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JAMES CARROLL 1887-96 : "A WHOLESOME BLEND"

A thesis presented in partial  
fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
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## PREFACE

No doubt, as the years go on and the historian writes the history of New Zealand, he will bring into prominence figures of that description, and particularly notable amongst them will be the late honourable gentleman whose loss we are referring to to-day ....<sup>1</sup>

This statement, made by the Right Honourable Mr Coates speaking in the House after James Carroll's death, has not proved to be an accurate prophesy. Carroll has been neglected by historians or spoken about in vague generalizations. This study is far from an attempt to fill the entire gap, rather, it takes a small part of Carroll's early political career and examines his attitudes to Maori and European society in that period.

In research for this topic one point immediately arose. It appeared that Carroll managed to be both a European with Europeans and a Maori with Maoris and was easily accepted by both groups. From this basic framework grew the picture of James Carroll, the Europeanized Maori, who because of his dual heritage and his ability to identify with both races, was a "wholesome blend". But this extended further. As well as being a "wholesome blend" in his own person, this was the basis of the ideal that he desired for all New Zealanders, as seen in his policies of equality and assimilation.

However, this policy must be seen in the light of the time in which James Carroll was living, a time of rapid land settlement particularly of Maori land in the North Island. If he was to succeed in making his ideals more concrete it was necessary for him to reconcile them with current Government policies and work within the framework of European society.

Because of the background of these years and Carroll's own background, his position was exceedingly complex. Due to his

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1. PD, 212 (1927), p.14.



ability to be both a Maori to the Maoris and a European to the Europeans, at times it seemed that he was contradicting himself and letting down one or the other side. Especially after reading letters that he wrote to his European friends, it seemed that he regarded himself as a European and was easily able to identify with them. This would seem to point to Carroll "selling out" the Maori cause. But on reading further, through reported speeches in newspapers, Parliamentary Debates, official reports and especially through his speeches to Maori audiences, it became apparent that he was always recommending the same objective. His way of saying it to different audiences might vary but his plea was always for a nation of New Zealanders, the reality of the "wholesome blend" that was already in existence in his own person. After realizing this, initial contradictions no longer seemed as important and Carroll emerged as a New Zealand statesman intent on doing his best for his people, who were New Zealanders, rather than Maoris or Europeans.

The limitations upon the length of this thesis made it necessary for it to be confined to a limited number of years. An obvious starting date was 1887, Carroll's first year in Parliament, and 1899, the year Carroll became Native Minister would seem to be a suitable concluding date. However, the year 1896 was chosen, because of limitations upon the length of the thesis and the apparent change in Carroll's policy and in Government policy in that year.

Although this study has been limited to the years 1887-96, insight was lent by research into Carroll's later career as Minister of Native Affairs, the abolition of the Native Department and Seddon's role as Native Minister.

Most of the material for this thesis was provided by Parliamentary Debates, while official reports, reported speeches in newspapers and his remaining letters were also valuable. Secondary material was limited, although E.L. Adams' thesis on the life of Sir James Carroll, written in 1932, proved to be of some value.

Assistance from the staffs of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; the General Assembly Library, Wellington; National Archives, Wellington; the Massey University Library, Palmerston North; the Gisborne Public Library and the Wairoa Star must be acknowledged. I would like to thank the Department of Maori Affairs for permission to use their files in National Archives. More specifically I would like to thank Mrs Maureen Macdonald for typing this thesis and fellow class-members for encouragement and assistance. I would also like to thank Mr Graham Butterworth of the History Department, Massey University and my supervisor, Professor W.H. Oliver for suggestions and encouragement.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
AJLC	Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Council
HBH	Hawkes Bay Herald
MA	Maori Affairs files held in National Archives, Wellington
PBH	Povorty Bay Herald
PD	Parliamentary Debates
NZH	The New Zealand Herald



PLATE I

Sir James Carroll at Papawai Pa, Greytown. Early 1900's.  
(Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington)

## CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTIONPart I - "A Wholesome Blend"

The date of James Carroll's birth is usually given as 20 August 1857, making him only thirteen when he fought against Te Kooti in 1870. But according to the register of the Mecanee Catholic Mission, he was baptised on 5 December 1856 when he was "about 3 years old", making him seventeen when he fought Te Kooti's men.<sup>1</sup>

It is said that at birth he was dedicated to the services of his people as a tohunga and because of this was taken into the back-country around Lake Waikaremoana in order to be removed from the contamination of the European.<sup>2</sup> He lived with his mother's uncle (Ngarangi Mateo) at Matiti pa and then at Hikawai until he was seven years old, when his father came to take him back to Wairoa, after paying a ransom to the tribe.<sup>3</sup> Here he was placed under the guardianship of George Richardson, his father's business partner.<sup>4</sup> At the age of eight he first went to school, leaving at the age of ten, and he later said that on leaving school he could not put together even two or three sentences in correct English.<sup>5</sup> Even though formal education had ceased, informal education continued as on stations around Wairoa at this time were many English cadets, some of whom were well-educated and well-travelled.<sup>6</sup> His time on the station was interrupted when

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1. Letter from (Rev) M. Mulcahy, New Zealand Biographies 1962, Vol.2, p.106.
  2. Adams, E.L. "Life of Sir James Carroll", Unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Zealand (Auckland), 1932, p.10.
  3. *ibid.*, p.17.
  4. *ibid.*
  5. OMMA 13/5 : Historical Notes Personal Reminiscences - Sir James Carroll Boyhood Days Recalled, p.1.
  6. *ibid.*, p.2.

he joined an expedition to pursue Te Kooti, his part in which earned him a mention in despatches, a New Zealand Medal and a bonus of £50.<sup>7</sup>

The next step in his career was as a cadet in the Native Land Department in Napier, under the guidance of Samuel Locke, District Native Commissioner for the East Coast.<sup>8</sup> From here, he attracted the attention of Sir Donald McLean who had him transferred to the Native Department where he stayed for twelve months before returning to Hawkes Bay. As he later said, he hated towns, preferring to be away on his horse with his dogs and would rather live in a hut or in the bush than in a town.<sup>9</sup> However, after two years at home, he returned to Wellington when he was appointed Interpreter to the House of Representatives, a position about which he later said "... there I first received these impressions of political life that not only interested me but created a desire in me to qualify myself for higher occupations ...."<sup>10</sup> This desire was fulfilled in 1884 when he resigned his position as Native Interpreter in order to contest the Eastern Maori Seat. Only allowing himself two weeks in which to campaign in an electorate that included one-third of the North Island, he was defeated by the popular Wi Pere by twenty-three votes.

After his defeat he was offered his former position as Interpreter but refused this, as he felt that it would be "stultifying" himself to go back.<sup>11</sup> Instead he took a position with the Native Land Court as Interpreter and by travelling around the East Coast in this capacity was able to increase his knowledge of Maori land problems, show his understanding of the problems facing the Maori race and make many useful acquaintances. From this foundation, and after conducting an

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7. PD, 212 (1927), p.14.

8. Adams, p.29.

9. Personal Reminiscences, p.2.

10. *ibid.*, p.3.

11. *ibid.*

extensive campaign, Carroll was better equipped to fight the 1887 election against Wi Pere. This time Carroll defeated Wi Pere of the Poverty Bay tribes by five hundred votes.

At this stage in his career he saw that the most important problem "... was to adjust the outlook of the Maori who a short generation before, had been a cannibal and a savage, to the requirements of the highest civilization the world had ever known ...."<sup>12</sup> His aim was to raise the status of the Maori and to aid the fusion of the two races.<sup>13</sup> These aims of advancement and equality became the basis of his policy.

In 1881 Carroll had married Heni Matewa, a granddaughter of the chiefs Paratene Turangi and Kahutia.<sup>14</sup> Because the match had not been approved by the elders of her tribe, as Carroll was undistinguished in their eyes, the couple eloped. Later they were accepted back by the tribe and it was on his wife's land that Carroll began a sheep farm in 1888. This was a middle-sized sheep farm, the number of sheep never rising above 1,700.<sup>15</sup>

Carroll was connected with sport most of his life, especially horse racing. He established a racing stable in Gisborne but had to close it down because of his continued absence at Parliament.<sup>16</sup> However, in 1904 his horse "Mauhotanga" was second in the New Zealand Cup and won the Metropolitan Handicap.<sup>17</sup> He was a foundation member of the Gisborne Racing Club and later was President of this club and the Poverty Bay Turf Club.<sup>18</sup> He was also a member of the Te Rau

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12. Adams, p.40.

13. *ibid.*, p.45.

14. McKay, Joseph Angus, Historic Poverty Bay, and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z., Gisborne, 1966, p.356.

15. AJHR, 1887-96, H-33.

16. Adams, p.47.

17. PD, 212 (1927), p.17.

18. *ibid.*



Bowling Club and later accepted the position of "Ariki" to the Club.

Lethargy was a characteristic often associated with Carroll. He was described as "sluggish" and as an "impassive basking monster" who looked as though he could not "... rouse himself without a charge of dynamite to shift him ...."<sup>19</sup> But Carroll earlier had replied to charges like these when he said "... if I can carry out all the proper and necessary duties which appertain to a Member ... I can always afford to seem tired, appear lethargic and indifferent to the worry and bustle of which life is full. In that respect my great characteristic will always be a solace to me ...."<sup>20</sup> Despite his apparent lethargy, he achieved high Government positions. In 1892 he was made a Member of the Cabinet, in 1895 Colonial Secretary, in 1896 Commissioner of Stamp Duties and in 1899 became Native Minister. The peak of his career was when for a short time in 1909 and in 1911 he was acting Prime Minister.

From this it appears that Carroll became completely absorbed into European society. His high political positions, his identification with small farmers, his position in the racing world and a general impression gained from his letters, seem to point to Carroll being a completely Europeanized Maori. But although he achieved high status in European society, Carroll did not desert the Maori cause nor did he lose his identity as a Maori. This meant that he could be both a representative of the European constituency of Waiapu and Member representing the Native race in the Cabinet and fulfill both positions with some success. It meant that he could stand between the Maoris, desiring the retention of their land, and Europeans desiring acquisition of that land, while still appearing to guard the interests of both sides. This ability to reconcile

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19. Herald (Timaru), 8 October 1910, in Maori Purposes Fund Board Clippings, Manuscript Papers 189, available at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

20. James Carroll to Mrs. Fox, 11 October 1894, MA 30/4, p.134, National Archives.

the interests of two diverse groups was a result of his ability to understand the problems of both sides, due to his dual heritage.

Although Carroll's dual heritage meant that he could work with both groups, there was some prejudice against half-castes. In an article published in 1881, Dr. Alfred K. Newman wrote that half-castes died young, had a lessened chest capacity and were generally "a delicate race". He concluded that although many colonists and theorists thought that there might be amalgamation "... the two races will never mingle, and any infinitesimal influence that the white race may receive until that not far distant time when the Maori race dies out, will thereafter be at once imperceptible ...."<sup>21</sup> In 1900 an editorial in the New Zealand Herald expressed a similar view, saying that the "vitality of the mixed race" could not be compared to that of full-bloods.<sup>22</sup>

But it does not seem that this was applied to Carroll. It appears that he managed to be the prototype of the future New Zealander, the perfect blend that would result from the intermingling of the two races, in one nation. But this ideal as well as being exemplified in Carroll's person, was the basis of his policy for all New Zealanders, a policy that he broadened throughout his parliamentary career. In this ideal society, Maoris and Europeans would be equal with colour the only difference and Carroll was very persistent in playing down the difference of "colour" which he preferred to call "complexion" or "caste".

With the object of creating one nation and with his policies directed towards this end, Carroll sometimes could not do completely what either side wanted. He was working for the future of New Zealand rather than for one race, so he spoke against Maori moves

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21. Newman, Alfred K., "A study of the Causes Leading to the Extinction of the Maori", Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, XLV (1881), pp.475-6.

