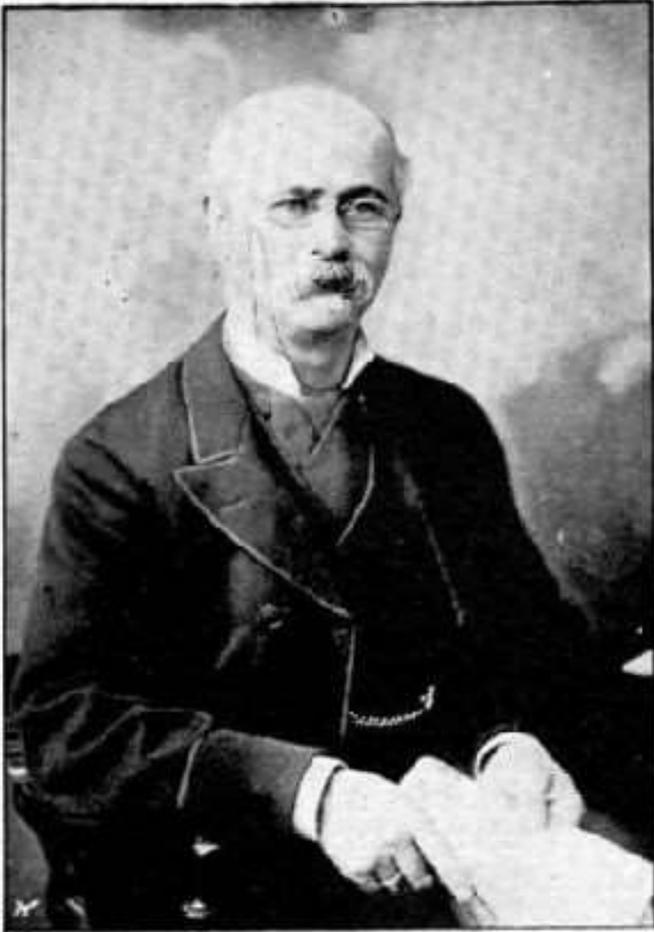
Indeed, the burgesses elected Williams.

The Napier Progressive Liberal Association asked Carnell to contest the Napier seat at the 1902 general election, but Carnell declined as he did not wish to split the liberal vote.¹⁷ In March 1903 the Napier Liberals sent “a requisition to the Premier, asking him to recommend to the Governor to appoint Mr S. Carnell to the Upper House”.¹⁸ Nothing came of it, perhaps because a month earlier Carnell’s old foe Frederick Sutton had written to the Minister of Justice accusing Carnell of accepting payment from private citizens for his work as a Justice of the Peace. Carnell denied the charge, ending his letter with,

*PS I do not value the position of being a Justice of the Peace to the amount of a brass farthing and I only retain the position for the convenience of my fellow Townsman.*¹⁹

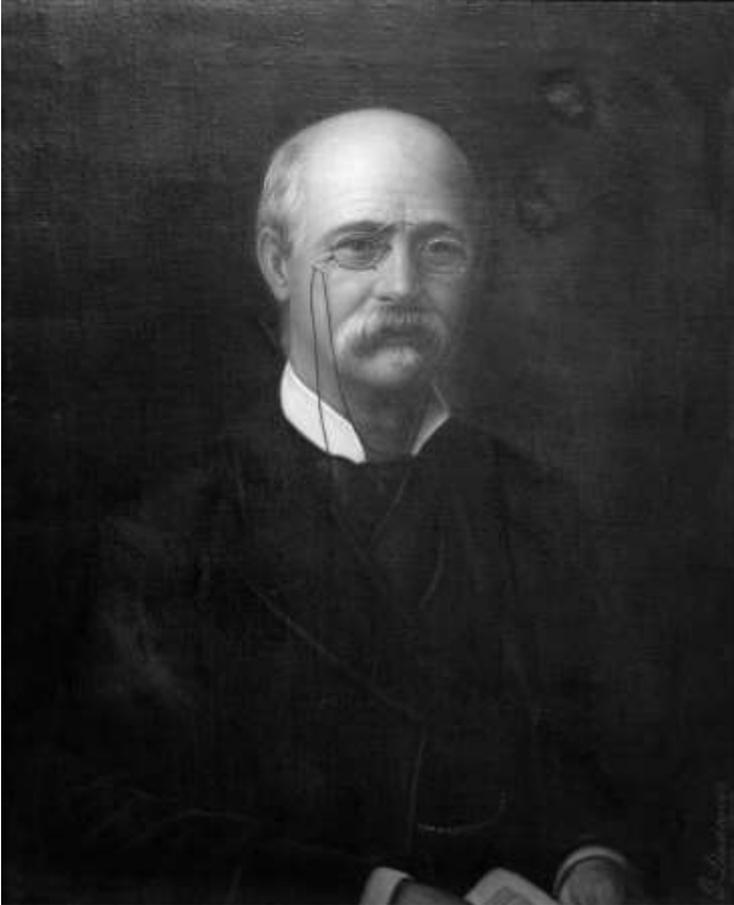
In 1904 Williams stood down and Samuel Carnell was elected unopposed to the Napier Mayoralty. He told the *Herald*,

