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Notes

Introduction

- 1 Mita and Sanderson, *Keskidee Aroha*.
- 2 O'Reilly, Denis, 'Report on Keskidee Tour', 1980. AANV W4445 4/11/1. NZA.
- 3 Colomb, 'Imperial Federation'.
- 4 Driver, 'In Search of The Imperial Map'.
- 5 Ibid., 149–50. Colomb, 'Imperial Federation', 91.
- 6 See Biltcliffe, 'Walter Crane and the Imperial Federation Map'.
- 7 Sartre, 'Preface to the Wretched of the Earth', 141.
- 8 In general see Young, *Postcolonialism*; Ahluwalia, 'Out of Africa'; Sajed, *Postcolonial Encounters in International Relations*; Arthur, *Unfinished Projects*; Robinson, 'The Appropriation of Frantz Fanon'.
- 9 Sarkar, 'The Decline of the Subaltern in Subaltern Studies', 83–5; Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity*, 7; Ludden, 'A Brief History of Subalternity', 11.
- 10 Prakash, 'Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism', 1475–6.
- 11 Guha, 'The Prose of Counterinsurgency'; Guha, *History at the Limit of World-History*, 6.
- 12 See Chakrabarty, 'Invitation to a Dialogue', 370.
- 13 Guha, 'The Small Voice of History', 11.
- 14 See Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity*, 19.
- 15 Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'
- 16 Spivak, 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography'.
- 17 Ibid., 339–40.
- 18 See Prakash, 'Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism', 1481.
- 19 On these issues in general see Sarkar, 'The Decline of the Subaltern in Subaltern Studies', 93; Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity*, 16.
- 20 Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity*, 33.
- 21 Chakrabarty, 'The Politics and Possibility of Historical Knowledge', 245–7.
- 22 Spivak, 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography', 342.

- 23 Spivak, 'The New Subaltern: A Silent Interview', 333; see also Spivak, 'Scattered Speculations on Geography', 10.
- 24 See Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact*.
- 25 Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, 5–7; on the issues see also Beverley, 'The Dilemma of Subaltern Studies'; Green, 'Rethinking the Subaltern'.
- 26 See Icaza and Vázquez, 'Social Struggles as Epistemic Struggles'; and Mignolo and Vasquez, *The Decolonial Option*.
- 27 Shilliam, 'Living Knowledge Traditions'.
- 28 Bob Marley and the Wailers, *Babylon System*.
- 29 The term 'sufferer' is an Anglo-Caribbean term that describes the socio-economically dispossessed and downtrodden. For more context, see Bogues, 'Black Power, Decolonization, and Caribbean Politics'.
- 30 Harris, Reitu, 'Letter to the Evening Post', 12 August 1991. PAA.
- 31 See, for example, Smith, Hoskins and Jones, 'Interview: Kaupapa Māori'; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; and Bishop, 'Freeing Ourselves from Neo-Colonial Domination in Research'. For cognate projects in Oceania and the wider world of indigenous peoples, see, for example, Kabina Sanga, 'Making Sense of Indigenous Pacific Research' and Hokowhitu et al., *Indigenous Identity and Resistance*; and for the African Diaspora, see for example, Brodber, 'Re-Engineering Blackspace'.
- 32 For an extended argument on this issue see Shilliam, 'Caribbean Slavery, Constructivism and Hermeneutic Tensions'.
- 33 See, for example, Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*; Taketani, 'The Cartography of the Black Pacific'; Luciou, 'In the Black Pacific'; and from a somewhat different position see Horne, *The White Pacific*.
- 34 See, for example, Feldman, 'The Black Pacific'.
- 35 Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*.
- 36 Piot, 'Atlantic Aporias'. See also Sweet, 'Reimagining the African-Atlantic Archive'.
- 37 Hau`ofa, 'Our Sea of Islands'.
- 38 Hau`ofa, 'The Ocean in Us'.
- 39 Teaiwa, 'On Analogies'.
- 40 See Jones and Singh, 'Guest Editor's Introduction'; Amadahy and Lawrence, 'Settlers or Allies?'; Kidane and Martineau, 'Building

- Connections Across Decolonization Struggles'; Tuck and Yang, 'Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor'; DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*. See also the Islands of Globalization Project at the University of Hawai'i.
- 41 See especially Wolfe, 'Land, Labor, and Difference'.