22. NZH, 29 August 1900, p.4.

toward separation and he made sure that the Maoris retained enough of their land to ensure their future in the face of considerable European pressure. His object was to create a worthwhile place for all citizens in a prosperous country, whether they were Maoris or Europeans. This ideal for which he fought, already a reality in his own person, was summarized in a statement made by Carroll in 1911: "... in the future the two races would live amicably side by side - instilled and inspired by one common ground and from one common source, all sons of the same soil ...."<sup>19</sup>

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23. Oamaru Mail, 5 July 1911, in Maori Purposes Fund Board Clippings, Manuscript Papers 189.

## Part II - Assimilation and Separation

In late nineteenth century New Zealand there were three interconnected themes in the European attitude to the Maoris. First, there was a belief that the Maoris were a dying race; second, there was a desire to obtain Maori land, and thirdly, there was a general policy of assimilation.

People in late nineteenth century New Zealand were aware of the decline in the Maori race, having been informed by census results, native officers' reports, settlers and missionaries.<sup>1</sup> Based on social Darwinism, the current idea was that in the struggle for existence the weaker Maori race would be wiped out by the stronger European race.<sup>2</sup> Generally the only hope seen for the Maori people was assimilation, giving the Maori a part in the future of New Zealand side by side with the European.

The implication of a policy of assimilation was that the Maoris were worthy of being associated with the Europeans. This seems to be well summarized in Seddon's statement: "... we are not dealing with an ordinary savage race but with a people who, even in their wildest state, possess many attributes which cannot fail to command our respect and esteem ...."<sup>3</sup>

As well as being a means of perpetuating the Maori race, the policy of assimilation was used as a justification for taking Maori land, for how could Maoris become equal to Europeans socially if they were hampered by their "communistic" land system? Land was to be individualized and opened for settlement for the good of the Maoris as well as for the advancement of the country. For it would be

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1. Lange, Raeburn Tapley, "The Revival of a Dying Race: A study of Maori Health Reform 1900-1918, and its nineteenth century background". Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Auckland, 1972, p.71.

2. *ibid.*, p.73.

3. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.2.

through the opening up of land and the extension of European settlement that the Maori could learn of European "civilization".<sup>4</sup>

However, there was a variation on this theme. If the Maori was to die out, he would no longer need his land. In the post-war period the major part of the fertile land had passed into European hands and this was continued in the period 1887-90 by a Government whose members were predominantly concerned with opening up land for settlement.

The loss to Maori society could not be measured only by the loss of land. In the 1891 Native Land Laws Commission report under the title "Evil Effects of Our System", the breakdown in tribal authority, resulting from the current system of land dealing, was noted: "... a slave or child was in reality placed on an equality with the noblest rangitira or the boldest warrior of the tribe ...."<sup>5</sup> Maoris were suddenly possessed of a "marketable commodity" in their land and "surrounded by temptations" they sold the land that had meant the unity of their tribe. The costs of getting land through the Native Land Court put Maoris in debt, Maoris unable to pay were refused a hearing, court sittings were often far away from the land in question and court decisions were seldom final. The Commission reported that lawyers said if a system had been set up with the intention of creating "confusion and anarchy" it would not have been more successful than the current system.<sup>6</sup>

Part of the confusion over Native land was due to the number of Acts passed directly effecting Native land. Between 1888 and 1896 alone, thirty-five Acts were passed although there were others partially touching on the issue and some Bills that had been introduced had been thrown out.

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4. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.2.

5. AJHR, 1891, G-1, p.x.

6. *ibid.*, p.xi.

Basically the aim of most of the land acts was to open up Maori land for settlement. These large blocks of Maori land were standing in the way of progress and the continual flow of native land on to the market was considered to be important to the continuing development of New Zealand. Typical of these Acts were the Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act introduced by McKenzie in 1893 and the Native Land (Validation of Titles) Acts introduced by Cadman in 1892 and Carroll in 1893. The former entitled an "Act to authorize the Acquisition of land owned by Natives for the purpose of land settlement", aimed to open up waste land "... in the interest of the natives and of Her Majesty's other subjects in the colony, and ... more especially for the extension of settlement ...." It acknowledged the increasing demand for land for settlement which was retarded because of the large portions of land which were held in Maori hands.<sup>7</sup> Seddon justified the Act by asking why Maoris should starve when they had so much land. Justice must be done to the Maoris by opening up their land for sale. The 1892 and 1893 Native Land (Validation of Titles) Acts were designed to clear up "irregularities" and "illegalities" which had developed in land transactions between Maoris and Europeans. The 1893 Act, which repealed that of 1892, set up the Validation Court which "upon application of any Native or European claimant" had the power to "... inquire into, settle and determine finally and conclusively (subject to right of appeal) all disputes rights, titles and interests whatsoever concerning the said lands or any of them ...."<sup>8</sup>

The general idea was to open up Maori land for European settlement but a reversal of this policy was made in the Urewera District Land Act of 1896 making the Urewera District a Native Reserve. As an act "to make Provision as to the ownership and local Government of the Native Lands in the Urewera District", it seemed to give some self-government by providing for five Tuhoe and two European

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7. New Zealand Statutes, 1893, p. 174.

8. *ibid.*, p. 154.

commissioners who would divide the district into blocks, investigate the ownership and appoint local committees. However all roads and landing places that the Governor "may from time to time lay out" would be deemed to be "public roads and public landing places". The Governor could also "... take land for accommodation houses and camping grounds for stock and other purposes of public utility ..." provided that "... except with the consent of the General Committee the total area of land to be so taken shall not exceed 400 acres ...."<sup>9</sup>

Government policy can be seen as an attempt to give legal titles to every inch of native land and to open it up for settlement. The justification for this was that the best way of bringing about good relations between the two races was to push "civilization" and settlement into the large areas held by the Maoris.<sup>10</sup> The example set by their European neighbours would encourage Maoris to become productive settlers. As the Maoris would be assimilated, there would be no special "native problem".

On Cadman's resignation in 1893 following his acquittal by the Supreme Court after charges of personal dealings in Native land, Seddon proposed that the Native Portfolio be abolished as government policy was "in the direction of having no distinction as between the two races".<sup>11</sup> But Seddon acted contrary to supposed government policy when he announced that he would be the new Native Minister. In the House it was said that Seddon had "a most overweening idea of his own capacity" and was assuming functions and taking upon himself an office with which he was presumably unacquainted.<sup>12</sup> Seddon replied that he could say "... without being at all egotistical, I have not

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9. New Zealand Statutes, 1896, p.66.

10. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.2.

11. PD, 79 (1893), p.589.

12. PD, 82 (1893), p.34.



been a failure in anything I have undertaken ...."<sup>13</sup>

It seems that although Government policy was toward assimilation, there were still reasons for having a Native Portfolio and these were barely connected with a desire to help the Maori people. As Seddon said on taking over the portfolio:

... I may say that I look forward, so far as the North Island is concerned, to something being done to remove the great difficulties in the way of settlement owing to the unfortunate position of affairs as respecting the Native race and their lands. Settlement will never progress in the North Island until something is done and with that view and object only have I undertaken the responsibilities of this position ....<sup>14</sup>

Seddon was a Native Minister without a Department. It had been suggested before 1892 that the Native Department should be abolished or amalgamated with some other Department. In 1892 with no open criticism or comment the Native Department disappeared and its functions were taken over by the Justice Department which supervised the Native Land Court and Native Land administration generally.

The aims of assimilation and settlement came chiefly from the European side. Land laws that were detrimental to Maori interests, the expansion of the Native Land Court and the abolition of the Native Department in 1892 and the Resident Magistrate System in 1893, provided a stimulus for the King Movement and the growth of Kotahitanga.

The Kotahitanga Movement, drawing support mainly from North Auckland, East Coast and Hawkes Bay, attempted to strengthen Maori society through unity and retention of the land. In 1891 a petition was sent to the Queen requesting "... the formation of a representative council, to be elected by your Maori subjects as a mountain of rest from which all measures affecting the Maori people can be clearly reviewed, and all measures also affecting the Natives can be dealt with by that Council ...." With the petition went Onslow's

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13. PD, 82 (1893), p.34.

14. *ibid.*, p.32.



suggestion that in the opinion of his ministers "... the representative council sought by the petition to be established would not be productive of benefit to the Maoris ...."<sup>15</sup>

Their petition failed but a representative committee of eighty was formed to draft legislation and meetings were held. A Maori Parliament was established with an Upper and Lower House and had its first meeting in 1892 at Waipatu near Hastings. In its second meeting the Federated Maori Assembly Empowering Bill was drafted, making a statement of the aims of the movement and this with a petition was presented to Parliament in 1893. The petition stated that the Maori people were British subjects who wished to be friendly with the Europeans but certain bad land laws had been passed which had caused injury to the Maori people. The laws of Parliament had made Maoris "appear an ignorant and inferior people", the Native Land Court had "ignored the existence of the rights of the chiefs" and Maoris "generally have been dispersed, and those who had homes had been deprived of them". The petitioners urged the Government to allow them to look after their own lands and be granted the right to set up a Federated Maori Assembly. This was set out more fully in the Federated Maori Assembly Empowering Bill where the petitioners said Maoris desired to stand on an "equal footing with the white people as far as perfect liberty of dealing with their lands is concerned". The laws had proved to be "unsatisfactory and unjust" and they called for the setting up of District Committees under the Federated Maori Assembly to deal with their lands.<sup>16</sup>

In evidence given to the Native Affairs Committee in support of the petition, Major Kemp said that the Government had been making laws in response to the demands of Europeans "... but as regards us (the Native people), you have never been able to see your way to

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15. AJHR, 1892 A-1, p.9.

16. AJHR, 1893 J-1.

grant us anything, or to pass any Acts in our favour ...."<sup>17</sup> This sentiment was echoed by Parata who said that Acts of Parliament had "in every case been hurtful to the Maoris". He said that they were convinced that the laws passed were "not really passed with the intention of benefiting both races but are passed for Europeans to the detriment of the Maori interests".<sup>18</sup>

There was little support in Parliament for a measure like the Federated Maori Assembly Empowering Bill. It was not debated as those presenting it were unaware of the procedure of the House.<sup>19</sup> All that was gained was a reply to a question from Eparaima Kapa asking what the Government was going to do about the petition. Carroll replied on behalf of the Government that they had no intention of taking any steps in the direction indicated by the petition.<sup>20</sup>

Another attempt was made in 1894 with the presentation of the Native Rights Bill which asked for a constitution to be "granted to all the persons of the Maori race" but the debate on this Bill had to be adjourned as a quorum was not present in the House.<sup>21</sup> The final attempt to legalize a Maori Parliament, the 1896 Native Rights Bill, was defeated.

In 1894 King Tawhiao's constitution was published. It stressed equality with Europeans, prohibited the sale of "ardent spirits", appointed Magistrates and Justices of the Peace, and defined marriage laws. But its main stress was on land dealings. The procedures for leasing land were outlined, with land to be leased for no longer than twenty-two years. Leases only gave the right to "graze stock and

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17. AJLC, 1893, No.6, p.4.

18. *ibid.*, p.10.