“I am deeply sensible of the honour of being returned unopposed as Mayor of Napier, and I will do my best to prove myself worthy of confidence. It is not necessary, in my opinion, that I should form any distinctive policy and formulate any proposals for the coming year; it will simply be my duty as the officer of the council to carry out their wishes and see that their decisions are carried into effect. Of course, if it seems to me that the council are going wrong I will endeavour to guide them rightly, but if they decide against my advice I shall still consider it my duty to carry out their wishes. With regard to council meetings, I do not think the Mayor should enter into a debate with his councillors, but should simply see that the debate is conducted according to Parliamentary rules, with perhaps a little additional latitude. An adherence to the rules of debate facilitates business and is always most satisfactory in the end. I shall never use both my deliberative and my casting vote, but when there is a tie I shall give my casting vote and my reason for doing so. As I have said, I have no fixed policy except to be just to every part of the town and to carry out the decisions of the council. As a matter of procedure there is one innovation which I may suggest, namely, that all questions on important subjects be given notice of in writing at one meeting for reply at the next.”²⁰



MR. S. CARNELL,
Mayor of Napier.

From the *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* 1908.



Samuel Carnell, 1905, Gottfried Lindauer, Collection of Napier City Council

He was installed as Napier's 7th Mayor on 4 May 1904 and the *Herald* was diffident in its recognition,

Mr Carnell will have a difficult task in following a Mayor who has been so successful as Mr Williams. It would be idle to pretend that he has Mr Williams' qualifications, but it is only fair to point out that he is himself the first to admit the fact. If

he will be guided by Mr Williams' example of moderation and impartiality, and we believe he will endeavour to do so, we have no doubt that he will receive the support and enjoy the cooperation of the council.²¹

Lord Ranfurly, on his farewell visit as Governor after Carnell's invitation, opened the "brilliantly successful" Battalion Ball on 3 June and Carnell danced with Lady Russell.²²

At the Municipal Conference in Wellington in 1904 a motion was put to amend the Municipal Corporation Act to forbid public entertainments on Good Friday, Christmas Day ("the two great days of the Christian year") as well as Sundays,

Mr Carnell: "Might I ask whether a municipal council is a proper body to define what is sacred and what is not? Some might think Good Friday and Christmas Day; others might say Sunday." He was brought up on the Continent, and was sure there were no evil effects from rational entertainment on those days. But he thought it wrong to place the matter in the hands of municipal councils. There might be difference of opinion as to what was sacred and what was not. Councils had the power now of refusing to allow entertainments.... For myself, I look upon Sunday as no more sacred than any other day.

A voice: I can quite understand that.²³

He chaired Borough Council and other meetings, opened bazaars, spoke at conferences, presented prizes at school breakups, met visiting Ministers of the Crown, gave out Royal Academy certificates to those successful in music examinations, attended a smoke concert and went on board a visiting battleship.

In April 1905 he was nominated for re-election²⁴ along with J Vigor Brown and J Spence²⁵ but lost to Vigor Brown by 285 votes.²⁶

A year later, in May, at age 74, in the year of his golden wedding celebration,²⁷ Carnell announced his candidacy for the 1908 general election,²⁸ but Fraser was again chosen as the Liberal candidate. His opponent would be J Vigor Brown, who won.

In 1907 he was 75 and the Minister of Justice exempted him from attendance at the Magistrate's Court as he could no longer hear the evidence.²⁹

Carnell's only reported public activities for the next few years were in relation to the Napier Harbour Board, where he was a Marine Department appointee. He was a vocal proponent of building a breakwater for Napier, an issue about which strong views were held and voiced by opposing parties. When Carnell (for the town) and Butler (for the country) were reappointed in 1910, the Hawke's Bay Harbour Ratepayers' Association sent a telegram to the Premier, Sir Joseph Ward,

If it is a fact that you have appointed Carnell and Butler Government nominees on our new Harbour Board, I hereby absolutely and irrevocably withdraw my support. You have damned our district.³⁰

It was Carnell's 20th year on the Board.