Chapter One

- 1 On the wound as a metaphor see Ramazani, 'The Wound of History'. However, my use of the term is ontological: see Mignolo and Vázquez, 'Decolonial AestheSis'.
- 2 Smith et al., *Negotiated Space*; Airini, Anae and Mila-Schaaf, *Teu Le Va*; Thaman, 'Nurturing Relationships and Honouring Responsibilities'.
- 3 Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 120; Pere, *Ako*, 81; Vaoleti, 'Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research'.
- 4 As well as in footnotes these people are listed in the Appendix to this book.
- 5 Brodber, *The Continent of Black Consciousness*.
- 6 In general see Moules, 'Hermeneutic Inquiry'.
- 7 Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, 9; Brown, *Hermes the Thief*, 43, 48. Fletcher, 'A Trickster's Oaths'.
- 8 Baer, *Conversations with Derek Walcott*, 216–17.
- 9 See Buxton, 'Introduction'; Schrempp, *Magical Arrows*.
- 10 Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 11–15.
- 11 Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, 9.
- 12 Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 17, 25; Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, 8–9.
- 13 Brown, *Hermes the Thief*, 7–10; Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 23.
- 14 Brown, *Hermes the Thief*, 21.
- 15 Ibid., 12, 19.
- 16 Ibid., 21.
- 17 Mead and Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tīpuna*, 315.
- 18 Te Haupapa-o-Tane, 'Io, the Supreme God', 142; Marsden, *Kaitiakitanga*, 56–7.
- 19 See in general Luomala, *Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks*.
- 20 Orbell, *Māori Myth and Legend*, 114.

- 21 Pomare and Cowan, *Legends of the Māori*, 14–15. Wohlers, *Mythology and Traditions of the Māori*, 9; Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, 114.
- 22 In some South Island Māori cosmologies, Māui is cast into a thorn bush and retrieved by wingless birds; Wohlers, *Mythology and Traditions of the Māori*, 9.
- 23 Orbell, *Māori Myth and Legend*, 114.
- 24 Pomare and Cowan, *Legends of the Māori*, 17.
- 25 Keelan and Woods, 'Māuipreneur'; Orbell, *Māori Myth and Legend*, 115.
- 26 Desmangles, 'The Christian Cross in Vodun', 16; Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 229.
- 27 Cosentino, 'Who Is That Fellow in the Many-Colored Cap?', 266.
- 28 Hurbon, *Voodoo*, 16; Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 201; for a critical exegesis of Herskovits' influential text see Gai, 'The Herskovits Legacy'.
- 29 Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 203.
- 30 Ibid., 222; Hurbon, *Voodoo*, 16.
- 31 Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 223, 229.
- 32 Herskovits, *Dahomey*, 203, 207.
- 33 Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, 112; Brathwaite, *The Arrivants: A New World Trilog*, 224.
- 34 Ibid., 263–4; Cosentino, 'Who Is That Fellow in the Many-Colored Cap?', 265; Hutton, 'Creative Ethos of the African Diaspora', 128.
- 35 Desmangles, 'The Christian Cross in Vodun', 16.
- 36 See Ikenga-Metuh, 'Religious Concepts in West African Cosmogenies'.
- 37 Buxton, 'Monsters in Greek Ethnography'; Clifford, 'On Ethnographic Allegory'.
- 38 See, for example, Asad, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*; Clifford, *Writing Culture*.
- 39 See, for example, Price, *First-Time*.
- 40 See in general Atal, 'The Call for Indigenisation'.
- 41 This, of course, returns us to the founding problematique of subaltern studies discussed in the last chapter. See, additionally, Seth, "'Once Was Blind but Now Can See'".
- 42 Marsden, *Kaitiakitanga*, 63.
- 43 Ibid., 62.
- 44 Marsden, *Kaitiakitanga*, 61.
- 45 See also Walcott, 'The Muse of History'.