19. PD, 85 (1894), p.554.

20. PD, 81 (1893), p.634.

21. McIntyre, W. David and Gardner, W.J. (ed), Speeches and Documents on New Zealand History, Oxford 1971, p.164.

cultivate", any metals on the land were to be the property of the state and the king had the right to make roads into leased land. If the agreement was breached there would be instant eviction. The constitution gave the power to the King's Government to "enquire into and adjust any dispute or trouble of any kind" and if the European Government wanted to enquire into any matter it must gain permission from the Maori Premier. Surveys had to be permitted by the Premier making it impossible for an individual to partition land without the consent of others. Land already passed through the Native Land Court could be returned to Maori hands after rehearing and was subject to the laws of the Maori kingdom.<sup>22</sup>

The committees set up attempted to enforce their authority, hearing cases, levying and collecting fines. In 1893 notices were posted that Europeans as well as Maoris were subject to the King's laws and breaches of these could lead to fines being imposed. King Tawhiao's attempts to regain power over his land were brought to a climax in 1893 when he stated: "The Governor and the Government, and all Government officers must leave this island. This island is mine. The blacksmiths, the carpenters, and the store keepers may remain; I will look after them. All other pakehas must leave this island and go back to England".<sup>23</sup>

King Tawhiao died in 1894 and was succeeded by King Mahuta, whose Prime Minister, Henare Kaihau, was elected to the Western Maori seat in 1896. He put forward a Bill proposing a Maori Council, similar to that proposed by Hone Heke except that this would confer "executive power" on the King and his descendants. Kaihau was ridiculed by other Maori representatives because of his assumption that Mahuta would be acknowledged as paramount king of the Maoris. The movement's strength was further undermined by its failure to obtain a

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22. McIntyre, W. David and Gardner, W.J. (ed), pp.165-8.

23. Williams, John A., Politics of the New Zealand Maori Protest and Cooperation, 1891-1909, Oxford, 1969, p.46 quoting Tawhiao.

compromise with Seddon's administration giving formal recognition of their system.<sup>24</sup>

The King Movement, centred in the Waikato and the Kotahitanga Movement in North Auckland, the East Coast and Hawkes Bay, both grew out of distrust of Government policies which had caused loss of Maori land and a weakening in tribal structure. Accordingly both sought to control European settlement and to retain the remainder of the Maori land. Basing their plea on the Treaty of Waitangi, and the Imperial Act of 1852, they called for self-government and unity among the Maori people. Although the Kotahitanga Movement called for self-government this was to be within and related to the European kingdom of New Zealand. The King Movement tried to sever contact with European society but still appealed to Parliament to legitimize its authority.

Both movements resulted from disillusionment with government policy. Maori Members of Parliament had proved ineffective, petitions had had little effect, the Native Department had been abolished, as had the District Magistrate Scheme. As the Native Portfolio and the Premiership were held by one man after 1893, the Maoris had no higher authority other than the Queen to appeal to and the Queen had disregarded earlier petitions. The Europeans wanted Maori land and the Government seemed to be intent on fulfilling their desire.

In this difficult period James Carroll has been seen as a mediator and has been credited with bridging the gap between the two races. His aim, to give Maoris equality with Europeans, was shared by the Kotahitanga and King Movements but with this idea of equality were linked goals of assimilation and progress. Maoris were to be equal with Europeans, but in the same society, in a New Zealand where Maoris would struggle side by side with Europeans in the fight for existence. His attempts were more acceptable to Europeans than

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24. Williams, p.47.



PLATE II

Sir James Carroll  
(Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington)

those of the Kotahitanga and King Movements and because of this were ultimately more successful. Carroll's values and aims were European rather than Maori, but what he valued and what he aimed for was a worthwhile place in European society for Maoris. The way that Maoris could gain this place was by becoming productive settlers, following the European example. This fitted in with the European desire for assimilation and Carroll fulfilled the need for someone who could understand the Maori land situation and was prepared to do something to clear up defective titles in order to open up Maori land for settlement. As he answered a need, he was able to move up the ladder in European society. In 1911 a South Island newspaper spoke of this when Carroll was there as Acting Prime-Minister: "To have risen, in spite of a very limited education, to the rank and position he now holds, reflects on him a very high degree of credit; that he should have been allowed to do so reflects quite as much credit on us ...."<sup>25</sup> That Carroll could rise in European society shows that Europeans in New Zealand were willing to give authority to a part-Maori who accepted European values and who behaved like a European. Maoris were not seen as racially inferior, only culturally inferior. On becoming Europeanized, Maoris could become acceptable but by doing this often lost their acceptability to other Maoris. However, it is ironical that although Carroll was acceptable because he was essentially European, it was because of his Maori background and knowledge of Maori society that he progressed in European society and was able so easily to become a member of Parliament for a European constituency. Although Carroll was fighting for equality and acceptability for all Maoris and part-Maoris in a European society, it was by capitalizing on his "Maoriness" that he gained authority in European society.

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25. Free Press (Balclutha), July 1911, in Maori Purposes Fund Board Clippings, Manuscript Papers 189.



## CHAPTER 2

EQUALITY AND ASSIMILATION : 1887-90

Carroll's view of racial equality was based on the Treaty of Waitangi, when the Maoris had ceded New Zealand to the sovereign and through this had become equal to the Europeans, under one law and under one Queen who was head of both races. The Maoris' status as subjects of the Queen was re-stated in the 1865 Native Rights Act and when Carroll gained his knighthood in 1909 he accepted it "... as a sign of the equality existing between the Maoris and Europeans conferred by the 'head of the race' ...."<sup>1</sup>

This equality, which in theory existed, was the basis of the majority of Carroll's speeches between 1887 and 1890. Europeans and Maoris should be on the "same footing" and "... every piece of legislation passed, should be, where circumstances permit, aiming towards this end ...."<sup>2</sup> In all cases Maoris should be encouraged to come nearer to European civilisation and helped to become "bona fide settlers".<sup>3</sup> This assimilation he regarded as inevitable and the sooner the Maoris accepted this the better. Then they could "... struggle side by side in the fight for life with the Europeans ...."<sup>4</sup> Already, more and more Maoris were seeing that "... sooner or later the two races must blend together ...."<sup>5</sup> Circumstances were changing and in these changing circumstances Maoris should be encouraged to become useful settlers on the same footing as Europeans.

Carroll emphasized the fact that the Maoris were capable and intelligent and he doubted that "... anyone in this House would gain

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1. Oamaru Mail, 5 July 1911, in Maori Purposes Fund Board Clippings Manuscript Papers 189.

2. PD, 61 (1888), p.685.

3. *ibid.*, p.833.

4. PD, 60 (1888), p.10.

5. *ibid.*, p.11.

an advantage over any native of average intelligence ...."<sup>6</sup>  
 Relating this to himself, he said he felt he was capable of looking after his own property but because of the present laws he was not allowed to do so.<sup>7</sup> Maoris had progressed to a stage where they were quite able to look after their own property,<sup>8</sup> and were quite equal to Europeans in capability; "... they possess, as much [discrimination] as Europeans, and, I believe, more so, because when they exercise their native powers of discrimination, these powers are not biased in any way by personal interest ...."<sup>9</sup>

Although this equality was desirable and had been made law by the Treaty of Waitangi, by 1888 acts had been passed which undermined these intentions and restrictions placed on the Maoris had meant that the intended equality had been forgotten.<sup>10</sup> So in order to bring about a situation where Maoris and Europeans were on the "same footing" certain discriminatory measures had to be swept away. Special representation was one such measure. In order to be put <sup>Maori</sup> on the same footing as Europeans, Carroll thought that Maoris should be given the residential qualification and put on a common roll. Special representation offered no advantages to Maoris because it limited them to four members whereas if they were on a common roll they would have a voice in every electorate in the North Island.<sup>11</sup>

Carroll thought that as British subjects Maoris should have the right to deal with their own land, the same right that their European brothers had.<sup>12</sup> This was essential to a policy of equality,

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6. PD, 61 (1888), p.83.

7. PD, 59 (1887), p.409.

8. PD, 61 (1888), p.83.

9. PD, 63 (1888), p.7.

10. PD, 62 (1888), p.263.

11. PD, 69 (1890), p.254.

12. PD, 63 (1888), pp.71, 73.



for it was only through this right that Maoris could hope to become equal socially and economically with Europeans. With rights over their own land Maoris could become productive settlers, equal to Europeans. But their system of land tenure was preventing this. A system of free trade in Native land, with Maoris having power to sell or lease but with provisions to prevent fraudulent practices, would put Maoris "on the same footing".<sup>13</sup> Although the pre-emptive right had worked formerly it would do no good to revert to it again "... the change and advance in the circumstances of the times would not allow it ..."<sup>14</sup> As well as free trade in land, individualization was necessary as "communism" in land was preventing the accomplishment of Carroll's ideal - the productive settler - and was a disadvantage to Maoris compared with their European brethren. However, Carroll, with his considerable knowledge of the problems of Maori land dealings, realized that there needed to be some provisions to prevent a minority of owners from compelling the majority to subdivide and thus put them to considerable expense.<sup>15</sup>

These changes in land tenure were necessary for the good of both the Maoris and Europeans of the colony.<sup>16</sup> For under the current system, settlement of the country was held back and there was no encouragement to an individual Maori to cultivate his section of the land when it was not subdivided. If a native attempted "to come out of his shell and strive to advance himself in civilisation", his efforts should be encouraged.<sup>17</sup>

Carroll objected to measures in which Maoris and Europeans were not given equal rights. In the debate on the Fair Rent Bill of 1888

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13. PD, 60 (1888), p.10, 61 (1888), p.83.

14. PD, 61 (1888), p.685.

15. PD, 63 (1888), p.253.

16. PD, 60 (1888), p.10.

17. *ibid.*

he objected to one clause because it interfered with Maori and not with European rights. On this occasion he said that if a Bill was going to interfere with private rights it should interfere with both European and Maori rights, making no difference because of "colour or persons".<sup>18</sup> In the debate on the Native Land Laws Bill he objected because certain measures had been passed by the House which were in European interests only; sections which affected Maoris only were rejected. He said that

... he regretted that such was the case, and deprecated the injustice of the powers that be, and their disposition to ignore any sense of right on the part of the Natives ... and to turn every effort to effect that which it was considered would remedy the wrong in favour of the Europeans ....<sup>19</sup>

The government should not be one-sided in its attitude even though the Maoris were not as important as they had been in the past. He hoped that a time would come when Government would have a greater sense of justice than the current Government seemed to have.<sup>20</sup>

Carroll reported that in some areas Maoris were living on poor soil "oscillating between independence and pauperism". If these were Europeans, Members of Parliament would become interested, "... but you never hear any cry for the unemployed Maoris although they have quite as much cause for complaint as our European brethren ...."<sup>21</sup> Although Maoris paid rates either directly as county rates or indirectly through the Crown and Native Lands Rating Act, they were not allowed a voice in local bodies nor were they put on the roll as ratepayers. A Maori could only vote in a European electorate by holding freehold land in severalty to the value of £25 whereas a European could come in and obtain a residential qualification to vote after only six or twelve

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18. PD, 61 (1888), p.174.

19. PD, 69 (1890), p.968.

20. *ibid.*

21. PD, 63 (1888), p.73

months. Maoris were not entitled to vote under the residential qualification even if they were born in New Zealand and were the "children of the soil".<sup>22</sup> Maoris also had no right of appeal in the Native Land Court whereas in any small matter a European had this right.<sup>23</sup>

In the years 1887 to 1890 Carroll's ideal of equality was to be gained through the sweeping away of discriminatory legislation where practicable and through attempts to make sure Maoris and Europeans would be treated fairly in future legislation. Legal equality was stressed more than social or economic equality, although through legal equality in land dealings Maoris could hope to become equal, socially and economically with Europeans.

Carroll did not advocate equality blindly. In land dealings, especially in individualization, there had to be some safeguards to prevent the minority over-ruling the majority.<sup>24</sup> In education, although Carroll hoped that eventually there would be no need for a separate system, there was still a need for native schools in some areas isolated from European contact,<sup>25</sup> but in areas where the European population was greater than the Maori population, the Maori children could be better educated by attending European schools.<sup>26</sup> There was another reason for Native Schools not going under the Education Board. When this suggestion was made in 1890, giving the example of Rotorua, Carroll objected on the grounds that there was still some colour prejudice. In Rotorua the school committee had stated that it did not want Maoris at their school. Carroll concluded by saying:

Unless Europeans could cure themselves of this colour-prejudice they could not expect the Natives to feel any

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22. PD, 59 (1887), p.409.

23. *ibid.*, p.706.