The masterly power of interruption possessed by Mr. S. Carnell was given full play at the Harbour Board yesterday. The aged and learned representative of the great and glorious Liberal Party takes an almost unholy pleasure in turning his brilliant powers against Mr. Jull.³¹ When Mr. Jull rises to propose anything the eyes of the Government nominee glitter, and the speaker has hardly got through the briefest introduction to his motion when the air is rent with a scornful ejaculation of "lecsahun dodge." The big Waipawa man smiles and proceeds to pour forth wisdom. "I can see through it! More opposition!" gasps Mr. Carnell. "Stick to the motion," he gurgles a few seconds later. At last, after four or five masterly and cutting Carnellisms, the giant gets red in the face and a thundercloud appears upon his brow. Tragedy appears imminent, and Mr. Carnell gasps and glares across the table. Suddenly the big man's smile comes back, and he says "Let him alone, Mr. Chairman. He's alright," and then settles down into an even flow of oratory that leaves his old opponent buried, smothered, helpless in the flood. But the ancient always gets home with his vote at the division.³²

It was all politics of course and in May Carnell nominated Jull to be chair of the Harbour Board.³³ The *Hastings Standard* was astonished,

One of the finest auguries for peace and amnity in the new Harbour Board was forthcoming yesterday in the sweet inconsistency of Mr. S. Carnell. But yesterday the name of "Jull" would on the ancient brow bring a frown, but now no words too sweet, no phrase too long to do him homage. With the Breakwater-at-any-price party, old scores are settled, old ghosts are laid, and Mr. Carnell has taken the Waipawa giant once again into the fold of his affections. He moved his appointment to the chairmanship, and spoke warmly of his capabilities.³⁴

On 7 August 1911 the general election was again looming and the *Hastings Standard* announced,

A rumour was in circulation in Napier to-day that Mr. S. Carnell proposes to contest the seat against Mr. J. Vigor Brown. It is hardly possible, however, that the rumour has foundation in fact.³⁵

At the Harbour Board Carnell repeatedly needed,

"PALM OIL."

STATEMENT AND WITHDRAWAL.

There was a lively passage at the Harbour Board meeting to-day when the purchase of the syndicate's dredge was under discussion.

Mr. S. Carnell contemptuously declared that the board would buy the dredge anyhow if it were well greased.

This raised an angry protest, and Mr. Ellison, as one the committee, wanted to know if Mr. Carnell meant that he had had his palm oiled.

Mr. Carnell gasped incoherently, so Mr. Ellison rose from his seat and went round the table to where Mr. Carnell was seated, and demanded at close quarters what he meant. "How dare you say such a thing about me," said Mr. Ellison.

Mr. Carnell gasped out, "I did not say it was you."

As Mr. Ellison resumed his seat. Mr. J. J. Niven rose and said perhaps it had better go a little further. Did Mr. Carnell refer to him?

Mr. Carnell: "I mentioned no names."

Mr. Jull then addressed Mr. Carnell, saying: Mr. Carnell, you are taking advantage of your age. I have got a pretty strong stomach, but your conduct is getting unbearable. I call upon you to withdraw the statement.

Mr. Carnell expostulated excitedly.

The Chairman: Will you withdraw.

Mr. Carnell: Yes, I withdraw.

The incident then terminated.³⁶

The next day Carnell called the Chairman (Jull) "a cowardly blackguard",

Mr. Jull took the incident calmly, but he said that with all due respect to Mr. Carnell's age he felt sure the time had come for him to say that Mr. Carnell would consult the best interests of himself and the ratepayers if he asked to be relieved of his duties on the Board. Peace was then temporarily restored.³⁷

The *Standard* commented,

Mr. Carnell is an estimable old gentleman and the members never forget that in his day he has given ungrudging service to the town and district, but there is a limit which cannot be passed in the way of tolerance. Last meeting Mr. Carnell's futile persistency, insulting language and his puerile suspicions were excessively irritating and resulted in an unduly prolonged meeting. Every member on the board wishes Mr. Carnell well, but they all feel he would act wisely in placing himself in a position, where he cannot be used to handle hot chestnuts for other people.³⁸

Carnell did not take that advice, but in 1914 he and Butler were replaced as government nominees on the Harbour Board. In wartime 1916 he attended a patriotic public meeting in the Napier Municipal Theatre entitled "The tyrant will fall". The meeting resolved "inflexible determination to continue the war to a victorious end" and the seconder of the resolution, 84 year old Samuel Carnell, perhaps by

now a little paranoid, said German spies were scattered all over the country, and steps should be taken to restrict their movements.³⁹

Napier's Carnell street first appeared in the *Hastings Standard* on 23 April 1914.