- 46 Binney, 'The Ringatū Traditions of Predictive History', 169. For the wider Oceania context see also Hau'ofa, 'Pasts to Remember'.
- 47 See Salmond, 'Te Ao Tawhito'.
- 48 Temple, 'The Emergence of Sankofa Practice in the United States'. My thanks to Dr Lez Henry for pointing out this connection to me.
- 49 Desmangles, 'The Christian Cross in Vodun', 20.
- 50 Afari, *Overstanding RasTafari*.
- 51 Zahan, *The Religion, Spirituality and Thought of Traditional Africa*, 26.
- 52 Desmangles, 'The Christian Cross in Vodun', 20; Young III, *A Pan-African Theology*, 102.
- 53 Young III, *A Pan-African Theology*, 102.
- 54 Schuler, *Alas, Alas, Kongo*, 95.
- 55 Zane, *Journeys to the Spiritual Lands*, 85, 137; Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey*, 147.
- 56 Figiel, 'Song of the Banyan Tree'.
- 57 On these issues see also Seth, "'Once Was Blind but Now Can See'".
- 58 Chatterjee, 'Talking About Modernity in Two Languages'.
- 59 Marsden, 'The Natural World and Natural Resources', 44.
- 60 Henare, 'Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society', 145.
- 61 Roberts et al., 'Whakapapa as a Māori Mental Construct', 4.
- 62 Hudson et al., 'Whakapapa – A Foundation for Genetic Research?', 44.
- 63 Pere, *Ako*, 80–1; see also Royal, 'Te Ao Mārama'.
- 64 See Piripi and Body, 'Tihei-Wa Mauri Ora'.
- 65 Henare, 'Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society', 125.
- 66 See in general Penetito, 'A Sociology of Māori Education: Beyond Mediating Structures', 103. Royal, 'Exploring Indigenous Knowledge', 2.
- 67 Pere, *Ako*, 68.
- 68 See, for example, Harris, 'Sharing Our Differences Together'. In building relationships with some of my interlocutors I have had to communicate my own expansive *whakapapa*.
- 69 Ryder, Interview.
- 70 Hudson et al., 'Whakapapa – A Foundation for Genetic Research?'.
- 71 Royal, 'Te Ao Mārama', 80; Roberts et al., 'Whakapapa as a Māori Mental Construct', 13.
- 72 Nicholls, Interview.
- 73 Tamanui, Interview.

- 74 Drake, *The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion*, 25–6.
- 75 Bongo Spear, 'Groundation'.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Afari, *Overstanding RasTafari*, 88.
- 78 Homiak, 'The "Ancients of Days" Seated Black', 235.
- 79 Iah C, 'Nyahbinghi Order'; Ras Shango Baku, 'Groundation'.
- 80 Centenary Committee for RasTafari, 'Ancient Nyabinghi Guidelines', Centenary News, 1996. PAA.
- 81 Ras Shango Baku, 'Groundation'.
- 82 For some detailed thoughts on this issue see Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey*.
- 83 Sawyerr, *God, Ancestor or Creator?*, 6; Ikenga-Metuh, 'Religious Concepts in West African Cosmogonies', 22.
- 84 Cited in Homiak, 'The "Ancients of Days" Seated Black', 233.
- 85 Mack, *From Babylon to RasTafari*, 81; Homiak, 'The "Ancients of Days" Seated Black', 32.
- 86 Rodney, *The Groundings with My Brothers*, 83.
- 87 Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 42.
- 88 Ras Shango Baku, 'Groundation'; see also Lewis, 'The Groundings of Walter Rodney'.
- 89 Yasus Afari, 'Footprints and Visions of RasTafari'.
- 90 Dr Desta Meghoo, 'Question'.
- 91 Henare, 'Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society', 24–5.

Chapter Two

- 1 Hunn, *Report on Department of Maori Affairs*, 16.
- 2 See Fleras and Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa*, 194–201.
- 3 See Ngā Tamatoa, 'The Fly'.
- 4 The literature is too voluminous to comprehensively cite. For examples, see Joseph, *The Black Power Movement*, and Slate and Trotter, *Black Power Beyond Borders*.
- 5 Ausubel, *The Fern and the Tiki*.
- 6 Henderson, J. M., 'Letter to Race Relations Council', 3 August 1972. MS Papers 1617/656. AT.

- 7 See, for example, 'Black Power, White Peril'; 'Black Panthers: The New Revolt'.
- 8 New Zealand Post-Primary Teachers' Association, *Maori Education*, 1.
- 9 Maung, Bill, 'Untitled Letter', n.d. PAA. See also New Zealand Race Relations Council, 'Minutes', 20 June 1970. MS Papers 1617/665. AT.
- 10 Walker, 'Manifesto of the New Zealand Maori Council on the Race Relations Bill', 6.
- 11 Te Roopu o te Matakite 'Manifesto', 1975. 85-080-07/01. AT.
- 12 Smithyman, 'N.Z. has Nothing to Learn from Americans Says Amos'.
- 13 Rudman, 'Auckland's Racial Problems'.
- 14 'Common Problems for New Zealanders'.
- 15 See Sutherland et al., 'Justice and Race: A Monocultural System in a Multicultural Society'.
- 16 Andi, 'United Brown Brothers'.
- 17 'Ilohia, Interview.
- 18 Dalton, Interview.
- 19 Kirikiri, Interview; Dalton, Interview; Lindberg, Interview.
- 20 'N.Z.F.M.S. Conference at Wellington'.
- 21 Chapman, Bob, 'Notes on Student Essays', 1970. MSS Archives 2006/2 Item 420-1. BCA.
- 22 Pounanga, Interview.
- 23 Reid, 'Interview with Syd Jackson', 22.
- 24 Te Rangihiroa, 'He Poroporoaki', 22; Royal, 'Te Ao Mārama'.
- 25 Cited in Ihimaera, *Growing up Māori*, 38.
- 26 Te Rangihiroa, 'He Poroporoaki', 22; Henare, 'Changing Images of Nineteenth Century Māori Society', 20.
- 27 Te Rangihiroa, 'He Poroporoaki', 25.
- 28 Douglas, 'Young Maori Leaders' Conference in a Developmental Context'.
- 29 'Young Maori Leaders Conference', 1959, 10-11. MS Papers 3776 7/13. AT.
- 30 Ibid., 33.
- 31 *Young Maori Leaders Conference*, 1970, 1-2.
- 32 Ibid., 9-10.
- 33 Ibid., 14.
- 34 'Tamatoa Council', 1971. MS Papers 1617/667. AT.

