

Solidarity Across the ‘Colour’ Line?

MĀORI REPRESENTATION IN THE *MAORILAND WORKER*,
1910–1914



AT LEAST ONE THOUSAND MĀORI WORKERS were members of the New Zealand Federation of Labour (Red Fed) in 1914, but white, working-class men dominate Red Fed history.¹ Fran Shor, in his work on the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), describes how the masculinist rhetoric of syndicalists involved in the Red Fed disregarded women and obscured any involvement of Māori workers.² (Male) gender and (working) class solidarity elided demarcations of race. This article locates Māori Red Feds and analyzes how Māori workers were represented in the *Maoriland Worker* (the Red Fed newspaper) between 1910 and 1914.³ It takes Red Fed internationalism, the belief ‘that all workers, irrespective of colour or creed must link up to defeat capitalism’, and examines how ‘colour’ was identified and negotiated by Red Feds when organizing working-class solidarity.⁴ Racial ideologies informed Red Fed union recruitment strategies but these were mitigated by the number of Māori workers in the union. This is demonstrated by comparing two case studies: the New Zealand Shearers’ Union and miners’ unions in Waihi and Huntly. Māori members of the Shearers’ Union pushed for union solidarity strategies that acknowledged that race mattered, as well as class. Miners’ union officials only paid attention to Māori workers when employers targeted Māori to work as strike-breakers during industrial disputes in Waihi and Huntly in 1912. Red Fed organizers began to report on a racialized other – the Māori ‘half-caste’ scab – against whom solidarity should be organized. The presence of this racialized other raises an important historiographical point: while the state treated Māori communities and those of mixed race parentage – hāwhekaihe – who lived among them as indistinguishable, some Red Fed leaders viewed hāwhekaihe as less civilized than so-called ‘full-caste’ Māori workers. This indicates, I argue, that the language of eugenics had infiltrated some working-class communities by 1912.

The socialist and syndicalist-dominated New Zealand Federation of Labour emerged amongst the miners after the 1908 Blackball strike. Wharfies, shearers, urban labourers, flax workers and seafarers joined the Red Fed from 1910, and at its height, the organization had 15,000 members. Most Red Fed member unions left the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration

system, regaining the right to strike, and used industrial action on the job to gain better wages and conditions for workers.⁵ Red Feds 'denounced the arbitration system as Labour's "leg-iron", and damned arbitration unions as weak and servile, survivors of the horse and buggy age, rooted in craft and designed to crawl'.⁶

The *Maoriland Worker* was originally the New Zealand Shearers' Union Federation newspaper, first managed and edited by socialist freethinker Ettie Rout in close association with Mick Laracy, Shearers' Union general secretary, but it was taken over by the New Zealand Federation of Labour in 1911 when the shearers ran into financial troubles.⁷ 'Maoriland' was the name for New Zealand most commonly used in Australia among shearers who worked the Trans-Tasman shearing circuit.⁸ Despite losing editorial control of the *Maoriland Worker* in 1911, Shearers' Union organizers and officials regularly reported their activities in the paper. Shearers' Association conferences, minuted by Ettie Rout, were also published in full, but always in English. Australian socialist Robert Ross became the *Maoriland Worker's* next editor. Erik Olssen writes that reading the *Maoriland Worker* immersed you in 'a world in which wage slaves are waking, forming themselves into a revolutionary army, skirmishing with capitalists for better wages and conditions, for justice itself, and preparing for the revolutionary confrontation which would mark the triumph of the working class and the demise of capitalism'.⁹ Workers were primarily described in class terms because class was understood to be the main identifier that would unite workers against capitalism.

The main source utilized for this analysis of Red Fed racial ideology is the *Maoriland Worker*. Due to the complexity of the issues under review, this analysis is limited to reports on the Shearers' Union and Waihi and Huntly miners' unions, between 1910 and 1914. This case study can only indicate certain trends amongst those particular Red Fed communities and does not claim to represent a cross-section of the labour movement. While Māori Shearers' Union official Bob Tutaki is well documented, I have discovered little in the archives or in secondary sources about Māori trade unionists Henry Hawkins and James K. Morgan, who are important to this story. They remain shadowy figures demanding discovery.

The Shearers' Union and Solidarity Across the Colour Line

By 1914, Māori shearers, both men and women, made up 1000 of the 4000-strong membership of the New Zealand Shearers' Union, and the Shearers' Union had joined the New Zealand Federation of Labour in early 1911.¹⁰ The Shearers' Union engaged in industrial action on the job, according

to the Red Fed manifesto, but remained within the arbitration system. Mick Laracy, like Trades and Labour Council leaders so derided by the Red Fed executive, was committed to the arbitration system and a labour party to press for better wages and conditions for workers. In an effort to bring about a unified labour movement, Laracy kept a foot in both camps.¹¹ Because Māori were prominent in the shearing workforce this impacted the way union leaders, the majority of whom were Pakehā, both viewed and treated Māori workers. For example, the Masterton Shearers' Union executive sent a message to relatives of Mr and Mrs Rei Paku, who had recently died, conveying their sympathy and regret. Rei Paku was recognized as a prominent, true and staunch trade unionist. The message went on to say: 'We fully recognize the Maoris as a noble race of people, and it is the earnest desire of the Pakeha portion of our membership that the chain of friendship and brotherly and sisterly devotion should be linked up, with the object of becoming one in the best interests of our cause.'¹² Most Shearers' Union leaders linked noble trade unionism to noble characteristics of the Māori race, and for the most part, expected Māori to be staunch trade unionists. Union officials promoted solidarity across race and gender lines to bolster and protect union rates and conditions from the threat of scab labour (those shearers working for less than union rates).

Historically, Māori had not been excluded from the shearing workforce or the unions that formed to protect those workers. Māori had been part of the shearing labour force in New Zealand since the 1850s, and were first recorded as organizing for higher pay in the 1860s.¹³ Shearing became a trans-Tasman affair and the first shearers' union was the New Zealand branch of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union (ASU) of Australia, established during the long depression. Shearers' union rules were first published in te reo Māori in 1887 and Māori-language union publications were continued sporadically over the years, including the period under review.¹⁴ The Amalgamated Shearers' Union joined with the General Labourers' Union to become the Australian Workers' Union in 1894 and its rules welcomed members who were 'Maoris, Negroes, Aborigines and the children of mixed marriages'.¹⁵ The New Zealand branch of the Australian union petered out and shearers' unions formed and registered under the New Zealand Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act in the early years of twentieth century. The Shearers' Union, representing Canterbury, Otago, Wellington, Marlborough and Poverty Bay branches, was formed in 1909, with its head office in Christchurch. In October of that year, Māori delegates of the Wellington branch of the Shearers' Union pushed for Māori leadership positions in the union and Henry Hawkins, from Gisborne, was appointed the first Māori organizer of shearers' unions.¹⁶ Mick Laracy explained that Hawkins was hired as an organizer to educate Māori

shearers about the new union rate of £1 per hundred sheep.¹⁷ Hawkins began a strong tradition of Māori organizing on the East Coast. Bob Tutaki was also a delegate at the 1909 conference and he played an influential role organizing Māori in Taihape and the Hawke's Bay. Raihania Rimitiriu, a champion shearer, was the first president of the Gisborne and East Coast Shearers' Union formed in 1910 and delegate James K. Morgan was elected vice-president 'representing the Māori race'.¹⁸ Māori officials recruited Māori shearers to the union in large numbers.

