

‘ODD MEN FROM THE PACIFIC’

The participation of Pacific Island men in the
28 (Maori) Battalion in the Second World War.

BY

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ABSTRACT

The Maori Battalion's wartime experience forms an important part of the New Zealand and Pacific Island heritage. This study explores the participation of Pacific Islanders in the 28 (Maori) Battalion during World War II. It focuses on three main aspects of their participation. Firstly, the study focuses on the recruitment of the Pacific Islanders into the Maori Battalion by exploring criteria for enlistment and recruitment patterns administered by the New Zealand government in the Pacific Island Territories.

This thesis is more than a military history. It is a social history too, which examines how the wartime experience influenced and shaped their lives and those of their families in the post-war years. In addition, it inquires into the specific ways the war conditions affected these individuals and how they dealt with their experience.

The third objective of this thesis is to identify and discuss the personal histories of these Pacific Island individuals as soldiers and the impact of their contribution on their adopted country, despite their obscurity in New Zealand military literature. It examines the frontline experiences of the veterans and how they saw their participation in the war by delving into the oral histories done specifically for this research. The research enquires into the experiences of the veterans' families after the war to examine the question of post-war rehabilitation for the Pacific Islanders who went with the Maori Battalion. These elements about the lives of individual soldiers are often omitted in the official regimental histories. This thesis seeks to rectify both the absence of the personal wartime experiences and Pacific Islanders from the story of New Zealand's military history.

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O le Tatalo Faafetai

*Ia faafetai i le alofa o le Atua
i lana tausiga
ma lona Agaga faufautua..
Po'o a faigata o galuega e fai,,
e faigofie mea uma
pe a faatuatua i le Matai.
Ia faafoi le viiga i lona Suafa Paia!
Amene.*

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Finally, I would like to call on the Pacific Island warriors of Tumantauenga, sons of Moana nui a Kiwa. This thesis is dedicated to you all. Let me take the memory of your experience home. Let your kin hear of your call from beyond say,

AKE! AKE! KIA KAHA E!

GLOSSARY

Karakia – Prayer; to pray.

Kaumatua – Elder

Maoritanga – Being Maori; Maori way of life

Tumatauenga – the Maori God of War

Papatuanuku – Mother Earth

Whanauga - relations

Whakapapa – geneology

Uso- brother (Samoan)

Hangi/ umu – Food cooked in hot stones.

Taiaha – close quarters combat long weapon (Maori)

Teina – Younger brother/ sister, junior (Maori)

Tuakana – Older brother/ sister, seniority (Maori)

Ko - close quarters combat long weapon (Cook Islands)

Tao - close quarters combat long weapon (Samoan)

Moa Tunupau – Barbeque chicken

Mana – authority, influence, status, prestige, essences of being

Moana nui a Kiwa – Pacific, Oceania (Maori)

ABBREVIATIONS

ANZ-W Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

ADPFA-W Army Department Personnel Files Archive, Wellington.

HKL- Hocken Library.

2NZE – Second New Zealand Expeditionary Forces.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This research project came about in a very peculiar way. If it was not an academic work I would say it was 'weird and wonderful'. It started with a casual conversation with my supervisor. We were talking about the places Pacific Islanders get to, and how they seem to overcome all sorts of theoretical and socially constructed barriers when she mentioned the Maori Battalion. I asked if there were any Pacific Islanders in this celebrated unit. My supervisor indicated that there were in fact Pacific Islanders in the Maori Battalion. Although I did not show it at the time, I must admit it triggered something in me. If there were Pacific men in the 28 (Maori) Battalion, who were they and how on earth did they get there? I suddenly became embarrassed of my ignorance in not being aware of such presence of my people, my close and distant blood kinfolk of the Pacific, in the Maori Battalion. So I decided to look around for information about Pacific Islanders and their participation in the Maori Battalion and this is how my journey with this project came about.

Throughout the research process I have encountered so many elements of serendipity which have led me to believe that the work I am doing is driven by a battalion beyond. I am a mere clerk employed to tell the history of these men as a closure to their passing. Others may dispute this position. The historical process has been a humbling experience. I have been changed by the research as it speaks to me in the archives, in the interviews and in the songs these Pacific men sang from half a world away, some 60 years ago.