- 35 However, one of the organization's most famous members, Tame Iti, was not university educated and grew up in his *tūrangawaewae* (place of belonging).
- 36 'Young Māori Opinion', 1971. 44525. SA.
- 37 Mita, Interview; McAvinue, 'Tamatoa'.
- 38 Jackson, 'We Want a Truly Non-Racial Society'; McAvinue, 'Tamatoa'. The three key aims of Ngā Tamatoa in Christchurch and Wellington were the return of land, making Te Reo compulsory in schools, and the protection of land and sea resources; (Nia, Interview).
- 39 Pounanga, Interview.
- 40 'Tamatoa Council'.
- 41 Jackson, 'We Want a Truly Non-Racial Society'.
- 42 Ngā Tamatoa, 'The Resurrection of Maori Identity', 1.
- 43 Ngā Tamatoa, 'Submissions on the Treaty of Waitangi Bill', 3. n.d. PAA.
- 44 Awatere et al., 'Wahine Ma Kōrerotia', 24.
- 45 Ngā Tamatoa, 'Race Relations Bill 1972', 15.
- 46 'Kei Te Ora Te Wairua O Te Iwi Maori'.
- 47 Elder, 'Hone Kaa's Good Fight', 85.
- 48 Awatere et al., 'Wahine Ma Kōrerotia', 27.
- 49 Cooper, Whina, 'Telegram to Matt Rata', 15 October 1975. MSS Archives 2006/2 Item 173. BCA.
- 50 See, for example, Murch, *Living for the City*.
- 51 'Pat Hohepa in U.S.A.'; Taepa, 'The Ford Foundation Exchange'.
- 52 Reeder, C. et al., 'Stereotypes and People'.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 'Brown Power and the Pākehā Problem', 4 May 1968. 41101. SA.
- 55 Clements, 'Brown Power: Otaki'.
- 56 *Young Maori Leaders Conference*, 1970, 16.
- 57 "'Brown Power" Emergent'.
- 58 *Young Maori Leaders Conference*, 1970, 16.
- 59 "'Brown Power" Emergent'.
- 60 Ibid.
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- 62 Harawira, Interview.
- 63 'Warning of Racial Conflicts'.
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- 65 Walker, 'Early Storm-Warnings'.
- 66 Moore, M. K., 'Press Statements', 11 February 1980. MSS Archives 2006/2 Item 174. BCA.
- 67 Reid, 'Interview with Syd Jackson', 22; 'Interview with Nga Tamatoa Tuatoru'.
- 68 *Nga Tamatoa: 40 Years On*.
- 69 Reid, 'Interview with Syd Jackson'.
- 70 Leigh, 'Let's Head Off Racial Strife'.
- 71 Kennedy, 'Gang's Sights on Parliament'; Gee, 'Rei Harris Interview'.
- 72 O'Reilly, Interview.
- 73 Gee, 'Rei Harris Interview', 13.