Pākehā shearers' descriptions of Māori as 'a noble race of people' fits within the European racial stereotypes identified in New Zealand over the turn of the twentieth century. James Belich, Tony Ballantyne, Keith Sinclair and Angela Ballara have argued that politicians and academics believed that Māori were of Aryan (Anglo-Saxon) origin and already shared ancestry with British people, and thus could be imagined as 'Brown Britons' or 'better blacks'.¹⁹ Māori were regarded as the lightest-skinned Polynesians and therefore 'the "noblest" of the "coloured" peoples'.²⁰ William Pember Reeves, in his 1898 history of New Zealand, wrote: 'The average colonist regards a Mongolian with repulsion, a Negro with contempt, and looks on the Australian black as very near to a wild beast; but he likes the Māori.'²¹ As Ballantyne writes: 'Māori, "pacified" by two extended periods of war and redeemed by ethnological works that suggested they shared Aryan origins with the settlers, could be assimilated into this [Reeves'] story of "Progressive" New Zealand.' And progressive race relations became one of the narratives that informed New Zealand history-telling.²² Aryanism also provided Pākehā with 'a romantic prehistory' of Māori as 'great explorers and navigators, fierce fighters in war, lyrical poets', which resonated with their own understandings of an Anglo-Saxon-Celtic past.²³ Most Shearers' Union officials believed Māori were noble and therefore could be staunch trade unionists. Shearers' Union organizers made comparisons between Māori and Pākehā shearers as they sought to recruit them around the country and some questioned the idea that Pākehā were a more 'civilized' race.

W. Johnstone, South Island Shearers' Union organizer, reported on Māori shearers at Morehu: 'I found them a credit to their country, and a good example to their Pakeha brethren – solid and staunch to a man.'²⁴ Secretary Mick Laracy wrote: 'I had no trouble enrolling all the Maori workers, but our white brothers from Waverley way are not equal to the Maori from a unionist point of view.' John Mee, organizing in Martinborough, was the only organizer to report on Māori shearers as if he expected them to undermine the rates and conditions set by the union. Mee described his efforts to convert Māori shearers at Hautatoa: 'half of them were Maoris, who won't take tickets

and work on contract. However, I started and for fully an hour I raked them from stem to stern. I touched on everything, even the Maori land question, and at the finish two souls sought salvation – one being a man whom they had been trying to make a unionist for years. Most of the shearers reckoned I won a great victory, as that man was a sort of chief among his mates, and had great influence with them.’²⁵ Mee demonstrated little understanding of how to unionize Māori shearers, despite his assumed ‘victory’. In stark contrast, Alex McLeod, organizing in Wanganui, knew about *manaakitanga* (hospitality) and the importance of communicating in *te reo* to educate Māori workers on union issues. McLeod reported:

I have at all places of call amongst the natives been the recipient of the kindest treatment it was possible to bestow from both old and young. The young people in many cases being very intellectual, assisted me greatly in translating to their elders the meaning of my addresses. There are many good unionists amongst them, and in this respect in many instances they have shown an object-lesson to their more enlightened (?) Pakeha brethren, amongst whom the cocky element is in fairly strong force, and which gentry are ever ready to accept all that is got for them by the combined efforts of organised labor without contributing towards the upkeep of the union that obtains these increases.²⁶

McLeod, like Johnstone, uses the word ‘brethren’ to indicate relationships between Māori and Pākehā shearers – that of comradeship, belonging to the same family, class or community; the term also had religious undertones. Cow cockies were those Pākehā shearers who were farmers or farmers’ sons ‘with a petty capitalist outlook’.²⁷ This potential social mobility or differing class-consciousness made their ‘brethren’ relationship problematic and non-union cockies were discussed in disparaging terms by union organizers. In contrast, some non-union Māori shearers were greeted with sympathy due to their position in the rural labour market. Laracy found Māori shearers were most likely to join the union except when ‘individuals are afraid to offend the “master,” who may refuse them the right to toil during the slack time of year’.²⁸

The union defended Māori members who were discriminated against by employers for living in mixed-race relationships. In 1912, the union claimed a breach of the shearers’ award under the Arbitration Act. The union claimed that Samuel Hawkins (a member of the Wellington Shearers’ Union) had been discriminated against because he, his wife and niece had been dismissed from service without justification. In court, Frank Gordon of Clifton Station explained that he had no wish to employ Hawkins because of his reputation for roughness, his social standing and trouble with him in the past. It was clear that most of Gordon’s commentary was in reference to Hawkins’ union activities. But what also became apparent was that Gordon had a private

reason for not wanting to hire any of the Hawkins family: Hawkins was Māori and living with a white woman.²⁹ Historian Angela Wanhalla found very low numbers of white women marrying Māori men between 1840 and 1900, and that such relationships 'inspired derision or anger' amongst Pākehā society.³⁰ She writes: 'Stories of white women "bought" by Māori men or "abandoned" by them were told as morality tales in the popular press well into the twentieth century, warning readers of the fate of women who married across the colour line.'³¹ Employer Frank Gordon's attitude is certainly evidence of this, but the position of the union, particularly Alex McLeod who spoke in support of Hawkins' claim, tells a different story about societal allegiances.