24. PD, 63 (1888), p.253.

25. PD, 62 (1888), pp.204-5.

26. PD, 59 (1887), p.924.

satisfaction over this attempt to take over control and administration of their education ....<sup>27</sup>

As well as sweeping away discriminatory legislation where practicable and encouraging Maoris to become useful settlers, Maoris were to be encouraged to come within the authority of the government. Discussing the problem of leases, Carroll said he thought strong inducements should be held out to Maoris near Patea to sever themselves from Te Whiti "and to come in more closely with Europeans, and act as Europeans". If these Maoris were not allowed to have control of their lands or the power to lease their lands they would be against coming under government authority.<sup>28</sup> Therefore the Government should compromise with these Maoris in order to extend its authority over them and bring them within the colony of New Zealand.

Although Carroll emerged between 1887 and 1890 as an advocate of Native rights, there is some mention of the policy that will later become his main purpose. In 1887 in the debate on the West Coast Settlement Reserves Bill he said he wanted to do what was fair to both sides, "... because, although I represent the Natives in this House, I also represent the country, and the Europeans just as much, and anything I can do to benefit both sides without injuring one I shall be most happy to do ...."<sup>29</sup>

But although he is representing both sides it is as an advocate of Native interests that he emerges between 1887 and 1890. He is requesting measures on behalf of the Maoris, his constituents. For example, in the 1888 Address in Reply debate, he said that there was a strong desire among the Maoris for the repeal of the 1886 Native Land Administration Act which was not suited to the requirements of the Maori people as under it their lands were locked up.<sup>30</sup> They could

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27. PD, 69 (1890), p.103.

28. PD, 59 (1887), p.935.

29. *ibid.*

30. PD, 60 (1888), p.9.



PLATE III

John Ballance's Cabinet, 1892.

From right: Pember Reeves, John McKenzie, James Carroll,  
A.J. Cadman, Joseph Ward, Patrick Buckley, John Ballance,  
Richard Seddon.

(Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington)

not use their lands themselves nor could they lease them and this caused the Maoris to live in poverty. In order to remedy this situation Carroll put forward a suggestion, on behalf of the Maori people, for a system of free trade with safeguards. It was as an advocate of Native rights, "an exponent of Native views, feelings and opinions" that Carroll completed his first term in Parliament.<sup>31</sup>

With the 1890 election imminent it was reported from one area that Carroll had not appeared and nothing had been heard of him. This worried the Europeans in the district who would regret Carroll's failure in the election "... knowing him to be a thoroughly able man, and progressive ..." in contrast to Wi Pere who was "neither more nor less than a political faddist, full of impracticable notions ...."<sup>32</sup> This theme was continued after Carroll retained the Eastern Maori seat. His re-election was said to give "great satisfaction to the Europeans of the East Coast" and not just those who were supporters of the Government.<sup>33</sup> It is interesting to note that although Carroll's majorities in the 1887 and 1890 elections were almost the same (186 in 1887; 185 in 1890) the votes came from different areas. Whereas Carroll's votes had come mainly from around Wairoa in 1887, in 1890 he polled more votes in the Poverty Bay area, Wi Pere's home ground, than did Wi Pere.

Carroll was seen by Europeans as someone "... who can be trusted to do his utmost for his countrymen and he is incomparably a more intelligent and abler man than his late opponent ...." It was noted that Carroll knew there was a change coming in the country's native policy and that he could be relied upon to do his best for his "countrymen". He was treated with great respect in Parliament whereas Wi Pere would be brushed aside.<sup>34</sup>

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31. PD, 61 (1888), p.9.

32. PBH, 21 November 1890, p.3.

33. PBH, 2 December 1890, p.2.

34. *ibid.*

Looking forward to the 1893 election, when Carroll was to stand for a European seat, these comments from the Poverty Bay Herald are significant, for Carroll's campaign then was to be based upon what he could do for the electorate, how well he was respected in Government and how this respect meant he could get results. Carroll's potential acceptability as a European Member was already apparent in 1890.



## CHAPTER 3

THE FORMATIVE YEARS : 1890-93

Carroll's second term in Parliament with his appointments to the 1891 Native Land Laws Commission and to the Cabinet can be seen as the turning point in his early career, culminating in his standing for the European electorate of Waiaapu in 1893.

In 1888, in the debate on the Native Land Bill, Carroll had suggested that the best way of dealing with the land matter would be for the Government to appoint a commission "... of intelligent persons of high character to travel over the country and investigate all incomplete transactions ...." On their report Government should legislate.<sup>1</sup> In 1891 this commission with Carroll, William Lee Rees and Thomas Mackay as commissioners travelled around the North Island reporting on the state of Native lands and Native grievances about lands and made suggestions for legislation. A report was presented but Carroll dissented from the majority and added a note to the effect that he questioned the resumption of Crown pre-emption, considering it "unwise and impolitic" and of questionable legality. Furthermore the system of Crown pre-emption had been tested for twenty years and this had given ample opportunity to see if the policy was efficient, wise and just. But it had proved to be a period "fraught with many acts of injustice to the natives" especially when millions of acres of good land had passed nominally to the government but in reality to the Queen's more favoured subjects at a low price. The Government had at last seen the injustice and had waived the Crown's right of pre-emption in 1862. Carroll suggested that the Maoris would mistrust the intentions of the Government if it once again took up pre-emption, thinking it to be merely confiscation. In any case he could not see how this could be done without their consent. The Maoris would think that they were "thrown back in the onward march of progress" and settlement would be retarded by the existence of only

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1. PD, 61 (1888), p.685.



one market, for when the Maoris could not sell to a higher market than the Government they did not sell at all. Maoris wanted to be useful settlers, according to Carroll, and would recognize that it would be to their advantage to dispose of excess lands in order to get funds for fences and stock.

In this report Carroll seemed to agree with the desire of some Maoris to have control over their own affairs when he said "... after all, what they ask for is only a species of local self-government, exercised in manifold degree by their European neighbours ...."<sup>2</sup> This would be their "only hope" as they could not penetrate the mysteries of the Native Office and they mistrusted past government policies.<sup>3</sup>

Carroll's position on the 1891 Native Land Laws Commission exposed him to a variety of Native grievances about land and he concluded that overall the land situation was better without Crown pre-emption. Secondly, it seems that Carroll gained further encouragement from the Maoris to whom he spoke, for his idea of giving them more control over their own affairs. Both these points are significant in Carroll's attitude to the Maoris as it is on these two issues that he later reversed the stand he made in the 1891 Native Land Laws Commission Report. But it seems that Carroll's appointment to the Commission had wider significance. It was an indication to him of his acceptability and his potential role in the new Liberal Government,

The views expressed in the Commission report were echoed in Parliament. He backed up the Maori desire for some control over their own affairs, suggesting on their behalf that they aid the Native Land Court in its work, in order to lessen the cost of its

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2. AJHR, 1891, G-1, p.xxix.

3. *ibid.*

operation and also to increase its efficiency.<sup>4</sup> He had previously suggested this in 1888 when he said that the Native District Committee powers could be extended.

In the 1891 debates his arguments on individualization were extended by stressing that subdivision must occur before individualization and stating that there should be "no individual dealing where a Maori does not hold an individual right". He took this argument further by saying that in hilly bush country where there was infertile soil and three or four hundred owners of one piece of land, all the value of the land could be absorbed by cutting up and selling.<sup>5</sup> The way round this difficulty, he suggested, was to divide the country into six or seven districts, with a resident judge, a magistrate and a Native Committee to assist the Land Court. This would mean that the land questions could be cleared up out of party politics, something that Carroll constantly emphasized.

Carroll realized that the time was coming when the Maoris would have to pay their share of taxes and before this day came it was necessary for their land to be put "in a proper state". This was realized by "those of us who, like myself, have come out into the daylight".<sup>6</sup> But "daylight" had blinded him to his previous words against the Government's discriminatory policies, for now he said that his experience had shown him that "Governments have, from various standpoints, endeavoured to do the best they could for all sides". From 1891 the contradictions to his previous statements multiply.

Carroll's desire for equal treatment for Maoris and Europeans sometimes overcame his other ideals. In the second reading of the Female Suffrage Bill he declared that he thought the Bill would have the effect of "unwomanizing the sex" and cause them to lose their

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4. PD, 73 (1891), p.579.

5. *ibid.*, p.580.

6. *ibid.*, p.581.

"charm", "modesty" and that "surrounding of womanliness which endears them to our minds". He went on to say that he thought "... the fitting and proper place for woman to exercise her functions is around the hearth, is within the domestic circle, bringing up her family, in the household and in several other channels wherein woman can well exercise her powers ...." But although Carroll opposed women's suffrage, he was not prepared to allow it to destroy only European women's "womanliness" and "charm". He complained that the mover of the Bill had acted in an "ungenerous" way by not including Maori women and that if it was right and just for European women to get the vote, surely the same privilege should be given to Maori women.<sup>7</sup>

In 1892 Carroll became a Member of the Cabinet representing the Native Race without portfolio. It is implied in the Governor's speech of 1892 that as the Native Department had been broken up and its functions redistributed it was thought "for this and other reasons ... well to add to the Executive Council a Member of the Native race".<sup>8</sup> In the following debate the appointment was challenged by William Buckland, member for Manukau, who "could not see the necessity for it" and said "the Natives did not care one bit for Mr Carroll".<sup>9</sup> William McLean, member for the City of Wellington, upheld the appointment, believing Carroll to be more competent than any of the other Maori members who had sat in Parliament and hoped that Carroll would to some extent regard himself as his "brother's keeper".<sup>10</sup>

Whereas the position on the 1891 Land Commission had broadened Carroll's experience and knowledge, this appointment broadened his political authority and gave him the confidence to strive for more important positions. It also made him a representative of the Government to the Maoris.

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7. PD, 73, (1891), p.546.

8. PD, 75 (1892), p.2.

9. *ibid.*, p.37.

10. *ibid.*, p.10.

In April 1892 at Waitangi Carroll attended a large meeting of Maori leaders who were proposing to form a kotahitanga (union) which would overrule tribal differences in an attempt to solve the Maoris' problems.<sup>11</sup> Carroll attended this meeting both as a member of the Government and as a representative of the East Coast tribes. He was reported as saying at the first meeting that he concurred with their proposal to work together for their common benefit. Carroll encouraged them to work out something practical and hoped that the meeting would not end as others had, without practical results. He said that he would like to see them deal with subjects which concerned both Europeans and themselves, like the dog tax and the land question. In regard to the land question, he urged that they come to some conclusions which would "... advance the interests of the whole people ..." and by doing this they could "... avoid any conflict with the interests of another race now permanently settled amongst them ...." Carroll concluded by saying that he would put before Parliament on their behalf any proposals that would advance both their interests and the welfare of the colony.<sup>12</sup> But at the conclusion of the meeting Carroll seemed to be disappointed with the results contained in the meeting's report. He said that these results were what he had expected, as the meeting had no "perfect or suitable organisation". By this meeting they had proved that they were unable by themselves

... to carve out independent lines of action calculated to enable them to achieve what a large section of them were striving to attain, namely, local self-government, and proved to demonstrate that they would have to adopt European ideas and generally assimilate their customs with the progressive action of the white men who are now firmly established in the land ....

But he encouraged their plan to hold future meetings, which he carefully called "conventions", and to come up with some practical scheme which could be laid before Government to enact. Once again he recommended the European example and said that he would not

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11. Williams, p.52.