Chapter Three

- 1 'Ilolahia, Interview.
- 2 Pālagi is the Samoan equivalent to Pākehā (European settlers and their descendents).
- 3 Miriama Rauhihi-Ness made these comments at 'Ilolahia, Rauhihi-Ness and Ness, 'Polynesian Panthers Lecture'.
- 4 *Our People / Our Century*.
- 5 Anae, *Polynesian Panthers*, 31.
- 6 'Ilolahia, Interview; 'Interview with Polynesian Panthers', The Press, June 1973. 99-278-08/09. AT.
- 7 Ness, Interview.
- 8 'Ilolahia, Interview.
- 9 Anae, *Polynesian Panthers*, 62.
- 10 Baysting, Arthur, 'The Pakeha Problem', n.d. 94-106-19/07. AT.
- 11 Polynesian Panther Party, 'Panther Action', 1973. 94-106-19/07. AT.
- 12 Polynesian Panther Movement, 'Platform of Movement Positions and Structure of Organisation', 1971. 94-106-19/07. AT.
- 13 Polynesian Panther Movement, 'Investigation Period', 1972. PAA.
- 14 Reeves, Paul, 'Letter to Baldwin Sjollema, World Council of Churches', 1973. 4223.13.32. WCC.; Polynesian Panther Movement, 'Where We The Panther Movement Have Aided Our People', 1972. PAA; Fowler, Interview.

- 15 Photographs in author's possession.
- 16 Polynesian Panther Party, 'P.P.P.' 1973. 99-278-08/10. AT; Polynesian Panther Party, 'Platform and Programme, January '74', 94-106-19/07. AT. It is interesting to note that Black Power groups in urban Australia were involved in an almost exactly the same problem-solving activity; Foley, Interview.
- 17 'Ilohahia, Interview; Foley, Interview.
- 18 Fepulea'i, *Dawn Raids*. The Panthers were not alone in this regard; Māori women activists also organized against the campaign; Awatere et al., 'Wahine Ma Kōrerotia', 30.
- 19 Polynesian Panther Movement, 'Investigation Period'.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Anae, *Polynesian Panthers*, 98.
- 22 Satele, 'The Polynesian Panthers', 93.
- 23 Ness, Interview.
- 24 Anae, *Polynesian Panthers*, 52-4.
- 25 'Midnight Rider', 1973. 99-278-08/09. AT.
- 26 Reeves, 'Letter to Baldwin Sjollema, World Council of Churches'.
- 27 Baysting, 'The Pakeha Problem'.
- 28 Wishart et al., 'Talking to Polynesian Women Part 2', 9.
- 29 Rauhihi-Ness, Interview.
- 30 Wishart et al., 'Talking to Polynesian Women Part 2', 9.
- 31 Anae, *Polynesian Panthers*, 98; Papali'i, 'Interview with Peta Siulepa', n.d. PAA.
- 32 Harawira, Interview.
- 33 Will 'Ilohahia, the Chairman of the PPP, was especially attracted to this notion; Anae et al., 'The Polynesian Panthers'.
- 34 Newton, 'Speech Delivered at Boston College', 169-71. See also Hayes III and Kiene III, 'All Power to the People', 157-76.
- 35 'Ilohahia, 'We Are All Polynesians', Rongo, 1973. 4223.13.32. WCC.
- 36 McDonald, Brian and Tuiasau, Norman, 'Conference Advertisement', 1974. Ms Papers 1617/670. AT.
- 37 'Ilohahia, 'We Are All Polynesians'.
- 38 'Ilohahia, Interview; Ness, Interview. Although Rauhihi-Ness, as a Māori, took an active part in organizing the Land March; Interview.
- 39 'Ilohahia, 'We Are All Polynesians'.

- 40 'Ilohahia, 'Maori Organisation on Human Rights Newsletter: Letter from Will Ilohahia', October 1972. 2004-024-3/02. AT.
- 41 Polynesian Panther Party, 'Newsletter Nov 1974', 1974. MS Papers 8958-24.
- 42 Gump, 'The Imperialism of Cultural Assimilation'.
- 43 Limb, 'The Anti-Apartheid Movements', 915.
- 44 Sorensen, 'Vern Turns Down South Africa Tour'.
- 45 Limb, 'The Anti-Apartheid Movements', 911.
- 46 Potter, 'Veteran Scorns Muldoon Analogy'.
- 47 Maori Organization on Human Rights, 'Newsletter', September 1972, 2.
- 48 'Days of Rage', 20.
- 49 Limb, 'The Anti-Apartheid Movements', 915.
- 50 Ngā Tamatoa Tuarua, 'Statement of Aims'.
- 51 Limb, 'The Anti-Apartheid Movements', 909.
- 52 Kia Ngawari Youth Club, 'Press Statement'.
- 53 'Nga Tamatoa Conference'; see also Te Matakite, 'Newsletter', 5.
- 54 See, for example, 'Kei Te Ora Te Wairua O Te Iwi Maori'.
- 55 Awatere, 'Rugby, Racism and Riot Gear'; see also Alba, 'Who Is Steve Biko?' As I noted in the preceding chapter, Houpapapa had been shot dead during a police shootout with the Mongrel Mob in 1976.
- 56 Tirikatene-Sullivan, 'Press Statement'. 15 September 1980. MSS Archives 2006/2 Item 129. BCA.
- 57 Harawira, Hone, 'Māori and Polynesian Groups Against the Tour', n.d. 93-043-Hart-Box 9. AT.
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- 59 Nia, Interview.
- 60 'Ilohahia, Interview.
- 61 Nia, Interview.
- 62 For example, after the experience of touring the very conservative South Island; Polynesian Panther Party, 'Newsletter'. See also Polynesian Panther Party, 'Panther Action'.
- 63 'Ilohahia, Interview.
- 64 Awatere, 'Rugby, Racism and Riot Gear', 11; Ryder, Interview.
- 65 Chalmers, Interview.
- 66 Mita, Interview.
- 67 *From Street to Sky*.