Māori shearers played a significant role in holding their union officials to account and challenging racial inequality. Organizer John Cooper reported that a team of Māori shearers would not renew their union membership in 1911 because the union failed to investigate and adequately address their concerns about accommodation.³² Evidence was collected and in 1913 the Shearers' Union sent a deputation to Prime Minister William Massey to push the Reform government to take action and increase the inspection of shearers' quarters in Māori districts.³³ At the 1914 Shearers' Union conference, J.K. Morgan reported on behalf of Māori members: 'To the best of my knowledge the natives think this union is run too much on the European side, and some of them are beginning to have ill-feeling on that ground, and say they will probably try to pull out. ...The natives want to have the same voting power as the Pakehas. ... The more native delegates we get at next conference, I say, the better.'³⁴ In the face of this challenge from Māori members, Mick Laracy 'emphasised the importance of the Pakehas and Maoris standing together as brothers in the Association'. He argued for solidarity: Māori 'had everything to gain and nothing to lose by standing in with the Pakeha shearers and all fighting their battles together'.³⁵ At the end of this discussion, conference agreed that: 'Maori delegates should be elected to conference each year, but in the event of no member of the native race being elected, the Executive be granted power to appoint a Maori delegate.'³⁶ For the Shearers' Union, creating union solidarity across the colour line meant acknowledging that Pākehā-understood racial hierarchies caused racial inequality and further injustices for Māori in the workforce. This meant admitting that race mattered, as well as class, and union structures and tactics had to be adjusted accordingly.

A colour line appeared not to have existed for Māori in the New Zealand rural workforce and its unions in the 1910s, which is significant in a global context. Black American historian W.E.B. Du Bois described the emergence of a global colour line – 'the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men

in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea' – as the problem of whiteness in 1900.³⁷ As historians Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds so convincingly argue, the global colour line was 'a transnational form of racial identification' that demarcated state boundaries by privileging whiteness.³⁸ Māori were not officially excluded from the labour force in New Zealand but the geographical divide – where Māori and Pākehā were prominently situated: Māori in the countryside, Pākehā in the towns – produced ethnically distinct workforces. I want to turn now to two mining towns – Waihi and Huntly – to analyze how small-town Red Fed leaders constructed race during industrial disputes.

Mining strikes and 'half-caste' Māori scabs

The miners' unions were the first Red Fed unions to cancel their registration under the Arbitration Act in order to regain the right to strike. The Waihi Miners' Union had done so in 1911 and successfully used industrial action to eradicate the competitive contracting system from the Waihi Goldmine.³⁹ There is very little evidence of Māori working the Waihi Goldmine prior to the 1912 Waihi strike; Māori membership of the Waihi Miners' Union was most likely negligible.⁴⁰ Only in the aftermath of the Waihi strike did reports indicate the presence of 17 Māori miners: strike-breaker Henry Bostock claimed there were ten Māori and seven 'half-castes' working the mine at the end of November 1912.⁴¹ Historically, European capital and Pākehā labour profited from the gold mines in the Coromandel. Hauraki Māori had been peripheral to the gold-mining industry and its townships since the government obtained leases to Māori gold-bearing lands in the 1860s and 1870s. By the early twentieth century, the rents *iwi* received from those gold-mined lands were minimal and government land alienation practices left Hauraki Māori eking out a living balancing subsistence crop-growing with flax-milling, gum-digging and farm labouring for Pākehā.⁴² The gum market collapsed in the 1910s, which put pressure on Māori to find other kinds of paid work.⁴³ Some laboured on the Hauraki Plains drainage works scheme or had public works contracts to construct railways and roads.⁴⁴

The Waihi gold-mining strike, involving 1200 members of the Waihi Miners' Union, began in May 1912 when a rival union was formed under the Arbitration Act by a small group of engineers with the support of the Waihi Goldmining Company. The strike remained relatively peaceful until 2 October, when the Waihi Goldmine was reopened with strike-breaking labour. Red Fed leaders supported the Waihi strike and raised money for striking Waihi families.⁴⁵ Huntly coal miners organized a one-day strike to show solidarity with their comrades in Waihi in October 1912, but their

union executive was dismissed by the Taupiri Coal Mining Company and miners vowed to continue their strike until their executive was reinstated.⁴⁶ Employers sought strike-breakers to work the Huntly mine and form an arbitration union to undermine the Waikato Miners' Union. In both Waihi and Huntly, employers targeted Māori workers to work the mines and break the strikes. Red Fed leaders advised Huntly strikers to go back to work and take back control of the arbitration union. Ted Howard, a Christchurch Red Fed, reflecting on the mining industrial disputes of 1912, wrote: 'To the credit of the Maori, be it said that both at Huntly and Waihi very few of him scabbed. The half-breed, however, seemed to have no compunction in doing so.'⁴⁷ Māori miners were acknowledged by Howard as staunch trade unionists, but those workers born to Māori and Pākehā parents were not; they were deemed to have inherent scabbing capabilities. The following section explores how the construction of the 'half-caste' Māori scab emerged.

Waihi union leader Herb Kennedy described the strike-breakers working the Waihi Goldmine: 'The men who are located at Waihi as scabs are two-thirds half-breed Maoris, the pahs in the Thames country having been circularised for this purpose. Apart from 20 or 30 men who deserted the union ranks, the rest are toughs and hooligans from the cities.'⁴⁸ Like Ted Howard, Kennedy uses the terms 'half-breed' and 'half-caste' interchangeably in his reports. 'Half-caste' was the common expression used to describe people born of Māori and Pākehā interracial relationships in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since 1881, New Zealand census enumerators had classified 'half-castes' as either Māori or Pākehā depending on how they lived – as Māori or as Pākehā.⁴⁹ Thus, those people Kennedy describes as 'half-breed' would have been officially classified as Māori because they lived in kainga in the Thames county. According to the 1911 census, there were 37 'half-caste' Māori men in Thames county and six in Ohinemuri (where Waihi is situated); the total population of Māori men in the area (including those of mixed descent) was 789.⁵⁰ However, census enumerators were reliant on Māori informants who provided general information about their communities – individual Māori households did not fill out their own forms until 1921 – and enumerators were given no clear instructions on how to differentiate between 'Māori' and 'Pākehā' 'half-castes'. Numbers should be regarded with scepticism.⁵¹ According to Herb Kennedy, the Waihi Goldmine officials targeted this mixed-descent population from rural areas, with some success.

Studies of official and scholarly attitudes to people of mixed-race descent between the late nineteenth century and 1939 have found that they were greeted positively as a sign that Māori were being assimilated into Pākehā culture; for some commentators, this kind of assimilation was regarded as

the only way Māori would survive.⁵² The increase in census numbers of ‘half-castes’ provided evidence of the ‘progress of race-mixing’,⁵³ but this was only ‘progress’ if a Māori woman married a white man of education and economic independence and went to live in a Pākehā cultural manner, raising her children in this environment.⁵⁴ Class and gender, defined in very particular ways, mattered. Twelve ‘half-castes’ were recorded as living in a European manner in Waihi in 1911.⁵⁵ Children of interracial marriages who were raised in a Māori environment were not regarded as advancing the assimilatory cause, and provoked different reactions, which have been given much less scholarly attention.