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- 1 *Hastings Standard* 8 December 1896.
 - 2 *Hastings Standard* 17 February 1897.
 - 3 Archives D1898/3163
 - 4 *Observer* 10 December 1898.
 - 5 *Daily Telegraph* 6 November 1899.
 - 6 *Daily Telegraph* 10 November 1899.
 - 7 *Daily Telegraph* 11 November 1899.
 - 8 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 13 November 1899.
 - 9 *Daily Telegraph* 17 November 1899.
 - 10 *Daily Telegraph* 28 November 1899.
 - 11 *Daily Telegraph* 29 November 1899.
 - 12 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 7 December 1899.
 - 13 *Bush Advocate* 16 April 1901.
 - 14 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 6 September 1901.
 - 15 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 28 April 1902.
 - 16 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 30 April 1902.
 - 17 *Bush Advocate* 23 October 1902.
 - 18 *Bush Advocate* 24 March 1903.
 - 19 Archives 1903/213.
 - 20 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 April 1904.
 - 21 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 5 May 1904.
 - 22 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 4 June 1904.
 - 23 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 22 July 1904.
 - 24 *Hastings Standard* 8 April 1905.
 - 25 *Hastings Standard* 18 April 1907.
 - 26 *Bush Advocate* 25 April 1907.
 - 27 *Hastings Standard* 25 May 1908.
 - 28 *Bush Advocate* 5 May 1908.
 - 29 Archives 1907/208.
 - 30 *Hastings Standard* 13 December 1910.
 - 31 Albert Edward Jull would become MHR for Waipawa in 1930.
 - 32 *Hastings Standard* 22 March 1911.
 - 33 *Hastings Standard* 5 May 1911.
 - 34 *Hastings Standard* 6 May 1911.
 - 35 *Hastings Standard* 7 August 1911.
 - 36 *Hastings Standard* 17 December 1912.
 - 37 *Hastings Standard* 18 December 1912.
 - 38 *Hastings Standard* 20 January 1913.
 - 39 *Hastings Standard* 5 August 1916.
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CHAPTER 11: THE CARNELLS

Samuel Carnell and Mary Ann Bunting were married on 24 May 1858 at Christ Church, New Radford, Nottingham. Her father was William Bunting, a machine holder of New Radford. The marriage was witnessed by Anne Wilson Wingate and Augustus Poole. The Carnells were to have three children, William Augustus, Walter Henry and Angelina Maud Mary.

Her brother was living in Waipawa when her nephew FW Bunting was born in about 1864 and perhaps he provided the stimulus for them to migrate to New Zealand in 1865—and move to Napier in 1869. Bunting was in Napier as a young man, rifle shooting, skating and playing cricket and rugby, on one occasion in 1887 representing F Battery Artillery volunteers, Carnell's unit.¹

Little is known of Mary Ann, whose name never appears in the newspapers. In 1892 she was one of the wives of Charitable Aid Board members involved with Amelia Randall in the effort to establish a children's home in Napier.² Despite her husband's support of women's suffrage she didn't sign the petition. Odd notices of tangential interest appeared,

Wanted, a good General Servant.—Apply to Mrs Carnell, Coote-road.³

Poultry trespassing on Mr Carnell's garden, Coote-road, will be destroyed.⁴

Lost—A Parroquet. Reward on returning the same to Mr Carnell, photographer.⁵

At the Napier High School's distribution of prizes she presented the French prize for first year students to M. King of the Girls' School.⁶ Why? had she been in France too?

In May 1908,

Mr and Mrs S. Carnell celebrated their golden wedding yesterday. Mr and Mrs Carnell arrived

in Napier in May, 1869, and have resided there ever since.⁷

She patriotically knitted balaclavas and socks for the Equipment Fund in 1916 and gave money to the "Keep-on League" fund.