12. NZH, 21 April 1892, p.6.

allow measures to pass which would be prejudicial to their interests. But the most important factor that they must consider was the advancement of settlement in the country. Recommending the practice of thrift and industry Carroll said that they must cast off their lethargy, which had been the cause of their being left behind in "the march of progress". They must make use of their lands and then the position they should strive for would be within their reach.<sup>13</sup>

Carroll's recommendations made at the Waitangi meeting are the first major indication of his new role as the representative of the Government to the Maori people which caused a broadening in his attitude to the Maori "problem". Whereas he had encouraged their attempts to extend control over their own affairs in 1891, by 1892 Carroll was recommending a different course. Now he was offering a policy of complete assimilation, as the only solution to the problem of their association with the Europeans. He did not completely discourage their attempts to hold meetings in the future but he did minimize the value of these meetings by suggesting that their efforts should be toward measures which would encourage assimilation rather than separation. Here is the beginning of a policy of progress for the colony as a whole, implemented by Carroll who represented both the Government to the Maoris and Maoris in the Government. It was a policy with benefits to both sides and demonstrates the necessity for Carroll to attempt to remain in the middle, between the two groups. But it also shows Carroll's allegiance to both sides, for the policy he was recommending was what he considered was best for all people in the colony, whether Maori or European. The conflict in his position is obvious but he managed to reconcile the difference without letting down either group. He was standing in the middle, but he was also on both sides.

In Parliament in 1892 in his new position in the Cabinet, Carroll piloted Cadman's Native Land (Validation of Titles) Bill through its final stages because Cadman was absent due to "domestic

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13. NZH, 28 April 1892, p.5.

affliction".<sup>14</sup> He was challenged by one member who said that Carroll was offering an insult to the people of New Zealand by trying to force through a Bill they had had little time to consider.<sup>15</sup> Carroll defended the Bill, stressing that it was a way to give relief and justice to both Europeans and Maoris who had suffered from faulty legislation.<sup>16</sup> It would mean increased settlement and the beneficiaries of this would be the people of the colony.<sup>17</sup>

Carroll's ideal was gradually broadening. The first step had been to implement a policy of putting Maoris and Europeans "on the same footing" and this policy had been broadened at the same time as Carroll's experience, knowledge and authority were increasing. From a more narrow policy of equality Carroll's ideal was becoming a colony-wide policy of benefit through increased settlement to all the people in New Zealand, whether Maori or European. But the idea of racial equality was still basic to this policy.

This basic idea was favourable to Europeans and it was reported in 1892 that Carroll had received praise throughout New Zealand for "the breadth and manliness of his views" of putting Maoris and Europeans on the same footing.<sup>18</sup> The Poverty Bay Herald's editorial said it had been hoped Carroll's view would have an educational effect upon the Maori mind but unfortunately Carroll was not carrying through what he was advocating. It was reported that he stood "on his legal rights as a Maori" and refused to pay his rates to the Cook County Council. Although the majority of people probably agreed that Carroll should not pay more rates than he must by law, as a Minister of the Crown, he should set an example to his countrymen and carry out his obligations as a citizen without

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14. PD, 78 (1892), p.630.

15. *ibid.*, p.625.

16. *ibid.*, p.630.

17. *ibid.*, p.633.

18. PBH, 16 August 1892, p.2.



taking advantage of the "race immunity".<sup>19</sup>

The general land situation was described by the Poverty Bay Herald in July 1892 as "a deplorable condition of affairs", in which "the Maoris are suffering the most of all". According to the Herald not a "class in the community" had its interests served by the land situation as it was.<sup>20</sup> The view of the same newspaper in an editorial in August 1892 was more severe: "The Maori as a landholder is of no use to himself, nor to anybody else. He is an obstruction to progress and the sooner he is succeeded in possession the better for the colony.... Everyone here desires to see the end of a most unprofitable monopoly which retards the progress of the North Island generally, and is particularly injurious to this district ...."<sup>21</sup> This plea for the betterment of the colony, with particular emphasis on the East Coast was the plea Carroll was ready to answer. A need was felt by the district and Carroll was capable of remedying the situation. He had the knowledge, the position and the desire to bring progress to an area which had been largely overlooked by previous administrations.

In 1893 Carroll stood for a European instead of a Maori constituency. This is a significant change, being the culmination in the process of an interaction between ideals and ambition.

By examining Carroll's speeches in 1893, the direction Carroll's political life had taken can be observed. In the light of his future political career, his answer to Eparaima Kapa's question as to what the Government proposed to do about the petition from the Federated Maori Assembly of New Zealand is significant. He replied that "... they [Government] had no reason to believe that the rights intended to be conferred on the Native race by the Treaty of Waitangi,

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19. PBH, 16 August 1892, p.2.

20. PBH, 28 July 1892, p.2.

21. PBH, 26 August 1892, p.2.

and also the rights given them by the Constitution Act, were not enjoyed by them at the present time".<sup>22</sup> These words sound incongruous coming from a man who had been arguing previously that the Maoris did not have the equal rights given to them under these Acts and who had encouraged their attempts to gain equal rights. For Carroll's entire policy of equality was based in giving Maoris in reality, the equality that in theory had been granted to them in the Treaty of Waitangi and the Native Rights Act. To state that the Maoris had all the rights intended to be theirs seems to undermine his basic policy. But here Carroll is representing the Government viewpoint. Later in 1893 his views on the attempt to create a Maori Parliament became much more explicit and critical. In 1892 at Waitangi, although stressing the need for assimilation into the dominant European society, he had encouraged their attempts to meet together and discuss common problems in an attempt to put forward some practical scheme, but in 1893 he called their practical system of a Maori Parliament "unattainable" and "chasing a shadow". He criticized men like Major Kemp and Wi Parata who he implied were holding up progress rather than taking part in the "advance of the age".<sup>23</sup> By 1893 Carroll as a Cabinet Minister had turned against any scheme specifically designed to handle Maori problems. His aim was progress associated with assimilation. A separate Maori political system would retard this progress.

In this election year, Carroll introduced eight Bills. Of these the Native Land (Validation of Titles) Bill was of particular significance to the Europeans of the East Coast, the area which he had indicated that he intended to represent after the election and it seems that the people of the district aided in drafting this Bill.<sup>24</sup>

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22. PD, 81 (1893), p.634.

23. PD, 82 (1893), p.950.

24. James Carroll to John Townley, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.11, National Archives.  
James Carroll to H.J. Finn, 26 August 1893, MA 30/4, p.30.



This Bill, an attempt to clarify aspects of the 1892 Native Land (Validation of Titles) which it repealed, was passed through the House quickly with little debate. Also of importance to this district were the Mangatu No.1 Empowering Act introduced by Parata which Carroll backed up "as a resident in the district and having an intimate knowledge of all the facts of the case",<sup>25</sup> and the Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act introduced by McKenzie. In the debate on the latter Bill, Carroll said he thought the measure was valuable and a step in the direction of establishing a system under which the Maoris' waste lands could be administered in the future.<sup>26</sup> He reminded the House of its duty as "guardians and custodians" of Maori interests, its duty to the European population and its duty to direct progress in New Zealand. Part of their duty towards the Maoris could be fulfilled by making "respectable settlers" and "good citizens" out of the Maoris. This could be done by exposing Maoris to European contact and Carroll suggested that a system of "sandwiching" European and Maori settlement throughout the country would be in the interest of the Maoris who would be able to copy the European's example. This would be a way of settling "the Native question" for through this the old ways of life could be "entirely obliterated without any violent wrench".<sup>27</sup> Later, in his election speeches Carroll claimed credit from his district for these Acts. He described them as Acts designed to open up Maori land,<sup>28</sup> and obviously this would have appealed to Europeans on the East Coast, the potential voters.

In the House Kapa said it could be seen that Carroll had changed sides and called the Native Land (Validation of Titles) Act, an act "to provide an electorate" for Carroll, saying that he did not think

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25. PD, 79 (1893), p.441.

26. PD, 81 (1893), p.536.

27. *ibid.*

28. PBH, 20 November 1893, p.4.

the Maoris would vote for him as these Acts had caused so much sorrow. He said "... it appears to me that the honorable gentleman has turned his back upon the people who elected him as their representative in this House ...." Kapa went on to list the number of occasions on which Carroll had let down the Maori people by not supporting their interests and said that the Native people generally looked upon him as being responsible for all the hasty Native legislation. His final comment was: "I fail to see why my honorable friend is termed the Native Minister. I look upon him rather as Minister for the Europeans ...."<sup>29</sup>

In reply Carroll assured Kapa that he felt for the Native cause "... no matter what position I may occupy, or in what station of life I may walk, I have the interests of the Natives as much at heart as he has himself, and it is in their interests jointly with those of their European brethren, I hope always to work. I cannot separate the one from the other ...."<sup>30</sup>

But not only Kapa was saying that the current Native legislation was not beneficial to the Maoris. The Hawkes Bay Herald reported in August 1893 that the general native opinion was that if legislation in its present form was passed the Native race would become extinct.<sup>31</sup>

The newspapers of the East Coast watched Carroll's progress closely in the months before the election. In January it was reported in an editorial that Carroll was the only one of the Maori Members who supported "remedial legislation" but that he was in a delicate position as he had to study "the views, or rather prejudices, of his constituents". This could mean that he would not support the legislation although he was convinced that the present legislation was harmful.<sup>32</sup> The Poverty Bay Herald was particularly interested

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29. PD, 82 (1893), pp.941-2.

30. *ibid.*, p.950.

31. HBH, 9 August 1893, p.3.

32. PBH, 18 January 1893, p.2.



#### PLATE IV

James Carroll at a Liberal rally near Greytown in the late 1890's. On the platform from left are: Mr A.W. Hogg, M.H.R. for Masterton, Mr J.T.M. Hornsby, M.H.R., Mr J.D. Heagarty, Mayor of Greytown. Behind R.J. Seddon are James Carroll and Sir Joseph Ward with walking stick.

(Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington)

in whether Carroll would become Native Minister when the possibility of Cadman's resignation arose. Throughout July 1893 the question continued to be discussed in the pages of the Herald and when Seddon took the post an editorial said "There has been an undisguised attempt to keep Mr Carroll as far as possible in the background, though no doubt the Premier is quite prepared to profit by the advice of his better informed colleague ...."<sup>33</sup> But the Herald did not leave the question there. Under the heading "Why Carroll has not the title", it said that although Seddon had taken the portfolio it was understood that the administrative work of Department would be carried out by Carroll.<sup>34</sup>

These views echoed the statements being made in the House. Seddon had made a statement that as the trend was toward having no distinction between the two races, the matter of the Native portfolio was under consideration but in the meantime Carroll would deal with matters affecting the Maoris.<sup>35</sup> When the announcement was made, George Richardson, Member for Mataura, said "I think the probability is that Mr Carroll is the man who will do the work - who will advise, and who will do the bulk of the heavy work of the Native Department, and speaking for myself - and I think I am speaking for a good many other members of the House - I may say we should have been pleased indeed to see that honorable gentleman made Native Minister...."<sup>36</sup>

Carroll, according to the Poverty Bay Herald, was capable of doing the Department's work and it was reported in July 1893 that he seemed "in earnest in his desire to effect some reform in native matters".<sup>37</sup> With the desire on the East Coast for land reforms,

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33. PBH, 5 September 1893, p.2.

34. PBH, 12 September 1893, p.2.

35. PD, 79 (1893), p.589.

36. PD, 82 (1893), p.39.

37. PBH, 11 July 1893, p.3.

Carroll was in a good position to win the 1893 election. He was called an "honest and popular" man who would be missed in the House if deposed, for there was no-one who knew as much about Native land matters. He was also said to be honest and straightforward in his dealings with Maoris.<sup>38</sup>

In pre-election letters to the editor of the Poverty Bay Herald, there is some criticism of Carroll. One correspondent asked what Carroll had done in Parliament for either the Maoris or the Europeans of the district and concluded by calling him a tool or paid servant of the monopolist class or the "favoured creature of public house rings".<sup>39</sup>

The 1893 election was fought against de Latour who was also a Liberal. Earlier in 1893 Carroll had hoped that an opposition member might contest the seat as this would "make a much better fight of it, as there would be distinct lines to go upon, Government v. Opposition, Liberal v. Conservative".<sup>40</sup> It was finally decided that de Latour, an advocate of the Temperance issue, would stand against Carroll.<sup>41</sup>

Carroll's campaign dealt chiefly with two issues - what he could do for the colony as a whole and what he could do for the district specifically. The "native question" bound these two issues together as it was of paramount importance to both and it was Carroll in both the district and the colony as a whole, who was most capable of dealing with this problem.