Kennedy described the way ‘outcast and half-caste Maoris’ were targeted in the Thames valley, suggesting that Māori who scabbed were not well integrated into Māori communities, and this existence of falling between Māori and Pākehā cultures gave rise to their vulnerability.⁵⁶ Lachy Paterson, however, in his study of Māori attitudes to hāwhekaihe (half-castes) exhibited in Māori language newspapers, found that hāwhekaihe were well integrated into Māori communities by the 1910s and interracial marriages were not opposed by Māori tribes.⁵⁷ Red Fed leaders differentiated between Māori and ‘half-caste’ Māori at a time when Māori communities and government officials did not. During the 1913 smallpox epidemic, Department of Health instructions, issued in all newspapers in July 1913, explicitly prohibited Māori *and* ‘half-caste’ Māori from travelling in Auckland, Wellington and Hawke’s Bay provinces.⁵⁸ These restrictions were not lifted until December, well after the epidemic was over.⁵⁹ Because smallpox was more prevalent amongst Māori communities (due to a lack of immunity), Māori and ‘half-caste’ Māori together were blamed for spreading the disease. Department of Health officials and newspaper reporters instructed readers to ‘give a wide birth to Natives who do not live in the most approved and recognised European fashion’.⁶⁰ In contrast, Red Fed miners’ differentiation between Maori and ‘half-caste’ Maori workers should be read, I argue, in the context of eugenic thought.

Concerned about the diminishing birth rate of the white upper classes, as opposed to the lower classes, eugenics groups organized across New Zealand in the first decade of the twentieth century. Eugenics involved ‘the social engineering of a selected population by direct intervention’.⁶¹ For example, eugenics advocate Harry Kirk, Victoria College biologist, explained in 1910 that ‘unlike with animals where the weak and diseased were set aside, with man, the unfit, the diseased and the mentally afflicted were allowed to marry freely and perpetuate the curse of their maladies’.⁶² A Wellington branch of the Eugenics Education Society promoted a lecture series in

1911 that featured Sir John Findlay, who defined the unfit as 'including idiots, imbeciles, habitual criminals, sexual perverts, insane, deaf mutes, epileptics, and inebriates of the more hopeless class, and degenerates who from any cause were unfit for social cooperation in freedom'.⁶³ The 'unfit' were also defined as 'non-British': Chinese, Japanese, South-East Asians all qualified, but Māori were not included in such discussions.⁶⁴ Acceptance of the Aryan Māori mythology by academics and government officials meant that intermarriage was not officially regarded as negative. Eugenics societies recommended 'sterilization, segregation, marriage certificates, immigration restrictions and the eugenic use of birth control' to prevent the degeneration of 'the race'.⁶⁵ Despite large and appreciative audiences, and full reports of these lectures in the press, when the Mental Defectives Bill became law in 1911, segregation rather than sterilization was recommended for 'sexually promiscuous girls and others exhibiting anti-social behaviour'.⁶⁶ While the membership of eugenics societies was 'largely white, Protestant, middle-class and well-educated professionals', the language of eugenics appears to have had some impact on Red Fed union communities.⁶⁷

Red Feds writing for the *Maoriland Worker* described Waihi scabs as 'toughs', 'hooligans', 'criminals', 'cripples', 'old men', Māori 'half-breeds' or 'half-castes'; they were derelict and degenerate.⁶⁸ When Herb Kennedy described the 170 'derelict scabs' who ran the Waihi strikers out of town in November 1912, he was asked 'why such cripples, old men, and half-caste Maoris had succeeded so suddenly in turning the tables on the stalwart unionists'.⁶⁹ Kennedy's audience of Wellington workers did not expect moral and physical degenerates to be capable of getting the better of trade unionists loyal to the cause. Kennedy responded by describing the savagery of Waihi scabs: 'howling gangs of heavy-jowled thugs and criminally-bred toughs and half-caste Maoris, with the primal savage instinct predominating, under the influence of that official hooliganism that riots in police uniform, have been going around with police squads for bodyguard and in twenties and thirties attacking individual unionists, the police looking on complacently while the murderous work proceeds successfully and hastening with baton and bludgeon to the laying-out of the unionist who makes any sort of effective stand against the hired thugs.'⁷⁰

Maoriland Worker editor Robert Ross further elaborated on this primal savagery: 'Why in Waihi they reverted to the practice of the earlier governing class of North America, who, when the Colonists rose in rebellion against Britain, let loose the Red Indians, with tomahawk and scalping knife, and even condoned the scalping of women and children. So the Waihi mine owners not content with men just released from jail, are recruiting Maori half-breeds to

help break the strike.⁷¹ These Red Feds did not subscribe to the view that Māori and Pākehā intermarriage was a positive practice; they classed Māori ‘half-castes’ as morally degenerate, but not physically degenerate, inheriting from their Māori ancestor the supposed savagery of a pre-European past.⁷² Ettie Rout, who reported for the *Maoriland Worker*, was of the opinion that mixed race marriages were ‘race suicide’. She wrote: ‘White and black, and still worse, white and yellow, will not mix at all; such people are inevitably an economic, a spiritual and a social danger in our midst.’⁷³ She was not alone in these views.

One of the most virulently condemned scabs involved in the violence in Waihi was a Māori man nicknamed ‘The Snakecharmer’; his name was Peter Leaf. He was described as a ‘poor, misguided savage’.⁷⁴ One *Maoriland Worker* report said ‘Peter, who is a very poor specimen even of a half-caste Māori, with slanting Chinese eyes, thin, high-jawed face, pinched nose and drooping mouth, is evidently a very loyal adherent of the Hemptiah [Empire]. I am told that he never parts with his loyal colors [red, white and blue] even when he goes to sleep.’⁷⁵ Charges against Leaf for violence and obscene language in the latter stages of the Waihi strike were given full coverage in the *Maoriland Worker*.⁷⁶ While mixed-race people of Māori and Pākehā ancestry were regarded as more likely to scab than either Māori or Pākehā workers, mixed-race people of Māori and Chinese descent seem to have been regarded as even more likely to scab. Again this makes sense read in the context of eugenics.