In May 1918,

Mr. and Mrs. S. Carnell, of Napier, yesterday celebrated their diamond wedding, having been married at Nottingham on May 24th., 1858. On several occasions Mr. Carnell was Mayor of Napier, and for three years he was Parliamentary representative of that city. He was born in Nottinghamshire in 1832, and arrived in New Zealand in 1862. He came to Napier in 1869 after taking part in the West Coast gold rush and setting up in business in Nelson and Auckland as a photographer. At one time Mr. Carnell was the Government appointee on the Harbour Board and also held a seat on the Land Board.⁸

In October 1920,

OBITUARY.

MR. SAMUEL CARNELL.

Mr. Samuel Carnell, an old and respected resident of Napier, passed away yesterday afternoon at the advanced age of 89 years. The late Mr. Carnell, who had been ailing for some considerable period, in his early life devoted much time and interest in local and general affairs. In 1904 he occupied the Mayoral chair and in the following year again occupied the same position. In 1894 he was elected to the House of Representatives, defeating his opponent, Mr. Swan, by a substantial majority. He represented the district for three years in the Liberal interest. Mr. Carnell was for many years a member of the Napier Hospital Board, and a member of the Harbour Board and also served on school committees. The late Mr. Carnell was born in Nottinghamshire, England, in the year 1832 and first turned his attention to photography. He arrived in New Zealand in 1863, and was one of the pioneers of the gold digging days on the West Coast. Later he went to Nelson and 1869 removed to Napier. He leaves a widow, two sons and

one daughter to mourn their loss. The interment will be private.⁹

In September 1924,

A very old resident of Napier, in the person of Mrs May Anne Carnell, relict of the late Mr Samuel Carnell, ex-Mayor of Napier and exM.P. for Napier, died on Friday last. The deceased lady, who was 86 years of age, came to New Zealand in 1864 and settled in Napier in the following year.¹⁰



In Old Napier Cemetery

William Augustus Carnell 1858–c.1935 was born in Raleigh St, Radford, Nottingham on 3 November 1858. His story is told in Chapter 7.

Walter Henry Carnell 1860–1887 was born in Portland Rd, Radford, Nottingham on 6 February 1860 and came with his family on the *Caduceus* in 1865.

“W. Carnell” (William or Walter) won prizes in English and mathematics at school, played cricket, took part in rifle shooting for the Napier Artillery, played minor roles in amateur dramatics, attended meetings of the Ancient Order of Foresters and the Napier Mutual Improvement Association.

Walter was witness in an embezzlement case in 1880 when he was employed by L Harris.¹¹ In 1881 he

...commenced business in Napier, as a watch and clock maker. Mr Carnell served the first portion of his time with Mr Robertson, late of Napier, and afterwards with Mr Harris, the assistance of whose late manager he has secured. We feel sure that Mr Carnell will deserve and obtain a fair share of patronage in the business which he has undertaken.¹²

He married Matilda Hannah Pett in the Napier registry office on 17 February 1887¹³ and died five months later, on 16 July 1887, at age 27, of meningitis (“Apoplexia Serosa”) within 4 hours of admission to Napier hospital.¹⁴ “Thy will be done” is inscribed below his name on the gravestone.

Angelina Maude Mary Carnell 1872–18?? was born in New Zealand. She and Ralph Dew Spraggon 1872–1939 married in 1903. They had 2 sons: Ralph Carnell Spraggon who died in infancy and Edward George Duff Spraggon. It was EG Spraggon who in 1953 donated 253 of Samuel Carnell’s glass negatives to the Alexander Turnbull Library.

1 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 21 September 1887.

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- 2 Kay Morris Matthews 2013. *Who cared? childhoods within Hawke's Bay children's homes and orphanages*. Eastern Institute of Technology.
 3 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 13 December 1878.
 4 *Daily Telegraph* 22 September 1881.
 5 *Daily Telegraph* 9 February 1887.
 6 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 20 December 1888.
 7 *Hastings Standard* 25 May 1908.
 8 *Hastings Standard* 25 May 1918.
 9 *Hastings Standard* 15 October 1920.
 10 *Stratford Evening Post* 25 September 1924.
 11 *Hawke's Bay Herald* 13 May 1880.
 12 *Daily Telegraph* 9 March 1881.
 13 *Daily Telegraph* 5 March 1887.
 14 From his death certificate, no. 119 Napier, 3rd quarter 1887.
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CHAPTER 12: EDWARD ABRAHAM CARNELL

EA Carnell of New Radford, Nottingham was a photographer during much the same period as Samuel Carnell in Napier, Hawke's Bay and his cartes de visite are remarkably similar in design, as is his padded chair, to Samuel Carnell's.