- 68 Awatere, 'Rugby, Racism and Riot Gear', 11.
- 69 Halkyard, 'Otago Black Woman Batoned'.
- 70 Rei, Interview.
- 71 Waitangi Action Committee, 'Newsletter'.
- 72 Mobilisation to Stop the Tour, 'Defence & Aid Fund'.
- 73 'Violence in Court Disrupts Hearing'.
- 74 'Ilohia, Interview; Harawira, Interview.
- 75 'Ilohia, Interview.
- 76 Nia, Interview; 'Ilohia, Interview.
- 77 Nairn, Interview.
- 78 Minto, 'Kaupapa Māori'.
- 79 'Deep Split Indicated by Conflicting Answers'.
- 80 Nairn, Interview.
- 81 Greig, 'The Police and the Tour', 16.
- 82 Te Ua, Interview.
- 83 Mita, Interview.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 'Pan-Māori Hui'.
- 86 Waitangi Action Committee, 'Leaflet'.
- 87 For a ground-breaking analysis of the movement see Okeroa, 'The Black Women's Movement 1978–1982'.
- 88 Biko, 'Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity'.
- 89 Awatere, 'Kōrero-Tia Wahine Ma!', 14.
- 90 Grey Lynn/Ponsonby Black Womens Collective, 'First National Hui of Black Women'. See, in general, Okeroa, 'The Black Women's Movement 1978–1982', 72–8.
- 91 Grey Lynn/Ponsonby Black Womens Collective, 'First National Hui of Black Women', 12.
- 92 Evans, 'The Politics of Blackness and Black–White Relationships', 18.
- 93 Evans, 'Black Unite', 11; Awatere et al., 'Wahine Ma Kōrerotia', 30.
- 94 'Policies MPLM'.
- 95 For example, 'Black Dykes'; 'Black Women's Hui'.
- 96 Taylor, 'Hui Wahine Maori Kei Otago'.
- 97 Evans, 'Hui Wahine Maori'. On mana wahine (glossed as 'women's power/authority') see, for example, Smith, 'Māori Women'; and Te Awēkotuku, 'Mana wahine Māori'.

- 98 Tamanui, Interview; Dalton, Interview.
- 99 MacGregor, 'Black Is Beautiful'.
- 100 Tamanui, Interview.
- 101 On these broad issues see, for example, Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga*; Rata, 'Theory of Neotribal Capitalism'.
- 102 See Charters and Erueti, *Māori Property Rights*; Bargh, *Resistance*.
- 103 On identity politics see Mignolo, 'The De-colonial Option'.
- 104 On rethinking the chronology of civil rights movements see Hall, 'The Long Civil Rights Movement'.
- 105 Eruera, 'Letter to Don Borrie'.
- 106 Ibid.

Chapter Four

- 1 Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation*, 45.
- 2 Ibid., 63, see also 66.
- 3 See West, *Prophecy Deliverance!*, 109.
- 4 Jackson, 'Research and The Colonisation of Māori Knowledge', 71.
- 5 See Wynter, 'Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom'.
- 6 Sjollema, Boudewijn, 'Combating Racism: A Chapter in Ecumenical History'.
- 7 Cited in CARE, 'Newsletter', 3, April 1971. 4223.13.31. WCC.
- 8 These biographical notes are from an interview with Borrie.
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- 10 Borrie, Don, 'Letter to B. Sjollema', 20 April 1970. MS Papers 1617/658. AT.
- 11 Borrie, Don, 'Letter to B. Sjollema', 3 December 1970. 4223.13.31. WCC.
- 12 Findlay, *Church People in the Struggle*, 188; 'Charles S. Spivey Jr's Obituary'.
- 13 'Charles S. Spivey Jr's Obituary'.
- 14 See Newman, *Freedom's Prophet*.
- 15 Spivey, Charles, 'Summary of Visit to Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Hong Kong', 11 January 1972. 4223.13.31. WCC.
- 16 Ness, 'Charles Spivey'.
- 17 Spivey, 'Summary of Visit to Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Hong Kong'.