Chinese racial profiling was a common focus of eugenic thought. For example, ex-premier Sir Robert Stout argued in 1911 that ‘the Chinese were excluded [from ‘the fit’] as tending to lower our civilisation’.⁷⁷ Tony Ballantyne describes how union leaders and newspapermen in the 1890s, such as Samuel Lister, promulgated anti-Asian sentiment and supported restrictive immigration policy out of fear that men of colour would lower white working-class men’s wages.⁷⁸ However, by the early twentieth century, Red Feds were committed to building one big industrial union (across race and sex lines) for all workers and they sought to debunk the ‘yellow peril’ mythology as a capitalist plot to divide workers. Under the headline ‘Yellow Peril Liars’, a *Maoriland Worker* article read: ‘Our business is to organise internationally along with the yellow man to defeat the international exploiters who impartially rob the workers of all nations.’⁷⁹ Robert Hogg, Wellington-based editor of the socialist newspaper *Commonweal*, preached the internationalism of the IWW and was accused by the *New Zealand Truth*, a working-class newspaper, of betraying his own race: ‘Now cadaverous, wild-eyed Robert Hogg is getting mischievous. On Sunday night he advocated

the cause of the Chow ... Hogg didn't mention whether he would permit his female relations to marry the yellow horror.'⁸⁰ *Truth's* racist description of Chinese raises a pertinent question: did international solidarity of workers stretch to interracial marriage? Certainly the description of Peter Leaf would suggest otherwise.

The spectre of the 'half-caste' Māori scab as savagely violent and irredeemable (due to inherited racial characteristics), I suggest, should be understood in the context of the violence exacted on Waihi striking families in November 1912. When labourers first broke the picket line and went to work the Waihi Goldmine in October, they were few in number. Workers were mocked and called scabs but they were understood to be redeemable; strike supporters tried to persuade workers to join or rejoin their strike. But as the numbers of strike-breakers increased, as well as the numbers of police to support them in early November, strike-breakers began to pursue strikers and exact violence upon them. In this context, strike-breakers became an overwhelming threat. A violent mob of men raided the Waihi Miners' Union hall on 12 November with the result that striker Fred Evans was beaten to death; then over 50 strikers and their families were driven out of Waihi for good.⁸¹ The mainstream media supported the strike-breakers' actions and played down the violence, leaving the Red Feds and fleeing Waihi residents few places to communicate their victimization; the *Maoriland Worker* was one such place. Outcast Red Feds drew on eugenics language in their descriptions of their aggressors to elicit support from their audiences, particularly arbitration unions outside the Red Fed that had not supported the Waihi strike.

The descriptor 'half-caste' was not used by the Waikato Miners' Union in their reports on the Huntly solidarity strike, and again I would argue this was because scabs were not regarded as an overwhelming threat. Thomas Marshall, union executive member, reported on the solidarity strike under the pen name 'Bruit'.⁸² Similar to Waihi, Taupiri Mines employers sought to recruit strike-breakers from amongst local Māori, persuading five to go to work in October 1912. However, three days later, only two Māori turned up for work. The *Maoriland Worker* reported that Māori members of the Waikato Miners' Union had 'brought inside pressure to bear on their fellows to cease work'; the two remaining strike-breakers were not from the Waikato region.⁸³ This report indicates that enough Māori were miners' union members to have a presence in union business, and Māori workers were not demonized for strike-breaking. Marshall wrote: '[T]his subtle slimy, snake-like, treacherous act at Huntly to create a color line in New Zealand by estranging the Pakeha and Maori ranks as [sic] the most despicable of all treacherous acts aimed at a

noble race by unscrupulous Pakehas. Create a color line here and confiscation of native reserves follows as night follows day, while the extinction of another noble race will soon follow.⁸⁴

Huntly Red Feds, like the shearers, regarded Māori as possessing noble characteristics, which included union solidarity. Red Fed miners, like the shearers, also believed there was no colour line in New Zealand, despite the small number of Māori miners.⁸⁵ Marshall was concerned that employers' divide-and-rule tactics would give Māori a reputation as scabs and make it more difficult for Māori to get employment protected by unions. This in turn would make Māori more vulnerable to land alienation, and without an ancestral land base, they would become extinct. Nineteenth-century Māori depopulation, and residual racial ideas that indigenous peoples could not survive culture contact with European peoples, meant many believed Māori would soon die out. By 1910, however, there was evidence to show the Māori population was increasing. Marshall, writing in 1912, was not so sure.⁸⁶

Huntly strike-breakers were only called 'half-caste' when they were described as a threat to the union movement during the first Unity Conference, held in January 1913. This national conference of unions aimed to bring about unified action to force the government to repeal the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act clause that enabled 15 people to secure registration under the Act. According to the Red Fed executive, the clause allowed 'a minority the right to coerce a majority' in the industry – a tactic used with great effect by employers at Waihi and Huntly.⁸⁷ Robert Semple described to the conference how a 'scab union' was formed at Huntly in a similar manner to Waihi and '[h]alf-grown half-caste Maoris were recruited'. On behalf of the Federation of Labour, Semple asked Unity Conference attendees 'to take steps to break down the possibility of that sort of minority rule'.⁸⁸ In the face of powerful descriptions of employers' strike-breaking tactics, state violence at Waihi, and those of 'inferior birth' duped into scabbery, the Conference agreed on three goals: 'to settle all past controversies, to provide the machinery to achieve labour's industrial and political goals, and to shield labour from further factionalism'.⁸⁹ Unity was premised on the exclusion of this 'racial other'.

Māori shearers were also labelled as 'half-caste' when they became a threat to the success of the 1913 Great Strike: a series of strikes that began on the Wellington wharves and at the Huntly mine where trade union leaders continued to be victimized by the Taupiri Coal Company. Strike action spread: wildcat strikes shut down the ports of Westport and Greymouth and much of Auckland was closed down. The United Labour Federation (newly emerged from the Unity conferences) called for a one-day nationwide stoppage and

some unions stayed out. The tide turned when special constables were sworn in and strike-breakers brought in to work the ports and other striking worksites. The Great Strike began to break in November, and only the miners remained out until the end of December.⁹⁰ Shearers decided not to go out on strike at all, but raised funds in support.

John Mee, ex-Shearers' Union organizer, was interviewed for the *New Zealand Truth* in late 1913. In an article entitled 'The Shifty Shearers: Cockies and Half-castes Control the Union', Mee was asked why the shearers didn't join the 1913 Great Strike, despite being members of the New Zealand Federation of Labour.⁹¹ Mee, McLeod and P.J. Kerr had resigned their positions with the Shearers' Union over the decision not to strike, and published a 'Manifesto' in the *Maoriland Worker* calling on all shearers not to scab and to down their tools.⁹² Mee blamed secretary Mick Laracy for deciding not to strike without consulting the members, explaining that Laracy was afraid a strike would break up the Shearers' Union. When questioned on why Laracy was of this opinion, Mee answered: 'Many of our members are small cockies, Maoris and half-caste Maoris. These men, he thinks, and I think he's right, would not come out. Only sound unionists would come out, and so the best men would be penalised.'⁹³ Again Mee is demonstrating his prejudice that Māori (and 'half-caste' Māori and small cockies) were not inclined to be 'sound' (strike-participating) trade unionists. The *New Zealand Truth* headline held 'cockies' and 'half-castes' to blame for the shearers remaining out of the strike and is another example of the label 'half-caste' occurring when strike or union solidarity is experienced as under threat.