Carroll used the question of defective titles and what he could do about them, to great advantage in his election campaign, especially in letters sent to possible supporters. He called defective titles

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38. Fair Play, 11 November 1893, p.4.

39. PBH, 22 August 1893, p.3.

40. James Carroll to Bindell, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.12.

41. Fair Play, 11 November 1893, p.4.

"the great handicap" under which the district had laboured, causing a "... bar to settlement, an impediment to the expenditure of capital, a burden on the people, and a [cog ?] on the wheels of the district ...."<sup>42</sup> Working with the people of the district he presented the 1893 Native Land (Validation of Titles) Act in an attempt to clear up the land question and due to the passing of this Act he assured John Townley, the Mayor of Gisborne that "... we have arrived at the end of this great question at last ...."<sup>43</sup> He said that the current land legislation would "... set at rest the defective titles on our coast, which necessarily means an expansion of settlement, expenditure of capital, increased employment of labour and a further stimulus to our producing power ...."<sup>44</sup> He pledged himself to settling this question.<sup>45</sup> But as well as increasing settlement by fixing defective titles, more native land would be acquired and cut up than had "... ever been done during the whole representation of the past ...."<sup>46</sup>

Although the need to open up Native land was paramount to the district, there were also other problems that Carroll promised to do something about. He said he would put forward a claim to go on the estimates for roading purposes, saying that the district had strong claims on the government for expenditure on roads and bridges.<sup>47</sup> The district could also expect the construction of a Supreme Court House,

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42. James Carroll to [---], 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.17.  
This letter is typed with a space left for the recipient to be filled in in handwriting.
43. James Carroll to John Townley, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.11.  
James Carroll to H.J. Finn, 26 August 1893, MA 30/4, p.30.  
James Carroll to Sirrell, 26 August 1893, MA 30/4, p.29.
44. James Carroll to Bindell, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.12.
45. James Carroll to [---], 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.17.
46. James Carroll to F. Stewart, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.12.
47. James Carroll to Bindell, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.12.  
PBH, 16 November 1893, Seddon Papers Election Speeches 1893-4, National Archives.



the establishment of a mail service to Motu and probably to Opotiki, and the encouragement of industries.<sup>48</sup> "The district has a bright future before it and it is only now that attention is being drawn to its prospects, and as far as I am concerned I will take every opportunity in assisting to develop its resources ...."<sup>49</sup>

The district must progress and Carroll was in the position to aid this progress. In his letters to supporters he stressed that he was "well up in the rules and forms of political life" which put him at an advantage over someone who entered politics for the first time. He was also a Cabinet Minister in a very strong Government and he would retain his present position in it when it was returned at the next election. From this position he would be able to represent them better than anyone else as the district, which had received a minimum of attention from past Governments, would be served better by a Minister than by a private Member, for a Minister could gain special privileges which a private member, no matter how good he was, could not.<sup>50</sup>

As well as stressing what he could do for the district, especially with regard to Native land, Carroll spoke about what was important for the colony as a whole. He noted the importance of developing the colony's resources, particularly through closer settlement of the people on the land. With the breaking up of the "squatocracy" and the development of a "peasant proprietary"<sup>51</sup> the Government was pledged to achieving the greatest good for the greatest number" or "Government by the People and for the People".<sup>52</sup> Carroll

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48. James Carroll to F. Stewart, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.12.  
James Carroll to [---], 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.17.

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49. James Carroll to Bindell, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.12.

50. James Carroll to [---], 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.17.

51. PBH, 16 November 1893, Seddon Papers Election Speeches 1893-4.  
PBH, 20 November 1893, p.4.

52. James Carroll to F. Stewart, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.15.

said that his campaign was to be with the one purpose of "advancing the Liberal cause and the interests of the colony and people".<sup>53</sup>

Carroll stressed that although he had represented a Maori constituency he had done his best in the interests of the whole community, and that as a Minister, he had assisted in bringing about reforms for the good of the whole colony rather than one "class".<sup>54</sup> In this community he aimed to equalise the two races, Native and European, and this had been his text. Although this had not yet been accomplished, this was the direction in which things were moving.<sup>55</sup>

During the period for enrolment news came in that a large number of Maoris were enrolling on the European roll for Carroll's electorate and the conclusion was drawn that this would happen in other electorates with a large Maori population. The Poverty Bay Herald thought it was "intolerable" that Maoris should have an equal voice in the choice of European representatives while they also had special representation. As well as being "intolerable" it was also "unfair and unjust to members of the industrious and enlightened race". The law was a blunder and some European electorates could be seriously affected by the Maori vote. It was said that the Maoris were enrolling in the interests of Carroll, "... but the question as to whom they will support should not lessen the force of the objection".<sup>56</sup>

It seems that there had been some comment on his Maori background and its relationship to his eligibility to stand. Carroll seemed to stress his eligibility to stand for a European seat, as it was a natural progression in his ideas of equality. He is reported as

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53. James Carroll to Bindell, 17 July 1893, MA 30/4, p.12.

54. HBH, 17 November 1893, p.4.

55. PBH, 16 November 1893, Seddon Papers Election Speeches 1893-4.

56. PBH, 9 October, 1893, p.2.



saying:

It was thought by many that the privilege of representing a European electorate should be confined only to a certain class of its inhabitants. Now he took exception to that, and said that their civilization of which they boasted would be useless if in a measure the present age and generation did not rise higher than racial distinctions; and he would add that what inspired him to enter the field of politics in the spirit of magnanimity, namely to bring about a union of the two races, to make one nation with one object, the national prosperity of the nation in which they lived ....<sup>57</sup>

A number of reasons have been suggested as to why Carroll changed from a Maori to a European electorate. Possibly it was to further his political career, as it is said that Seddon had told him that he would carry more weight as a European member.<sup>58</sup> It was also possible that he would not have been re-elected for a Maori seat, because of the Native legislation for which he was responsible. But it seems that there is justification for the view that it was a natural step to take in expressing his attitudes on equality. It had been his text that he would endeavour to bring the two races together, in one nation with the one object of national prosperity. It was this cause that had inspired him to enter politics and although his attitudes to some measures had changed, this was still his guiding principle. In 1895 Carroll told a group of Maoris, some of whom had supported him as a candidate for Eastern Maori, that he had decided to represent a European electorate because Maoris and Europeans should pull together; not retracing their steps by going back to the "old Maori ways which do not now fit in and furthermore I felt that in representing a European constituency I would be able to do justice to my fellow countrymen, the Natives as well as the Europeans".<sup>59</sup> Later in his life in an address to the Te Rau Bowling Club, of which he was

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57. PBH, 16 November 1893, Seddon Papers Election Speeches 1893-4.

58. Adams, p.56.

59. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.48.

patron, he said that his friends had induced him to stand for a European electorate. His motives were "in the interests of the district" that "we should have two members for the district who would work in harmony and be instrumental in settling ... the land problems of the district".<sup>60</sup>

By evaluating statements made and by gauging attitudes over the period, it seems that Carroll's reason for changing electorates would be tinged with political ambition but would be based on his ideas of racial equality. The personal acceptability that Carroll was seeking as part of a general acceptability for all Maoris, could be partly achieved by demonstrating his ability to capture a European seat, the first time a Maori or part-Maori had done so. It is easy to see why the people of the East Coast elected Carroll as their representative. They felt a need to clear up defective titles, open up the land for settlement and receive their share of public works. Carroll as the acknowledged expert, and as a member of the Government promised that he could answer their need and by the acts he had introduced and supported in Parliament he had shown that he was willing to put his words into action. His position in the cabinet gave him the necessary political power. That he was part-Maori and a Rangitira made him all the more acceptable, as this gave him an intimate knowledge and understanding of Native land matters and society and potentially gave him the influence in Maori society which a European representative would probably lack. Furthermore, Carroll was not just working for the welfare of one section of the community, he was working for all people. His ambition was to do his best in the interests of the colony.

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60. Personal Reminiscences, p.3.

## CHAPTER 4

A EUROPEAN MEMBER : 1893-6

In 1891 Carroll had suggested that a system like European local government could be introduced to give Maoris some control over their own affairs. However, Carroll, representing a European constituency, and as a member of the Government, strongly attacked the Native Rights Bill of 1894 calling it "vague indefinite and outside of practical politics". But what those proposing the Bill wanted was in some ways similar to what Carroll had advocated in 1891. It seems that in 1891 and in the late 1880's, Carroll thought that equality could be gained through Maoris having the same type of institutions as Europeans, although they were separate. By 1894 Carroll's view was that equality and progress would be gained only by Maoris and Europeans sharing the same institutions. Therefore he saw the attitude demonstrated in the 1894 Native Rights Bill as negative. He thought that if the Maoris took this position of separation and did not appreciate what was being done for "advancement and progress" they would fall behind their co-colonists".<sup>1</sup> Legislation had been in the direction of "ameliorating and civilizing" the Maoris, in order to carry out the directions of the Treaty of Waitangi but the Government could not make a Maori British "unless they took him by the hand and made him advance step by step" until he came into line with his European brethren. But this was difficult to do if the Maoris would not aid Government attempts. Carroll realized that the changes he was calling the Maoris to make might be difficult to bear but the transition period of a race was always the most critical. The Maoris might think that the legislature was dealing unfairly with them, that they were being "... violently severe from the old associations to which [they] had been accustomed, and which [they] revered and desired to conserve; but, notwithstanding all this, it was better that [they] should feel the momentary pain in order

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1. PD, 85 (1894), p.555.

to enjoy the lasting benefit".<sup>2</sup>

Carroll's idea was that the Maoris should give up the old ways and replace them with the new. This was what he wanted for the Maoris and according to him there was little opposition to this as it was his impression, gained from attending various Native meetings, that the Maoris did not know what they wanted themselves.<sup>3</sup> He was ready to tell them what they should want and the benefits of the system under which they all lived. He called the Treaty of Waitangi "one of the most fortunate things that had ever happened ... so far as the Native people were concerned" as it was through this that their rights to their lands had been guaranteed to them and they had been given the rights of British subjects. Whereas between 1887 and 1890 Carroll had fought for these rights to be recognized, in 1894 as a member of the Government he had to say that there had been no attempt to take them away.<sup>4</sup>

Between 1894 and 1896 Carroll advocated the resumption of Crown pre-emption, something which he had previously criticized. He called it a beneficial feature of the Treaty of Waitangi and said it would have been better for the Maoris if it had been kept intact. Where it had been waived the Maoris had become paupers and its re-introduction would not do them any harm, in his opinion.<sup>5</sup> In 1895 and 1896, he re-stated his approval of the resumption of Crown pre-emption saying that while the free-trade system had been in existence the cream of Maori lands had passed into European hands. Crown pre-emption had been re-instituted in order to prevent them from becoming landless.<sup>6</sup> But Carroll realized that the system of Crown pre-emption could be

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2. PD, 85 (1894), p.555.

3. *ibid.*, p.554.

4. *ibid.*

5. PD, 86 (1894), p.382.

6. Native Meetings at Wellington, 1896, p.3.

accompanied by abuses so he advocated a form of land valuation for European and Maori land alike so that the Maoris would not be robbed.<sup>7</sup>

Carroll's reversal of opinion on this issue was brought to the attention of the House by Hone Heke, Member for Northern Maori. He gave a revealing account of the attitudes Carroll had taken towards Crown pre-emption<sup>8</sup> and said it was unfair for Carroll to say one thing to the Maoris and then reverse his opinion in the House.