- 18 'Churchmen It's Time to Speak Out'.
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- 21 Roberts, T. A., 'Letter to Allan Brash', 16 February 1971. 223.13.31. WCC.
- 22 Cited in Taylor, David, 'Grants to Liberation Movements: A View From the Congo', 20 May 1971. 223.13.31. WCC.
- 23 Poata, Tom, 'Letter to Charles Spivey', 5 March 1972. 4223.13.31. WCC.
- 24 Leigh, 'Let's Head Off Racial Strife'.
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Chapter Six

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Chapter Seven

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- 31 Right Hon. Binghi Congo Nyah, Interview.
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- 91 Clark, *Hauhau*, 74.
- 92 Paterson, 'Ngā Reo O Ngā Niupepa', 131, 134. My thanks to Lachlan Paterson for informing me of this episode at the first academic conference that I attended in Aotearoa NZ.
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- 96 By the prophet Te Kooti. See Binney, *Redemption Songs*, 66–71.
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- 99 It was Richard Hill who first suggested to me that RasTafari could be considered in the context of the Māori prophetic tradition.

Chapter Eight

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- 2 Smith and Smith, *Te Omeka Pa*, 6–7.
- 3 Sinclair, *Prophetic Histories*, 38; Newman, *Rātana Revisited*, 45.
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- 12 Rātana, T. W., 'Greetings to British Prime Minister', 1924. MSY 4976. AT.
- 13 See Dow, 'The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907'.
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- 15 Binney, *Redemption Songs*.
- 16 Smith, Interview, 21 January 2010.
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- 43 Smith, Interview, 18 February 2011.
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- 50 Aperahama, Interview.

- 51 Rauhihi-Ness, Interview.
- 52 Ibid., 32; Perkins, Interview.
- 53 The following information is sourced from Perkins, Interview.
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- 55 Sinclair, *Prophetic Histories*, 31.
- 56 Ibid., 33; Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 136–7.
- 57 Chalmers, Interview.
- 58 Brown, 'James K. Baxter', 134; Dennison, 'Ko Te Pakeha Te Tēina'; Dyce, 'Stories of Development', 17–19.
- 59 Newton, *The Double Rainbow*, 31.
- 60 Baxter, James K., 'Talk to Training College Students', n.d. MS Papers 8856. AT, 31.
- 61 Ibid., 14; see also Phillips, 'James K. Baxter', 269.
- 62 Baxter, 'Talk to Training College Students', 10.
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- 64 Baxter, 'Pig Island Letters', 115.
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- 66 Phillips, 'James K. Baxter', 270; Baxter, *Jerusalem Daybook*, 16.
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- 69 Baxter, 'Ballard of the Junkies and the Fuzz', 192.
- 70 See Hurbon, *Voodoo*.
- 71 Baxter, 'Jerusalem Sonnets: Poems for Colin Durning', 204.
- 72 Phillips, 'James K. Baxter', 272.
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- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Baxter, *Jerusalem Daybook*, 41.
- 76 Brown, 'James K. Baxter', 134.
- 77 Newton, *The Double Rainbow*, 29.
- 78 Baxter, *Jerusalem Daybook*, 50.
- 79 Ibid., 22.
- 80 Ibid., 7.
- 81 Baxter, 'He Waiata Mo Taku Tangi', 227; Newton, *The Double Rainbow*, 86; Baxter, *Jerusalem Daybook*, 21.
- 82 Baxter, *Jerusalem Daybook*, 48.
- 83 Ibid., 9, 40–1.