Minutes of the 1914 Shearers' Union conference indicate that Māori shearers did play a significant role in the decision not to strike. J.K. Morgan reported: 'All the men in Poverty Bay were on to me that they would not be with the strike; it would not be to their benefit. They had gained a little experience from strikes and the Arbitration Act, and had found out they [employers] ... formed scab unions under the Arbitration Act, and so that is the attitude. They do not want to have anything to do with the strike at all.'⁹⁴ Better to stay in the arbitration system so there was no danger of a bosses' union making the Shearers' Union redundant. Morgan went to a great deal of effort to publish Shearers' Union agreements in Māori, which would indicate that Māori shearers were more likely to read te reo Māori than English. Māori shearers' understandings of what occurred at Waihi and Huntly would most likely have been communicated by Māori organizers for the Shearers' Union or whānau from Ohinemuri or Waikato, rather than the *Maoriland Worker*. Māori shearers would have been less likely to read Mee, McLeod and Kerr's Manifesto, which outlined reasons for joining the 1913

Great Strike. The only strike-supporter to publish articles in te reo Māori was Percy Short, writing for the *Industrial Unionist*, the IWW (Wobbly) newspaper, in 1913. The newspaper had a print run of 4000 at its height, and came out of Auckland; it is impossible to know how many Māori would have read it. Short explained syndicalism, connected struggles on the waterfront and in the mines with the confiscation of Māori land and ‘deplore[d] the actions of Māori who acted as strikebreakers and paid thugs’ during the Waihi strike.⁹⁵ Short described Māori strike-breakers as supporting the ‘rangatira’ or the bosses and compared them to ‘the “loyal Māori” who sided with the government during the Land Wars’.⁹⁶

Wobbly Thomas Marshall, writing about the Kingitanga leader Te Rata Mahuta Potatau Te Wherowhero’s role during the Huntly strike, had a different attitude to ‘rangatira’.⁹⁷ He wrote: ‘It is interesting to note that the white wage-slaves and the native Kaimahi [workers] resident here and working in the mines have a staunch friend in Te Rata. During the recent cessation of coal-getting in Huntly, [and] endeavour[s] to organize scabs among the Maoris ... Te Rata saw the president and secretary of the union and promised to intercede; he did: result, no Maori scabs.’⁹⁸ Marshall described workers in class terms – as ‘wage-slaves’ – but he waxed lyrical about Te Rata’s mana as a king ‘whose subjects yield him love’ and the importance of fraternal support from the Kingitanga elite. Other tribal leaders such as Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino V and Tuiti Makitanara also spoke out in support of strikes in 1913; but they lamented the fact that Māori workers were not being educated on strike issues in te reo Māori. Makitanara emphasized the fact that many rural people did not know the position of the strikers before they signed on as special police. While Te Heuheu and Makitanara were lauded in the *Maoriland Worker* for their ‘fraternal help’ and described as ‘the brainiest men in the Maori ranks’ for supporting Labour, there was no mention of the importance of communicating in te reo Māori.⁹⁹ The Shearers’ Union continued to publish its rules and other leaflets in Māori, and Māori members maintained their right to representation at the district level. Māori officials were also part of the drive to organize other rural workers after the defeat of the Great Strike. The New Zealand Workers’ Union, established in 1919, included shearers, flax workers, Public Works employees, timber millers, forestry workers and general labourers.¹⁰⁰ Bob Tutaki coined the union’s motto at its inaugural conference: ‘Let us stand up with one common mind ... stick together, everybody, remember that old Maori philosophy, “Tatau tatau”, meaning altogether.’ ‘Tatau Tatau Altogether’ appeared on the New Zealand Workers’ Union membership ticket.

In the 1910s, Red Feds believed in internationalism – that all workers, regardless of colour, had shared class interests and should unite to overthrow capitalism.¹⁰¹ The ways that shearers and miners understood and negotiated 'colour' when organizing union solidarity was influenced by the numbers of Māori workers engaged in those occupations: Māori shearers made up a quarter of the union membership, and they made the inequalities they suffered known to union organizers. There were very few Māori miners in Waihi and Huntly, and Māori workers only received attention when they were targeted as strike-breakers by mine employers. Rhetoric employed in the *Maoriland Worker* indicates that many Red Fed shearers' and miners' union leaders believed Māori were a 'noble race' and made noble trade unionists. Pākehā Shearers' Union organizers were educated by their Māori membership about the implications of racial ideologies that ranked Māori below Pākehā due to the colour of their skin – Māori shearers faced worse conditions on the job and had far fewer employment alternatives. Race could not be dismissed as irrelevant to union organizing; it had to be accounted for if any kind of solidarity was to be maintained for Pākehā and Māori in the union. It was when solidarity was broken at the end of the Waihi mining strike that the caricature of the 'half-caste' Māori scab emerged. Red Feds classed workers they believed to have Māori and Pākehā parentage as the 'unfit': morally degenerate, physically savage, and easily duped into scabbery. The language utilized by Red Fed reporters in the *Maoriland Worker* indicates the pervasiveness of eugenic vocabulary– it was in use amongst some working-class communities – and the 'half-caste' scab became another powerful foil against whom the labour movement should unite.

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NOTES

1 Māori do not appear at all in Erik Olssen's *The Red Feds: Revolutionary Industrial Unionism and the New Zealand Federation of Labour 1908–1913*, Auckland, 1988. John E. Martin identifies Māori organizers in the Shearers' Union who were Red Fed members during this period but does not detail their impact on the union: John E. Martin, *Tatau Tatau – One Big Union Altogether: The Shearers and the Early Years of the New Zealand Workers' Union*, Wellington, 1987, pp.42–44. Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino V's speech of solidarity to striking Wellington watersiders in December 1913 is occasionally cited as Red Fed efforts to recruit Māori workers: Tom Murray, Kerry Taylor, Joe Tepania and Nora Rameka, 'Towards a History of Maori and Trade Unions', in John E. Martin and Kerry Taylor, eds, *Culture And the Labour Movement*, Palmerston North, 1991, p.55; Fran Shor, 'Bringing the Storm: Syndicalist Counterpublics and the Industrial Workers of the World in New Zealand, 1908–14', in Pat Moloney and Kerry Taylor, eds, *On the Left: Essays on Socialism in New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2002, p.67.