His advocacy of Crown pre-emption for Maori land was part of a wider policy of the Crown's right and duty to buy land, whether Maori or European, whenever it was in the interests of the public. These interests could be best served by giving men the opportunity to go on the land as through this the progress and advancement of the colony would be assured. This opportunity should be extended to everyone, whether Maori or European.<sup>9</sup> The same policy that put Europeans on the land and made them settlers should put Maoris on the land and make them producers, settlers, and "contributors to the revenue".<sup>10</sup> The ultimate aim was to bring benefit to both Maoris and Europeans through settlement and colonization. All that was needed to become a settler was "a good stout heart", "zeal", "earnestness", and "a wish for the improvement of the country".<sup>11</sup>

Carroll put the advancement of New Zealand before all other considerations and he said that members should come to Parliament not as delegates for their districts but to represent the interests of all the colony, not guided by individual views but in the interest of the progress of the country and for everyone's benefit.<sup>12</sup>

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7. PD, 87 (1895), p.596.

8. PD, 86 (1894), p.231.

9. *ibid.*, pp.230-1.

10. *ibid.*

11. *ibid.*

12. *ibid.*

The Maoris were to take part in the progress of the colony, side by side with the Europeans, and should be treated in the same way. Their land as well as European land should be broken up for settlement and they should be given the same opportunities to go on the land.<sup>13</sup> If they were in the same position then they should be treated the same and receive the same responsibilities. This is why Carroll objected to a clause in the Native Land Court Act of 1894, which specified that a European could not deal with a Maori for his land, held in severalty, except if it was held under a testamentary title, by purchase or by gift. In this case a Maori held land in the same way a European held land, but was not able to deal with it in the same way. Carroll regarded this as an anomaly. But he regarded the rest of the Act as the best legislation they had had for many years.<sup>14</sup>

Between 1894 and 1896 Carroll faced much criticism. He was accused by George Hutchison of speaking as "the representative of the European constituency of Waiapu" rather than advocating the Maori cause which he had a duty to do as he was a Member of the Cabinet representing the Native Race. Captain Russell said that Carroll had lost sympathy with the Maori people and spoke as a Minister representing Europeans. The tone he used "... was so different from the tone they had been accustomed to in former years that he wondered how a change so complete could be made ...."<sup>15</sup>

This summarizes the delicate position that Carroll was then in as a representative of the Native race in the Cabinet and as member for the European seat of Waiapu. With the hunger for land and settlement on the part of his constituents and a desire to retain the land on the part of those he was supposed to be representing in the Cabinet, Carroll was in a complex position. His ultimate answer was assimilation, as in this way the interests of both sides would

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13. PBH, 25 January 1895, Seddon Papers 3/8 Speeches 1894-5.  
PD, 87 (1895), p.596.

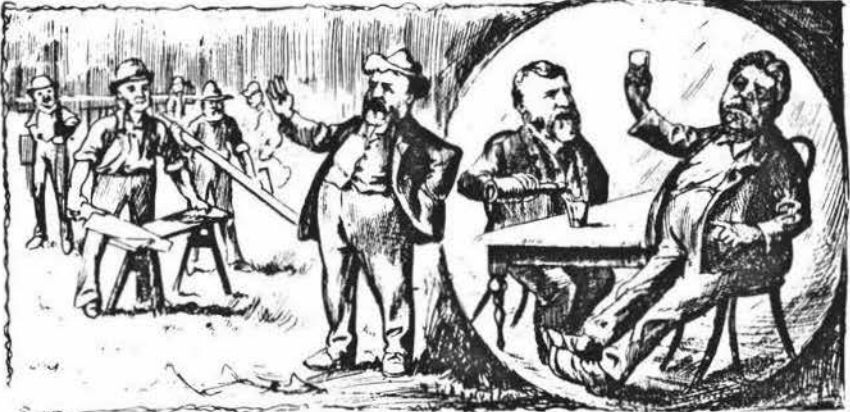
14. PD, 86 (1894), pp.380-2.

15. PD, 85 (1894), p.560.

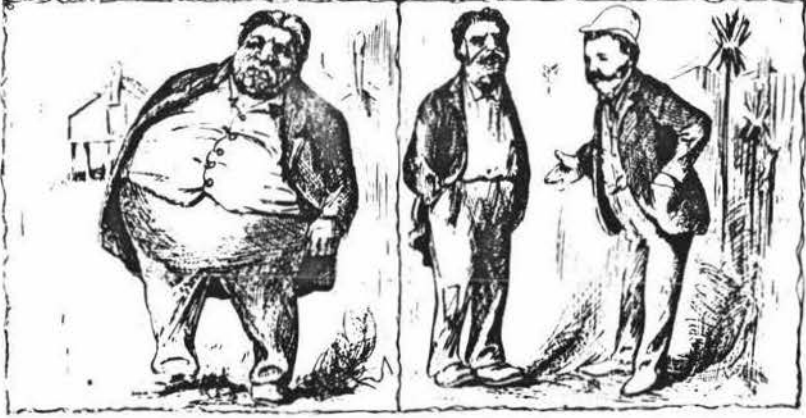




Mr Seddon exercises himself at gundigging. Amused gundigger: 'Why, sir, you wouldn't make ten bob a week at this game.' The Honourable James Carroll plays tip-and-run with the gundiggers during lunch-time.



Premier Seddon invites the co-operative workmen to have a drink. MR SEDDON AND WAHANUI.  
Wahanui: 'You are sure whisky is good?'  
Mr Seddon: 'Certainly it is, in moderation.'  
Wahanui: 'Then why don't you license this house?'



WAHANUI AS HE WAS ONCE. WAHANUI AS HE IS NOW.  
Mr Carroll: 'However did you manage it?'

SOME EPISODES OF THE MINISTERIAL TOUR IN THE NORTH.

PLATE V

Some Episodes of the Ministerial Tour in the North.  
(National Archives, Wellington)

become one. There would be one nation of neither Europeans nor Maoris but of New Zealanders who would have the one object of prosperity for the colony. The problem was that there was more change to be made on the Maori side than on the European but, according to Carroll, the Maoris would gain considerably from this change. However the Maoris had no choice. Change was inevitable.

In the supply debate of 1894 Carroll was again criticized after Meredith had moved a motion that the item "House Allowance to the Honorable Mr Carroll £100" be struck out. Heke said that it seemed that there was nothing in the position Carroll occupied and it would be better to save the money as the Native race did not benefit from Carroll's position. Another minister defended Carroll's ability to arrange the purchase of Native lands and John McKenzie said he had earned his salary many times over in this way. Carroll replied that he would serve the interests of everyone in New Zealand and "If his services were not worth the salary paid to him, the House should say so, for he would not care to receive it ...." However, "he did not think it would be dignified on his part to accept a position inferior to the one he held; otherwise he was quite indifferent...."<sup>16</sup>

The apparent aloofness demonstrated in this sentence is often noticeable in Carroll's attitude. This aloofness is grounded in his feeling that what he was doing was right for the Maoris even though he had to face considerable personal criticism. Carroll was looking toward the future rather than the past and realized the inevitability of change if Maoris were to have a worthwhile position in a European-dominated society. Even though Maoris called for separate institutions and went to great lengths to attempt to bring these institutions into being, Carroll would not give in to their desire. He felt he was right in wanting assimilation rather than separation and was prepared to stand by his policy which he saw as necessary to the future of the Maori race even though most of the Maoris saw their future in different terms.

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16. PD, 85 (1894), pp.240-1.



Although Carroll was criticized for changing sides and not defending the Maori cause specifically, this is not totally justified. On occasions he defended the Maoris and called them no more demoralized than sections of the European population. He said that they had held their lands and fought for them under exceptional conditions. Once again he said it was unfair and ungenerous to buy up Maori lands but save European land. All lands in the colony should be treated with the same principle in mind.<sup>17</sup> He told the House that he thought that they were forgetting their duty to be right and just to the Native inhabitants of the colony in their zeal to push European settlement.<sup>18</sup> It was time to approach the Maoris in a "more civilized spirit and make them one with ourselves". In this case his use of words is significant. It seems that Carroll is identifying himself with the Europeans, although occasionally he called himself a "Native". In the following speech Heke said it was the first time he had heard Carroll "... speak in favour, to a certain extent, of the rights of the Natives ...."<sup>19</sup>

But Carroll's policy was for the rights of all New Zealanders whether Maori or European and as he saw New Zealand's best interest being served by the unity of her people he was against separate institutions. So when the issue of special representation arose Carroll again stated that it would be beneficial if it were done away with as in a majority of cases European representatives could do more for Maoris than could Maori representatives, because they had had a better education in politics and could use their knowledge, experience and education for their benefit. An enlightened European could then represent both races for the good of the whole country. As in the period 1887-90, he said that Maoris should have more representation on local bodies but the cause for non-representation he now attributed to their aloofness whereas before the cause had been

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17. PD, 86 (1894), p.229.

18. *ibid.*, pp.230-1.

19. *ibid.*, p.231.

with the Europeans, who did not encourage Maori participation.<sup>20</sup>

Maori participation in European society should be encouraged and although they might admire the "national spirit of the Kingites", they were living in a "material age" and should not give way to "sentimentalism".<sup>21</sup> This national spirit should be directed towards a nation of both Maoris and Europeans, rather than to a particular group within that nation.

This need to unite and work with the Europeans, the inevitability of European settlement, the need to consult with the Government and the Maoris' life in a changing world were the themes that Carroll emphasized when, acting as interpreter, he accompanied Seddon on his trip around the North Island in 1895. It was spelt out very plainly by both Carroll and Seddon that Maoris should consult with the Government and not take the law into their own hands as this procedure would not be tolerated.<sup>22</sup> The Maoris could not detach themselves from forces that were working in the colony. Carroll said at one meeting, "The native race is not able to suppress the growing desire of the more powerful race, the Europeans. The European race is the dominant race in this island at the present time ...."<sup>23</sup> As the Europeans were dominant the only hope for the Maoris, the "salvation of the Native race", would be to unite and work with them. The European example was there for them to follow. If the European owned a single acre he made it productive, but Maoris with thousands of acres let them lie unproductive and useless. Carroll suggested that they keep the land they could use and pass the rest over to the Government.

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20. PD, 85 (1894), p.556.

21. PD, 86 (1894), p.381.

22. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.8.

23. *ibid.*, p.43.

He stressed that he had come with Seddon to bring benefit to the people.<sup>24</sup> It was only the Premier and Carroll who were standing between the Maoris and Europeans: "We are warding off any act that may befall you and the Native people, but it will be impossible for us to maintain this position for long ...."<sup>25</sup> The only way for their salvation was to unite with the Europeans, by attaching themselves to the Government. Then the Government could act as a parent to a child and provide a guiding influence.<sup>26</sup>

The Maoris whose speeches were reported in this official publication seemed to regard Carroll as someone to be respected. Makarini of the Tuhoe said that Carroll's former visit to them was their "salvation", as he had helped them understand the laws that had benefited them.<sup>27</sup> Te Hiko of the Tuhoe welcomed Carroll as his "excellent elder cousin" who had come to see his people to "enlighten" them and bring "salvation". He said "I am standing here in darkness, but still with a fervent hope of seeing the light ...." Rewi, speaking at Te Whaiti, said they recognized that Carroll and Seddon were standing between the Europeans and the Maoris "and that's a matter for congratulation".<sup>28</sup> Kereu, speaking at Ruatoki, referred to Carroll's "second coming" and Carroll in his reply to this group of chiefs said: "Understand that today is the day upon which you may be recorded as having been 'born again'. A new order of things and a new law unto the people, are now in this Island, and its in the direction of following out what you yourselves have said today - that is, forsaking the acts of the past ...."<sup>29</sup>

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24. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.51.

25. *ibid.*

26. *ibid.*, pp.43, 55.

27. *ibid.*, p.49.

28. *ibid.*, p.71.

29. *ibid.*, p.51.