The 28 (Maori) Battalion

The 28 (Maori) Battalion was an infantry unit of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Forces (2NZEF) mobilized to the various battle fronts in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, following the failure of diplomatic dialogue and the beginning of the Second World War. This indigenous infantry unit was a result of persistent efforts by Maori members of parliament such as Sir Apirana Ngata, Eruera Tirikatene, Paraire Paieka and others to form a purely Maori unit. In doing so, they hoped to raise the profile of Maori and prove them equal to the Pakeha, a price Maori had to pay for citizenship according to Sir Apirana Ngata.¹ This, however, was not the first time such a unit was established. 'Te Hokowhitu a Tu', the Pioneer Maori Battalion was set up for active services during the Great War. This first battalion, however, was mainly assigned to garrison duties, a result of British colonial paternalistic perceptions, sceptical of enlisting and training indigenous people in a formal standing army. Nevertheless, this battalion was moved to the forefront of battle for active service at Gallipoli in 1915.² Approximately 200 Pacific Islanders joined the Pioneer Maori Battalion. This number was made up of 150 Niue and 50 Cook Island men. This participation was a result of endless efforts in recruitment drives by Sir Peter Buck, MP for Northern Maori and a native medical officer in the Cook Islands. After much debate and persuasion by Maori Members of Parliament, such as Sir Apirana Ngata, the New Zealand government finally agreed, on 4th October 1939, to the formation of the 28 (Maori) Battalion to be trained for combat services overseas. Maori leaders' expectation of having their own men commanding the battalion was dashed when the

¹ Sir Apirana Ngata, *The Price of Citizenship* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1943). p.18.

² Wira Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Abi: The Story of the Maori Battalion* (Auckland: Reed Books, 1997), Margaret Pointer, *Tagi Tote E Loto Haakeu = My Heart Is Crying a Little : Niue Island Involvement in the Great War, 1914-1918* trans. Kalaisi Folau. (Alofi, Niue Government of Niue ; Suva, Fiji : Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 2000). p.19.

government appointed Pakeha officers to the commanding positions.³ Many tribes, especially Te Arawa and Ngati Porou, opposed the appointment of Pakeha officers to leading positions in the Maori Battalion. The task of commanding the newly formed unit was assigned to Major George Dittmer, a strict disciplinarian of Germanic stock. Lieutenant-Colonel George Betrand from the Taranaki Regiment was appointed to be second in command. The two commanding Georges both served in the First World War.⁴

Enlistment was voluntary and the Maori Battalion was organized on a tribal basis. It was divided into five Company units. 'A' Company covered the tribes of Tai Tokerau or North Auckland. 'B' Company included men from Rotorua, Bay of Plenty, Taupo and the Thames-Coromandel areas. 'C' Company was made up of men from the tribes of the East Coast notably from Southern Gisborne, including the tribes of Ngati Porou, Rongowhakaata and its sub-tribes. 'D' Company, the unit of the Maori Battalion on which this research focuses, was unlike the other units.

While A, B and C companies were clearly organized on a tribal basis, D Company included men from a much wider geographic and tribal area. It comprised of men from the Waikato-Maniapoto confederation as well as the Taranaki tribes. These two tribes were reluctant to subscribe to the idea of sending a generation of young men to die for God, King and country. Their unwillingness arose from grievances about the land wars (1860-1872) and land confiscation in the previous century. Anger stemming from conscription applied during World War One to the Maori tribes of the Waikato and Taranaki regions was still in living memory.⁵

³Joseph Frederick Cody, *28 (Maori) Battalion, Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939 - 1945* (Wellington: War History Branch Department of Internal Affairs, 1956). p.3.

⁴ Ibid. p.3.

⁵Lauren Keenan, "For God, for King and for Country?" (BA (Hons) Dissertation, University of Otago, 2002), Michael King, *Maori: A Photographic and Social History* (Auckland: Reed, 1996), Eric Olssen, "Depression and War, 1939-49," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, ed. Keith Sinclair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). p.226.

Also included in D Company were those from Ngati Kahungunu of Hawke's Bay, Wairarapa and the Wellington region, the whole of the South Island, Chatham Island and Stewart Island as well as men from the Pacific Island Territories. In implementing this decision, the Director of Mobilization announced that Army Head Quarters realized from the beginning that South Island Maori recruits alone did not have the numbers to raise a contingent big enough to form a unit or reserves for reinforcement.⁶ The small number of enlistment from the South Island was anticipated because of the low number of the Maori population, owing to the long history of Pakeha-Maori intermarriage. For this reason, ethnic criteria for enlistment of Maori men in the South Island differed from the North Island. Maori men from the South Island, within the accepted age group (21 to 40 years old) could be a 'Quarter-caste Maori' while those from the North Island tribes must not be less than a 'half-caste'.⁷ 'D' Company incorporated a wide geographic area in order to generate the number of recruits sufficient to form a battalion.