2 Shor, pp.66–67.

3 Recent scholarship has recovered the roles women played in strikes during 1912 and 1913. Melanie Nolan's "'Do Your Share, Like a Man!": The Issue of Gender in the Strike', in Nolan, ed., *Revolution: The 1913 Great Strike in New Zealand*, Christchurch, 2005, pp.237–59, explores the role of women during the 1913 Great Strike; I do the same for the 1912 Waihi Strike: Cybèle Locke, "Rebel Girls and Pram-Pushing Scab-Hunters: Waihi 'Scarlet Runners,' 1912," forthcoming, *Labour History*, 107 (November 2014). Verity Burgmann explores female membership of the IWW in the Australian context: *Revolutionary Industrial Unionism: The Industrial Workers of the World in Australia*, Cambridge UK, 1995, pp.92–110. Women and girls worked in the shearing sheds in New Zealand but there is not the space here to explore how gender intersected with class and race when recruiting shed labour to the union.

4 *Maoriland Worker* (MW), 10 December 1913.

5 The 1894 Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act gave unions access to compulsory arbitration between employers and workers and an award system that regulated wages and conditions; in return, trade unions forfeited the right to strike.

6 Erik Olssen, '100 Years of the Union Movement', in *Towards 1990: Seven Leading Historians Examine Significant Aspects of New Zealand History*, Wellington, 1989, p.72.

7 Jane Tolerton, *Ettie: A Life of Ettie Rout*, Auckland, 1992.

8 Tolerton, p.69.

9 Olssen, *Red Feds*, p.44.

10 I don't have figures for this period, but by 1937, 500 female shed hands belonged to the Shearers' Union.

11 Olssen, *Red Feds*, p.45. H.O. Roth papers, MS-micro-copy-0714-14, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington.

12 MW, 2 February 1911. This message was sent in to the *Maoriland Worker* by Alexander McLeod, who first became an active union member with the Amalgamated Shearers' Union of Australia in 1886 and in 1911 was president of the Wellington branch of the Shearers' Union. H.O. Roth papers, MS-micro-copy-0714-16, ATL, Wellington.

13 Murray et al., p.51.

14 In 1913, when it was agreed to print agreements in Māori, this process was overseen by James Morgan, who translated some passages himself and checked the proofs to ensure the translations were done using words Māori shearers actually used on the job. MW, 2 May 1913.

15 Julia Martinez, 'Questioning "White Australia": Unionism and "Coloured" Labour, 1911–37', *Labour History*, 76 (May 1999), p.2.

16 Martin, *Tatau Tatau*, pp.39, 42. In 1893, when the shearers first employed a Māori-speaking organizer in the Hawkes' Bay, he was Pākehā, not Māori. John E. Martin, *The Forgotten Worker: The Rural Wage Earner in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, Wellington, 1990, p.188.

17 MW, 15 October 1910.

18 Martin, *Tatau Tatau*, p.44.

19 The Aryan Māori mythology was popularized by Edward Tregear, who published a book with this name in 1885. M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Maori Origins and Migration: The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends*, Auckland, 1979; Angela Ballara, *Proud to be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand*, Auckland, 1986, p.54; James Belich, 'Myth, Race and Identity in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 31, 1 (1997), p.18; Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, Wellington, 2012, p.59.

20 *New Zealand Herald*, 21 January 1901; cited in Ballara, p.54.

21 William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud (Ao-Tea-Roa)*, London, 1898, p.57.

22 Ballantyne, p.59. Ballantyne is focused on how Asia has been written out of New Zealand history-telling. I will come back to this further on in the article.

23 James Belich, 'European ideas about Māori', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/european-ideas-about-maori>, updated 9-Nov-12.

24 MW, 20 February 1911. Johnstone used the word 'white' to describe employers in a complementary fashion when they exhibited union-friendly behaviour. No doubt this comes from the colonial expression 'white man' used to mean 'a good bloke' or 'a thoroughly acceptable fellow'. H.W. Orsman, *The Oxford Dictionary of New Zealand English: New Zealand Words and their Origins*, Auckland, 1997, p.911.

25 MW, 8 December 1911.

26 MW, 10 January 1913.

27 Arnold, 'Yeomen and Nomads: New Zealand and the Australasian Shearing Scene, 1886–1896', *NZJH*, 18, 2 (1984), pp.117–42, p.138.

28 MW, 24 November 1911; McLeod made similar reports: MW, 10 January 1913.

29 MW, 13 December 1912.

30 Angela Wanhalla, 'Intermarriage', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/intermarriage>, updated 9-Nov-12; Angela Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand*, Auckland, 2013, pp.110–13.

31 Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart*, p.113. She cites examples in the *New Zealand Truth*.

32 MW, 20 February 1911.

33 MW, 25 April 1913.

34 MW, 27 May 1914.

35 MW, 27 May 1914.

36 MW, 27 May 1914.

37 Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality*, Melbourne, 2008, p.2.

38 Lake and Reynolds, p.3. This is a fascinating study of the 'global white brotherhood', focusing on Australasia, the United States, South Africa and Canada. However, it premises this brotherhood as occurring in the aftermath of nineteenth-century imperialism and the disappearance and dispossession of indigenous peoples. There is no discussion of how colonial nationalism was complicated in New Zealand because politicians and academics sought to include Māori in various (and limited) ways.

39 Competitive contracting pushed up the pace of the work, which caused numerous deaths and injuries on the job. Maryan Street, *The Scarlet Runners: Women and Industrial Action 1889–1913*, Wellington, 1993, p.62.

40 I found evidence of one Māori strike-supporter in Waihi in 1912. Cybèle Locke, 'Peter the Painter: Maori Striker in Waihi, 1912', *Labour History Project Bulletin*, 59 (December

2013), pp.10–12. Philip Rainer mentions that Māori coal carters stopped delivering coal to the Waihi Goldmine and strike-breaking families during the strike. Philip Rainer, ‘Company Town: an industrial history of the Waihi Gold Mining Company Limited, 1887–1912’, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1976, p.198.

41 MW, 6 December 1912. This assertion was supported by Mine Superintendent Barry who also claimed under 20 Māori worked the mine.

42 Cybèle Locke, ‘The Social and Economic Circumstances of Marutuahu, 1840 to 1960’, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2002, pp.83–84, 87–91.

43 Locke, ‘The Social and Economic Circumstances of Marutuahu’, p.125.

44 ‘Census of the Maori Population’, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1911, H-14a, p.8.