Although two Carnells, Abraham and Edward Abraham,¹ are listed among early Nottingham photographers, probably they are one and the same, and he was Samuel's younger brother Abraham.

Abraham the son of Joseph Carnell of Lenton in the County of Nottingham Lace Maker and of Sarah his Wife (whose maiden name was Blatherwick) was born the 26th. April 1837 and was baptised the 4th. June 1837 by me, Henry D. Lowe.²

On later censuses Abraham gave his place of birth as Lenton.

Abraham next appears in the 1851 England census as a 14 year old "winder" living with his widowed mother, 17 year old Samuel, Isaac 13, Thomas 11 and Mary 5 in Alfreton road. In 1861 he was 24, a Lace Maker, single and still at home.



Cartes de visite of unknown women by Samuel Carnell of Napier (above) and Abraham Carnell of New Radford (below).

In 1871 “Edward A Carnell” was 33, an “artist”, married to Mary, with a daughter Ada aged 9, living at 143 George St. In 1881 “Abraham” was 44, a “photographic artist”, and he, Mary and Ada had a live-in servant Rebecca Price at 240 Scout Lane. Ten years later Ada had gone and Abraham (“photographer”) and Mary were living at 31 Holden street with her mother Maria Robotham. In 1901 Abraham 64 and Mary 58 were at 24 Moorgate St Radford: his occupation was “artist (picture)”, though business directories of 1881, ’91 and 1900 listed him as a photographer at Moorgate St. In 1911 he was “out of business”.

He died at 83 in 1920, the same year as Samuel.

His studio, initially at George St, was later moved to Moorgate St. He must have been busy: Ebay always has a good selection of his cartes de visite for sale. Photographers all over the world imitated each other’s decorative styles, but the cartes de visite of Samuel and Abraham Carnell show similarities that seem more than coincidental.

1 <http://www.cartedevisite.co.uk/photographers-category/photographers/a-to-e/photographers-c/>

2 England & Wales, Non-Conformist and Non-Parochial Registers, 1567-1970.

CHAPTER 13: WHO WAS JAMES CARNELL?

The mystery man who is probably related to this family is James Carnell. There is no good evidence that he was related, but there are concurrent places, events and activities that suggest so.

He arrived at Auckland on 22 January 1864 in the *Ulcoats* on her maiden voyage.¹ He was admitted as a solicitor on 26 February 1866 after passing his examination before Chief Justice Sir George Alfred Arney. He had been admitted to legal practice in England in 1861.²

Two weeks later at the Auckland Supreme Court beginning on 10 March 1866 he defended the 5 Māori accused of murdering the missionary Carl Volkner.³ (Poor accused are always assigned the most junior lawyer).

New Zealand Herald 17 May 1866:

WELLINGTON STREET LITERARY ASSOCIATION. The usual meeting of the above Association will take place this evening at half-past seven o'clock, when a paper will be read by Mr. Carnell: Subject, "The Romance of Law."⁴

In April 1869 he applied for the lease of land on Tookey's flat, Thames, for mining just south of the Golden Gate company claim.⁵ In July he was named as manager of the registered gold mining company Golden Point.⁶ On 3 August 1869 Samuel Carnell of Grahamstown was listed as having 1000 £1 shares in the Royal Alfred Gold Mining Company.⁷

In September 1869 James Carnell was among many who proposed Daniel Pollen for Superintendent of the Auckland Province.⁸

In 1872 he was working as a solicitor in Coromandel.⁹ In December he was listed as a shareholder in the Pride of Tokatea Gold Mining Company.¹⁰ In 1876 he was secretary to the Committee to elect Sir Julius Vogel; he had offices in Grahamstown, Thames.¹¹ In 1881 Coromandel's European population was 687 (Thames 4,563), about half its boomtown level three years earlier.¹²

In 1887 he applied to the Colonial Secretary for permission for a client to dispose of certain articles by art union.¹³ In 1890 he was named by the Anglican church as Synodman for Coromandel.¹⁴