Although the government laid out strict selection criteria for recruitment, the recruiting officers did not enforce these criteria effectively. This led to the enlistment of many underage boys and other men who did not strictly fit the racial criteria set down. Another strong evidence of the laxity of enforcement was the recruitment of Pacific Islanders, even those as far off as Tahiti. Lauren Keenan in her dissertation, 'For God, For King and For Country?' showed that even the New Zealand Minister of Defence during the Second World War, Hon. D. Jones acknowledged the inefficiency of the recruiting officers.⁸

The Pacific Islanders from Western Samoa, Tonga, Fiji and Niue were all part of the British colonial empire in the Pacific region. Western Samoa was administered by New Zealand under a mandate granted by the League of Nations in December 1920. The New Zealand

⁶ Keenan, "For God, for King and for Country?". p.15.

⁷ Ibid. p.15.

⁸ Ibid. p.15.

administration in Samoa effected its own legislation, subject to disallowance by the Governor General of New Zealand.⁹ The administration's colonial attitudes had a significant bearing on how the Samoans were recruited into the New Zealand Army during World War II. A racial criterion was applied in Samoa, where eligibility for enlistment was given first to those who were more European than Samoan.

Fiji, a British Crown colony had been the head-quarters of the British High Commission in the South Pacific in the last half of the 19th century. The Cook Islands were included within the boundaries of New Zealand by a Proclamation dated 10th June 1901.¹⁰ The Cook Islands Act of 1915 however provided that New Zealand legislation shall not apply to the Cook Islands unless specifically stated, and defines New Zealand as exclusive of the Cook Islands.¹¹ Niue had a similar relationship with New Zealand. Tonga, the last monarchy of the Pacific Islands, was a British protectorate on the eve of the Second World War. New Zealand had to defend Tonga as part of the British Empire defence. It was only after the USA entered the war in 1941 that the principle of unity of command meant the US was then in charge of defending Tonga.

Recruits were not limited to these countries, with one Pacific Islander volunteer from Tahiti, a French overseas territory. A close study of the 28 (Maori) Battalion, which this thesis offers, illuminates the Pacific Island men's participation, which has remained obscure in the written history of the Maori Battalion. This absence implies an insignificant input and the expendable nature of such affiliation, in the view of some at least.

⁹ Report on Island Territories political status, 24/4/1941, IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment," (Archives New Zealand -Wellington (ANZ-W)).

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

This thesis examines the experiences of Pacific Island men who were involved in the New Zealand 28 (Maori) Battalion during World War II. The Battalion's wartime experience forms an important part of the New Zealand heritage. The research looks closely at how these Pacific Islanders came to participate in the Maori Battalion, as well as the nature and the extent of their service. The thesis is more than a military history, though. It is a social history too, which examines how the wartime experience influenced and shaped their lives and those of their families in the post-war years. In addition, it inquires into the specific ways the war conditions affected these individuals and how they dealt with their experience. Another objective of this thesis is to identify and discuss the personal histories of these Pacific Island individuals as soldiers and the impact of their contribution on their adopted country, despite their obscurity in New Zealand military literature. These elements about the lives of individual soldiers are often omitted in the official regimental histories. This thesis seeks to rectify both the absence of the personal and Pacific Islanders from the story of New Zealand's military history.

This research investigates within the context of the Second World War and that of the 28 (Maori) Battalion, how these Pacific Islanders perceived the significance of their presence as they come into contact with the trauma of the battlefields. I investigate their ability to cope with new social environments and the obstacles encountered and, particularly, their attempts to make their new or adopted societies and countries their own rather than being totally assimilated in to the new host country. More importantly I investigate the underlying politics of these Pacific men at war and their identities in the Maori Battalion. The question of their identity within the 28 (Maori) Battalion is an important one, because it was established as a form of Maoritanga and an example of Maori existence as an autonomous unit. The important question to be addressed here is why these Pacific Islanders who were not even from the belly of Papatuanuku, sacrificed their youth to Tumatauenga, the Maori God of War.

Literature Review

The most heavily referenced historical text on the 28 (Maori) Battalion is the work of Joseph Frederick Cody, who was commissioned to write its history as part of the Official Military History Project of New Zealand's involvement in the Second World War. His work, *28 (Maori) Battalion* is the first historical record on the unit.¹² The 19 chapters focus mainly on the Maori Battalion as a unit within the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force, on their overseas campaigns, and how this special regiment effectively articulated a Pakeha and Maori approach towards the war. Cody generally described the encounters of the battalion with new and changing environments and societies before and during combat against the enemy at the frontline. His work, though, was drawn from the various reports of commanding officers of the Battalion. Many members of the Battalion, however, claimed that Cody failed to detail some of the attacks the Maori Battalion were involved in.

The first chapter, 'Formation and Departure' outlines the formation of the infantry and its divisions. This chapter is the first and only time that Cody noted the presence of Pacific Islanders in the Maori Battalion. Cody stated that while various contingents of the battalion had close Maori tribal connections (A, B and C Company), Company D, was a composite group made up of surplus men from other contingents and other 'odd men from the Pacific'.¹³ The same company was also known as 'Ngati Walkabout, Ngati D Company or the Foreign Legion' according to Wira Gardiner's *Te Mura O Te Ahi*.¹⁴ Gardiner cites Cody frequently but his text is much more detailed and based on the personal experiences of the soldiers.