This message was re-iterated throughout the trip. He told one group of Maoris: "Do not be blind, deaf, or forgetful of the fact that we are living in an age of progress, and live with the spirit of the age ...."<sup>30</sup> Change was inevitable and it was essential that Maoris "grow with the times" like the Europeans. They should "... divorce themselves from the past, and enter into this matter-of-fact age unimpeded by the traditions and prejudices of old times ...."<sup>31</sup>

On this trip around the North Island Carroll was speaking as a representative of the Government, advising the Maoris what to do for their own good but the advice was also more personal. Carroll had succeeded in a European world and was now returning to tell the Maoris what they must do to succeed also.

Carroll had advocated that Maoris give up the "evils of the past", enter European society and work in unity with the Europeans. But the Urewera District Land Act of 1896, which Carroll introduced, saw a reversal in Government policy towards Maori land. Essentially the difference was that land was to become inalienable rather than be cut up for sale. Although it was a change in policy some elements in this Act had been suggested by Carroll on previous occasions. He had advocated several times after 1890 that land which was unsuitable for subdivision and owned by several Maoris not willing to sell should be supervised by a corporate body. But the Urewera District Land Act established a body which had local government powers, an idea he had denounced between 1892 and 1895, although he had been in its favour of it in earlier years. Captain Russell, describing the Bill as a change of policy, said that before this the Maoris had not been allowed to emerge from their state of semi-civilization as they were treated like children. But now the Government was allowing the Maoris to govern themselves.<sup>32</sup>

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30. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.55.

31. *ibid.*, p.23.

32. PD, 96 (1896), p.159.

Carroll excused the change in Government policy by saying that on previous occasions the Government had not granted requests of local self-government because "European interests were so mixed up with Native interests affecting various blocks of land and various tracts of country in this colony that we deemed it to be imprudent ...."<sup>33</sup> But there was more to the change in policy than this. A survey had shown that the land in the proposed reserve was not at all suitable for settlement, being rough and rugged with poor soil. But it was in this country that a group of Maoris lived in conditions "congenial to their habits and welfare". It was their "... earnest desire; seeing of course, that it is fit for no other use than for benefiting themselves - seeing that is not adapted for being cut up for settlement purposes - it is their ardent wish that this land should be preserved to them ...."<sup>34</sup>

The conditions of the Act were instituted in order to bring better administration, advancement and civilization into the country. Carroll hoped that the result would be "... the advancement of these Natives up to a state of civilization equal to that of their pakeha brethren, whereby you can impose upon them all the responsibilities and liabilities which all other subjects of Her Majesty are subjected to at the present time ...." Eventually there was hope that they would become "respectable and popular subjects of Her Majesty".<sup>35</sup>

It was Carroll's belief that they could be taken away from their "primitive" environments and led stage by stage until they finally reached the "full glare of civilization". In this way they would be spared the pain that he had earlier called "the curse of all Native races" caused by a "sudden transition from primitiveness to high civilization".<sup>36</sup> Carroll asked his fellow members to be as kind

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33. PD, 96 (1896), p.158.

34. *ibid.*, p.157.

35. *ibid.*, p.159.

36. *ibid.*, p.173.



### MINISTERS PENETRATE THE ROADLESS NORTH.

PREMIER RICHARD (to the Honorable James): Well, this is awful. And yet some of these people wanted us to come round again in the winter. Why, we would never get out of it alive if we did.

THE HONORABLE JAMES: Heaven only knows whether we shall get out of it alive.

### PLATE VI

Carroll and Seddon's Trip in 1895.  
(National Archives, Wellington)



to the Maoris "as they were in the old days to every European who visited these shores". He asked that their hospitality be returned.<sup>37</sup> Carroll credited the great changes taking place in the Urewera Country, "former abode of rebels", to the Government which had been able to open up the land and let the daylight in.<sup>38</sup>

Carroll's wish to bring the Maoris of the Urewera Country into "civilization", was also his general attitude to everyone in New Zealand. He stated that it was the Government's duty to assist all those that were falling behind, especially to settle them on the land if that was what they wanted. But Carroll cautioned that native land purchasing must soon cease or else the Maoris would be dispossessed of every acre of soil.<sup>39</sup>

This statement seems to contradict Carroll's basic aim of Native land purchase in order to bring progress to the colony. But it must be remembered that Carroll in his advocacy of land purchase was aiming for the progress of the Maoris as well as the colony. The time had come when there was only about one hundred acres left for each Maori<sup>40</sup> and if they lost any more land they would lose their place in the future of New Zealand.

The policy of retention of Maori land which Carroll put forward in the case of the Maoris in the Urewera Country and which he hinted at for the rest of the Maoris' land, is the basis of his policy after 1896, particularly while he was Native Minister after 1899. Carroll became known for his policy of "taihoa", or of marking time, in regard to Maori land in order to give the Maoris a chance to advance and develop.

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37. PD, 96 (1896), p.195.

38. PBH, 27 May 1896. Seddon Papers 3/10 Election Speeches 1895-6.

39. Wairoa Guardian, 28 March 1896, Seddon Papers 3/10 Election Speeches 1895-6.

40. *ibid.*

In 1900, Carroll's Maori Lands Administration Act and Maori Councils Act, put this policy into law. Through these, crown purchases of Native land were discontinued until 1905 when settlers demands again became too great, leasing rather than sale was encouraged, the Maoris were given an opportunity to administer their own lands and develop farming, and legislation set up councils to promote the well-being of the Maoris. In these years Carroll was able to hold back European settlement and his policy of "taihoa", which earned him the sobriquet "Taihoa Timi", was called by Sir Maui Pomare "the salvation of his race".<sup>41</sup> Many European settlers saw his policy as pandering to the Maoris and encouraging Maori "landlordism" but Carroll was called "the wave-breaking rock" by his people for his determined stand against the clamour from European settlers for Maori land.

Although, beginning in 1896, there is this change in policy from native land purchase to retention, Carroll's basic aim does not change. While the Maoris had sufficient land for their needs, he advocated that they should sell in order to utilize the remainder of their lands more profitably. But when it seemed that the Maoris would soon cease to have sufficient land, Carroll called for a policy of retention. In both policies Carroll had the basic intention of doing what was best for the Maoris.

But the policy of land retention was only beginning to come forward in 1896 and it was with the theme of settlement, as in 1893, that Carroll contested the 1896 election.<sup>42</sup> One statement he made in his election campaign is particularly significant. Talking about Government policy he said

They were guided in that by the experience of history and by what was happening in the Old World, and he said that in a new country like this in its present pliable state, if they had sufficient intelligence to

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41. PD, 212 (1927), p.15.

42. PBH, 11 November 1896, p.2.



mould its character, to build it up, and educate it so as to obviate all those difficulties which had occurred in the older countries, and make the people who lived here fair and comfortable they would be doing a great work ....<sup>43</sup>

Carroll's policy was to give the Maoris an adequate chance to live side by side with the Europeans as fellow New Zealanders in one nation. While New Zealand was in a "pliable state" he was attempting to educate New Zealanders to live together as brothers and British subjects. There could be no nation of Maoris within that nation but all must be united together as New Zealanders.

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43. PBH, 11 November 1896, p.2.

## CONCLUSION

TOWARDS ONE NEW ZEALAND

It is Kahungunu who has come a second time. Born again to the world to link together his two peoples, Maori and Pakeha, that they might live together amicably.

O ye people! Hasten slowly! We are one!<sup>1</sup>

This inscription on James Carroll's tombstone is a fitting summary of his policies, the basis of which was formed in the period 1887-96. Carroll was the leader of the "second coming", one of the instigators of a time in which Maoris and Europeans would live together in the same society as equals.

Equality of Maoris and Europeans was basic to this ideal and because of this Carroll attempted to prevent the passing of any legislation that did not give equal rights to both Maoris and Europeans. He emphasized that both were British subjects according to the Treaty of Waitangi and the Native Rights Acts and should be dealt with equally by the Government. Carroll advised the Government, "You are in fact, dealing with yourselves, if you can only get over the prejudice of colour ...."<sup>2</sup> The word Maori meant "of the soil", therefore all born in New Zealand were Maoris. The only difference was that of colour. "The Maoris were earlier immigrants, but living under the same civilization ...."<sup>3</sup>

Parallel to this policy of equality was a policy of progress and advancement, based in a realization of the inevitability of change. It was an age of transition for the Maoris which could be painful but was necessary because of the inevitability of European settlement.

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1. Adams, p.108.

2. PD, 63 (1888), p.73.

3. Oamaru Mail, 5 July 1911 in Maori Purposes Fund Board Clippings Manuscript Papers 189.

The Maoris must adapt to this change by giving up the old ways and taking up the new ways of European civilization. The most important way of doing this was to become a productive settler, following the European example. Towards this end Carroll suggested the "sandwiching" of Maori and European settlement throughout the colony and the selling of land which Maoris could not use profitably, in order to obtain money to buy stock and make improvements on their land. As well as being encouraged to take up European ways, Maoris were encouraged to come within European government as part of the adaptation to the dominant European society. So Carroll favoured a compromise with the Maoris in the Urewera Country, which was essentially a change in Government policy and he spoke out against the Kotahitanga Movement for its aim to implement separate institutions.

His attempt to prevent Maori political separation was also for a wider purpose. Carroll's aim, based on his policy of equality and progress, was to create one nation of New Zealanders all with the one aim of prosperity. In this nation there would be no difference between Maoris and Europeans, for through the policies Carroll advocated, all would be on the same footing. Only colour would be the difference and this issue of "complexion" or "caste" would be unimportant. His attitude to this can be seen in his reaction to an apparent denial of his eligibility to stand for a European constituency in 1893. It was reported:

He (Mr Carroll) accused Mr DeLatour of raising the question of caste as an objection to his (Mr Carroll's) candidature. For himself he could not see how that could affect the position. He (Mr Carroll) was a colonial of mixed parentage. Mr DeLatour was a European apparently (judging by the name) of foreign extraction ... but he (Mr Carroll) could not see why he could not serve them as well as Mr DeLatour and why the question of complexion should make any difference. He thought this raising the question of race was playing it rather low down and was a system of warfare to be despised ....<sup>4</sup>

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4. PBH, 23 November 1893, p.2.

As well as fighting for an equal place in New Zealand society for Maoris, Carroll was fighting for personal acceptability. By playing down the issue of colour, Carroll was emphasizing that although he was part-Maori this should not prevent him from gaining a place equal to Europeans in New Zealand society. It seems that Carroll managed to become the ideal that he would want for all Maoris. He managed to identify with European society and almost became absorbed into it, by gaining high positions in Government, by becoming a small farmer, a race-horse owner and a patron of a bowling club. But although he identified with European society, he did not turn his back on his Maori heritage completely. However, it was necessary for him to fit this Maori heritage into a wider vision of himself as a New Zealander. This is why he could not support the movement for a separate Maori Parliament. Although at times he called himself a Native, usually when attempting to pass legislation affecting the Maori race in a way that other members might criticize, he normally stressed that he was a "colonial" or a "colonial of mixed parentage". His loyalty was to New Zealand, rather than to factions within the colony and as part of this he stressed his patriotism, saying that he "did not hope to ever go out of the colony" and he had never been "out of sight of its land".<sup>5</sup>

Seddon spoke of Carroll's identity as a New Zealander when he said:

In his face, in his thoughts, and in his form there are the two races united. You do not find the two bloods quarrelling. When you look at his person you see a wholesome blend; the two races are there working in harmony together. It shows that the European and the Native race can mix with satisfactory results and the product of such union is apparently free from sickness of body or sickness of mind ....<sup>6</sup>

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5. PBH, 16 November 1893. Seddon Papers Election Speeches 1893-4, National Archives.

6. AJHR, 1895, G-1, p.26.

Carroll, in his own person, was the "wholesome blend" and this was his aim for future New Zealanders, living in one nation all on an equal footing. In this way the Native question would be solved, as it would no longer exist.

## LIST OF SOURCES

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3/8	Speeches 1894-5
3/10	Election Speeches 1895-6
61	Political Cartoons 1893-7

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