45 Olssen, *Red Feds*.

46 Len Richardson, *Coal, Class and Community: The United Mineworkers of New Zealand 1880–1960*, Auckland, 1995, pp.135–6.

47 MW, 14 February 1913.

48 MW, 22 November 1912; MW, 11 October 1912.

49 Toeolesulusulu D. Salesa, ‘Half-castes between the Wars: Colonial Categories in New Zealand and Samoa’, NZJH, 32, 1 (2000), pp.105–6.

50 AJHR, 1911, H-14A, p.20.

51 Kate Riddell, ‘Improving the Maori’: Counting the Ideology of Inter-marriage’, NZJH, 34, 1 (2000), p.84.

52 Riddell; Salesa.

53 Salesa, p.106.

54 Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart*, p.96.

55 AJHR, 1911, H-14, p.27. Enumerators were given no clear indicators of how to determine the difference between Māori and Pākehā modes of living. Riddell, p.84.

56 MW, 2 May 1913.

57 Lachy Paterson, ‘Hāwhekaihe: Māori Voices on the Position of ‘Half-castes’ within Māori Society’, *The Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 9 (2010), pp.135–55. Paterson’s main focus is the tensions that arose due to the impact of colonialism, namely land loss in the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

58 Pakeha were prioritized for the vaccine and often there was not enough vaccine left to treat Māori who needed it. Māori had to prove they had been vaccinated but this could only be done in towns from which Māori were prohibited. Alison Day, ‘“Chastising Its People With Scorpions”: Maori and the 1913 Smallpox Epidemic’, NZJH, 33, 2 (1999), p.188.

59 Geoffrey W. Rice, ‘Maori Health and Heaton Rhodes as Minister of Public Health’, NZJH, 35, 2 (2001), p.216.

60 Day, p.187.

61 Angela Wanhalla, ‘To “Better the Breed of Men”: Women and Eugenics in New Zealand, 1900–1935’, *Women’s History Review*, 16, 2 (2007), p.165.

62 Oliver Sutherland, *Paikea: The Life of I.L.G. Sutherland*, Christchurch, 2013, p.135.

63 Sutherland, p.136.

64 Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart*, p.127.

65 Wanhalla, ‘To “Better the Breed of Men”’, p.165.

66 Sutherland, p.135.

67 Wanhalla, ‘To “Better the Breed of Men”’, p.167; Tony Taylor, ‘Thomas Hunter and the Campaign Against Eugenics’, NZJH, 39, 2 (2005), p.197.

68 MW, 2 May 1913; MW 6 December 1912; *New Zealand Truth* (NZT), 23 November 1912; NZT, 30 November 1912; *Marlborough Express*, 16 November 1912.

69 NZT, 23 November 1912.

- 70 MW, 22 November 1912. Australian socialist Harry Holland repeats similar assertions about 'half-caste' Māori in *The Tragic Story of the Waihi Strike*, Wellington, 1913, p.103.
- 71 MW, 30 May 1913.
- 72 This description evokes nineteenth-century polygenist thought that racial characteristics were fixed – once a 'savage', always a 'savage'. Belich, 'Myth, Race, and Identity', p.10.
- 73 Ettie Rout, 'Nationality, Position of Women', reprinted from the *Lyttleton Times*, 1915, NA, IA 116/6. Cited in Tolerton, p.99.
- 74 MW, 22 November 1912.
- 75 MW, 31 January 1913. This unidentified report was most likely written by Harry Holland, who reported on the court proceedings in the aftermath of the Waihi strike.
- 76 MW, 31 January 1913; MW, 6 December 1912; MW, 13 December 1912.
- 77 Sutherland, p.136.
- 78 Ballantyne, p.57.
- 79 MW, 7 January 1914. The *Maoriland Worker* reported on the spread of Chinese socialism in approving terms and carried stories of Chinese workers on strike in Vancouver, Darwin, Wellington (in support of the 1913 Great Strike) and German Samoa. MW, 1 September 1911, 1 March 1912, 18 March 1914, 25 April 1913, 9 May 1913, 12 January 1912, 3 November 1911, 30 May 1913, 12 November 1913, 23 December 1914. The Chinese Associations were reported as contributing £10.10 to the Wellington Distress Committee, which supported the families of striking workers during the 1913 Great Strike. MW, 19 November 1913. To Brian Moloughney and John Stenhouse's list of groups who 'saw a place for Chinese in the new nation', I would add Red Feds. Brian Moloughney and John Stenhouse, "'Drug-Besotten, Sin-Begotten Fiends of Filth": New Zealanders and the Oriental Other, 1850–1920', NZJH, 33, 1 (1999), pp.43–64.
- 80 Redmer Yska, *Truth: The Rise and Fall of the People's Paper*, Nelson, 2010, p.34. Yska describes Hogg as unusual, but increasingly, he was not. Olssen, *Red Feds*, p.17.
- 81 H.E. Holland, "Ballot Box" and R.S. Ross, *The Tragic Story of the Waihi Strike*, Wellington, 1913; Olssen, *Red Feds*; Stanley Roche, *The Red and the Gold: An Informal Account of the Waihi Strike, 1912*, Auckland, 1982.
- 82 H.O. Roth papers, MS-copy-0714-07, ATL, Wellington.
- 83 MW, 1 November 1912.
- 84 MW, 8 November 1912.
- 85 Waihi miners indignantly called on Māori parliamentarians to expose employers for deliberately seeking out Māori workers to break the Waihi Strike, and giving Māori a name as strike-breakers. MW, 11 October 1912.
- 86 Belich, 'Myth, Race, and Identity', pp.10–11, 18.
- 87 Olssen, *Red Feds*, pp.163–4.
- 88 MW, 22 January 1913.
- 89 Olssen, *Red Feds*, p.168.
- 90 Richardson, p.145.
- 91 NZT, 22 November 1913.
- 92 MW, 19 November 1913.
- 93 NZT, 22 November 1913.
- 94 MW, 20 May 1914.
- 95 Mark Derby, 'Marx in Maori – Percy Short', *Labour History Project Newsletter*, 54 (April 2012), p.27.
- 96 Derby, p.27
- 97 Te Rata Mahuta Potatau Te Wherowhero was the fourth leader of the Māori King movement.
- 98 MW, 6 December 1912.
- 99 MW, 10 December 1913.

100 Martin, *Tatau Tatau*, p.44, 53.

101 Jared Davidson, *Sewing Freedom: Philip Josephs, Transnationalism & Early New Zealand Anarchism*, Oakland/Edinburgh, 2013, p.58.