- 84 McKay, *The Life of James K. Baxter*, 268; 'The Pot is on the Boil'; De Nave, 'Ko Te Whenua Te Whaea Kore E Mate'.
- 85 McKay, *The Life of James K. Baxter*, 289.
- 86 O'Reilly, 'Muldoon of the Five Stones', 21.
- 87 Ryder, Interview.
- 88 Dyce, Interview.
- 89 France, Interview; Dyce, Interview; O'Reilly and Tareha-O'Reilly, Interview.
- 90 See Baxter, *Jerusalem Daybook*, 44, 54–5; see also Pere, *Ako*, 57–9.
- 91 O'Reilly, 'Vision of Keskidee Aroha'.
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- 93 McKay, *The Life of James K. Baxter*, 39.
- 94 O'Reilly, Interview.
- 95 The following is sourced from O'Reilly, 'Ngā Mōkai'.
- 96 'Gang Bills Spark Debate'.
- 97 In reading this poem Tiopira McDowell has pointed out to me that ochre – or *kura* – is a sacred colour for Māori. Hence, this tribesman must be a *rangatira* (chief).

Chapter Nine

- 1 Beattie, 'Traditions and Legends'.
- 2 Newnham, *Apartheid is Not a Game*, 40.
- 3 Aperahama, Interview.
- 4 Garvey, 'Speech by Marcus Garvey, 1937', 791.
- 5 Ibid., 790–1.
- 6 Cited in McPherson, *RasTafari and Politics: Sixty Years of a Developing Cultural Ideology*, 15.
- 7 Thompson, 'New Zealand Liberation Struggle Seeks Base of Black Struggles'.
- 8 Mita, Interview.
- 9 Aperahama, Interview.
- 10 Brodber, 'Sleeping's Beauty'.
- 11 Massey, *The Natural Genesis*, 535–98.
- 12 Dalrymple, *An Account of Discoveries*, 18.
- 13 Dunbabin, *Slavers of the South Seas*, 44.

- 14 Ibid., 59.
- 15 Forrest, 'Extract', 1779. MS-0793. AT.
- 16 Ibid., 206.
- 17 On this history see *ibid.*, 198–219; Logan, 'East India Company'; Silva Jayasuriya, 'East India Company in Sumatra'.
- 18 DeLoughrey, 'Routes of Breadfruit'.
- 19 Dunbabin, *Slavers of the South Seas*, 117–19.
- 20 Horne, *The White Pacific*, 7.
- 21 Dunbabin, *Slavers of the South Seas*, 141.
- 22 Horne, *The White Pacific*, 137.
- 23 See especially Horne, *The White Pacific*.
- 24 Ibid., 5.
- 25 Graham, *Sugar Slaves*; Tate and Foy, 'Slavery and Racism in South Pacific Annexations'.
- 26 Hawkeswood, 'Tn'I Ras Tafari', 128.
- 27 Clark, 'Dumont d'Urville's Oceania'.
- 28 Nicholas, *Narrative Of A Voyage To New Zealand*, 266–7.
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- 30 Power, *Sketches*, 143.
- 31 See Horne, *The White Pacific*, 134–5.
- 32 Ness, 'Reggae and RasTafari'.
- 33 For example Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse*.
- 34 Harawira, 'Proposal – Funding for Rural Development'. 'Pining for Native Bush'.
- 35 John Heeney, cited in Iti et al., *Moko – Maori Tattoo*, 131, 133.
- 36 Cited in Phillips, 'James K. Baxter: A Dialogue with His Later Theological and Philosophical Thought in the Context of Aotearoa/New Zealand', 273.
- 37 Snell, 'Captain Cook's Surgeons', 43–4.
- 38 See Davies, 'Cook'.
- 39 Wells, *The History of Taranaki*, 19.
- 40 Hodgskin, *Eight Month's Sojourn*, 14.
- 41 Swainson, *New Zealand and Its Colonization*, 9.
- 42 See Hutton, *The Logic and Historic Significance of the Haitian Revolution*.
- 43 Newman, *Bible and Treaty*, 119; Binney, 'Papahurihia', 327.
- 44 Clark, *Hauhau*, 81.

- 45 Gillies, *Ngati Dread*, 45.
- 46 Crozet, *Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania*, 3.
- 47 For this story see Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, 253; Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand*, 251; and Downes, *Old Whanagui*, 167–70.
- 48 Downes, *Old Whanagui*, 168.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Cowan, *Trader in Cannibal Land*; and Tapsell, *Historic Maketu*, who seems to derive most of her information from Cowan.
- 51 Cowan, *Trader in Cannibal Land*, 74, 137.
- 52 Ibid., 105.
- 53 Buchanan, Interview.
- 54 'Account Books'.
- 55 'George Alias Jumbo'.
- 56 Baines, *The Narrative of Edward Crewe*, 214–15.
- 57 Ibid., 148.
- 58 Paton, 'An Injurious Population'.
- 59 Paterson, 'Kiri Mā, Kiri Mangu', 82.
- 60 See Evans, *Edward Eyre*.
- 61 Mita, Interview.