The *Observer* of 28 November 1891 observed,

We have received a copy of a little, queer-looking pamphlet, that bears to be "printed and published by T.M. Humphreys, Coromandel." The subject is "The Administration of the Law in Coromandel and Mercury Bay," and the author is identical with the alleged printer and publisher. We have read the brochure with the liveliest interest. It is a series of the grossest libels upon Mr Northcroft, R.M., who is accused of the foulest corruption possible in a magistrate. If these things, or any one of the ten separate things alleged, be true, H.M. Northcroft should not for a single hour longer occupy a seat on the judicial bench. Probably the esteemed R.M. of Coromandel thinks his best course is to ignore charges from such a source; but if such

lies were published about us we should feel inclined to “go for” the liar. As a sample of Mr Humphreys’ style of composition and printing, we quote;— “With a full sense of my responsibility, I hereby, declare, that I would as soon believe the statements of Henry William Northcroft as of James Carnell, whom he Northcroft had described as ‘the dammedest liar in Coromandel’.”¹⁵

William Augustus Carnell moved to Coromandel as a lawyer after his bankruptcy in 1895; in 1898 both WA and James Carnell are mentioned in a case involving a marital dispute over a piano.¹⁶

The *Auckland Star* 9 January 1904,

Mr James Carnell, a very old resident of Coromandel, died in the hospital at the age of 67 years. The deceased had enjoyed good health until about Christmas, when he was taken ill, and died yesterday of heart failure. He was a native of Kent, England, and arrived here about 40 years ago. He practised as a barrister and solicitor, and during the early sixties engaged in the Maori War. Of late years he filled the position of registrar of births, deaths and marriages for the county. He was a lay reader of the Anglican Church. He leaves relatives residing in different parts of the colonies.

The *New Zealand Herald* 9 January 1904,

He leaves a cousin, who lives in Devonport, and other relatives in New Zealand and Australia.

The *Observer*,

James Carnell, whose death at Coromandel is reported this week, has been an institution on the Hauraki goldfields from their earliest days. By profession he was a lawyer, and he practised as such at Home when a young man. For a long time after arrival on the goldfields he avoided the professional path, though ready enough to give advice gratis to any digger or settler who chose to ask for it. Exactly why he denied himself the rich plums which at that period could be had by any practising lawyer for the gathering has always been a mystery.

There was, indeed, a story current at one time that Carnell had abandoned his profession on account of a remorseful recollection of his early career. It was said that just before he left England he defended a murderer, and procured his acquittal; that afterwards he obtained proof that the man he had shielded had been guilty of the crime; and that as a scrupulously conscientious man—this he always was—he felt responsible for a miscarriage of justice, and decided to run no more risks of the kind. The tale may or may not be true, for Carnell was extremely reticent about his early history, but the fact remains that, until comparatively recent years, he did not cultivate Court practice.

Just after the opening of the Thames goldfield, Carnell was influential in the district as business manager for Dan Tookey, the powerful pakeha-Maori. Tookey had married a Maori woman of rank, who owned a large area in the business portion of the town, then known as Tookey's Flat, and he leased it out on her behalf in residence sites and business lots. Not being a business man himself, he leaned heavily upon Carnell, who fulfilled the general functions of private secretary, legal adviser, and general manager for the Tookey properties, and Dan Tookey seldom concluded any bargain without consulting him.

From the Thames, Carnell drifted to Coromandel, where, in the course of time, he opened a law office, but, though his ability was beyond question and his shrewdness well known, his practice never amounted to a great deal. In later years he has been registrar of births, deaths and marriages for the Coromandel district. Though he dealt out marriage to others he never found a wife himself. All through his career his office has been a Cave of Adullam to needy persons in quest of legal guidance, and he has been known as a man of big heart and wide sympathies. He was one of the first Anglican lay readers on the goldfields and held the office up to the time of his death. Mr Carnell was a man of eccentricities, and these stretched even beyond his lifetime, for one of them was displayed at his funeral. By way of protest against waste of money upon interments, he was buried in a plain board coffin, which was driven to the cemetery in a one-horse cart.¹⁷

The *Auckland Star* of 28 January 1904 stated, “It has been decided to erect a memorial tablet to the late James Carnell in Christ Church”. No such monument has survived; the church has a record listing him as an early Sunday school teacher.

Certainly James and Samuel would have known each other and probably they were related—cousins perhaps?

1 *New Zealander* 30 January 1864.

2 *Daily Southern Cross* 26 February 1866.

3 *Daily Southern Cross* 10 March 1866.

4 *New Zealand Herald* 17 May 1866.

5 *New Zealand Herald* 3 April 1869.

6 *Daily Southern Cross* 10 July 1869.

7 *Daily Southern Cross* 3 August 1869.

8 *Daily Southern Cross* 8 September 1869.

9 *Daily Southern Cross* 24 September 1872.

10 *New Zealand Herald* 20 December 1872.

11 *Thames Advertiser* 7 January 1876.

12 https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1881-census/1881-results-census.html

13 Archives R24493950.

14 *Auckland Star* 2 October 1890.

15 *Observer* 28 November 1891.

16 *New Zealand Herald* 27 January 1898 and following issues.

17 *Observer* 16 January 1904.

NOTES

The modernist American poet William Carlos Williams wrote that there should be “No ideas but in things” and in my self imposed task of assembling what is known about a man (for history does not record itself) I take that to suggest I should gather the evidence that exists, marshal it into logical patterns and sequences and leave further interpretation to the reader. The temptation to draw “aha!” conclusions when slim testimony from different sources coincides unexpectedly is, however, hard to resist but I hope I have not succumbed too often.

Carnell was an unswerving moralist and socialist, would prohibit gambling and alcohol, supported women's suffrage and supported state land acquisition and sale to small farmers.

His working class roots and his experiences in France may have seeded his political ideas: at his major speech at the Gaiety Theatre in 1893 he hinted that his position on splitting up large land holdings derived from experiences in France—“the happiness of the French nation proceeded entirely from the fact that almost every man in the interior was a landowner. —The secret of France's happiness was her peasant proprietors.... He (the speaker) had resided there, and he saw no charitable aid boards, no tramps on the roads, no people prowling about the streets in the towns, no beggars going from door to door.”

“Phiz” wrote of Carnell, “There is a legend, true or false I know not, that once on a time, in the far back, Mr Carnell fought from behind French Revolutionary barricades. Whether this happened in the Great French Revolution, or that of 1848, or ever happened at all, I am not in a position to state”.

Nor are we, but Carnell would have been an idealistic adolescent in 1848 and may well have been in France and supported *les journées de juin* (the June Days uprising) led by French workers in response to rightwing plans to close the National Workshops that had been created to provide work and a survival income for the unemployed. Young men were told they could join the army, go home to the provinces or just go. The National Guard quelled their protests but over 10,000 were either killed or injured and 4,000 deported to Algeria, putting paid to victory for the liberals and crushing the hope of a *République démocratique et sociale*. Samuel Carnell, not yet 20, was back in England by 1851 and his mother was a widow.

As a New Zealand politician he was an acerbic speaker, honest to a fault, concerned that the detail was correct, expressing his view of the truth no matter the cost in offence taken by others. He was not above muckraking and *argumentum ad hominem*. He may have failed to impress the Hawke's Bay conservatives in the Napier electorate but he never flinched from supporting the Liberal cause in Parliament, despite being labelled as Seddon's sycophant. Seddon, in turn, knew he could rely on Carnell's support so was not inclined to agree to Carnell's or Napier's requests in return: his government banned neither the

totalisator nor alcohol and (to the gratification of the gannets) no lighthouse was built on Cape Kidnappers.

The Napier *Daily Telegraph* is unavailable after 1901 and *Hawke's Bay Herald* after 1904, so local news of Carnell after those dates necessarily relies on Dannevirke's *Bush Advocate* and the Hastings *Standard*. The liberal *Napier Evening News and Hawke's Bay Advertiser* is not included in *Papers Past* so the image of him from newspapers that are accessible is inevitably combative.

He knew setbacks: his own father was dead by 1851, his elder son was an alcoholic, his younger son died of meningitis at age 26, his photographic premises were lost in a fire, he lost several elections, he was repeatedly savaged by the conservative press, many of his larger schemes (banning the totalisator, erecting a Kidnappers lighthouse, forced state purchase of large runs) came to nothing.

As a photographer he was up to date, prolific and competent, if not always sensitive or creative. He made an important collection of photographs of historic Māori people—especially the Ahuriri Ngati Kahungunu—but many are marred by clumsy application of grease paint in order to show the moko. The descendants of the sitters now regard these portraits as taonga, treasures—as would I if they were my ancestors—but Carnell's motives were less to do with cultural sensitivity than with commercial reality: these images had not just a personal and local, but a national and international market among those seeking curiosities.

I have transcribed documents using the original spelling, which was in 19th century New Zealand often similar to that used in the United States now.

I am, as always, grateful to the Alexander Turnbull Library for its documents and manuscripts and for *Papers Past*. Its staff were helpful and courteous, as were the staff of the Wellington office of National Archives and MTG Hawke's Bay whence much of this material was sourced.

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