Cody's work, however, should not be criticized for its lack of personal histories. His account of the Maori Battalion experience was part of the

¹²Cody, *28 (Maori) Battalion*.

¹³Ibid. p.5.

¹⁴ Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*. p.31.

great military history project, designed to portray a country at war. Ronald Walker has reflected on the limitations of such an ambitious project. This project encountered many manpower and time limitation problems which delayed its completion and affected the way unit histories such as the Maori Battalion were written. This was despite the tremendous assistance by the war veterans through their reports and personal diaries sent to the writers as sources of information.¹⁵ Most of the official materials required by the writers involved in the project were 'classified' as the war was still underway when the project started. Walker admits that this 'caused gaps in the sequence of events and [resulted in] a war history built out of censorship and propaganda and thus there were a lot of errors and omissions.'¹⁶ The project too was also constrained by the poor calibre of the writers and diminished funds. The gaps in Cody's work saw one veteran of the Maori Battalion critique the brief nature of his accounts and the omission of certain other accounts, despite the wealth of soldiers' diaries and senior officers' reports sent to help Cody compile the official history of the 28 (Maori) Battalion:

As far as the information available to him would allow, our historian Mr. Cody, has made a very good job of it. However, I have been struck by the fact that while the operations of B and D Company have been well covered by ex-officers of those sub-units, very little appears dealing with the individual operations of platoons or even smaller groups of men from A Company [sic].¹⁷

Perhaps such complications account for the concealment of Pacific Islanders in the history of Maori Battalion. A greater fault is the practice of the continuous omission of these actors of history by subsequent historians, to the point where the Pacific Islanders' participation in the

¹⁵ Ronald Walker, "The New Zealand Second World War History Project," *Military Affairs* 32, no. 4 (Feb, 1969). p.176.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* pp.177-8.

¹⁷ Col F. Baker to Mr. Morgan A. Wells, 24/7/1953, MA-52-4d, "Papers Regarding 28 (Maori) Battalion History," (New Zealand Archive-Wellington (ANZ-W)).

28 (Maori) Battalion is pushed to the fringe of memory and has quickly faded from history texts. Two generations of historians have written about the Maori Battalion since Cody and they continue to omit the Pacific Islander component of such a historically celebrated unit. Chapter One of Wira Gardiner's *Te Mura o te Ahi*, opens with the sentence, 'Every society has a war memory'.¹⁸ Such a statement remains true, and as this thesis demonstrates, this memory remains alive amongst Pacific Island war veterans and their families, even though their story has not entered the published record.

Little is known about the lives of the individuals who made up the Maori Battalion. Recently, however, there has been a surge of personal memoirs of Maori soldiers which signals a shift in focus from the regiment to the individual. An example of this move is the work of Hinemoa Ruataupare Awatere in a biography of her grandfather Arapeta Awatere.¹⁹ Ian Stuart's work on the Return Services Association (RSA) looks at veteran's stories.²⁰ The 28 (Maori) Battalion Reunion magazines offer a glimpse into the lives of these brave men as well. Megan Hutching together with Ian McGibbon and others, who are at the forefront of developing the oral history approach, have recently published a compilation of transcripts of interviews with veterans about their general war experience.²¹

Even more elusive is the story of the 'odd Pacific Island men', who were involved in the 28 (Maori) Battalion or in other units of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force.²² None of the authors cited above have considered a Pacific Islander veteran as a subject of their texts. The

¹⁸ Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*. p.7.

¹⁹ Hinemoa Ruataupare Awatere (eds), *Arapeta Awatere: A soldier's story*, (Wellington, Huia Books 2003).

²⁰ Ian Stuart, *In the Line of Fire* (Auckland: Reed Books, 2001).

²¹ Ian McGibbon, Megan Hutching, and Alison Parr, eds., *Against the Rising Sun: New Zealanders Remember the Pacific War* (Auckland, New Zealand: Harper Collins Publishers in association with the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2006).

²² Cody, *28 (Maori) Battalion*. p.6.

disembarkation roll in Sir Apirana Ngata's *Price of Citizenship*²³ includes a number of Samoan and Cook Island names of Pacific Islanders who joined the Maori Battalion in 1940. However, these men are never referred to anywhere else in the book. I have drawn my list of names from Ngata (refer to Appendix 2) and the Official Disembarkation Rolls of the 2NZEF.

Claudia Orange's essay on the Maori War Effort Organisation points towards the important role of the Maori members of Parliament during the war years.²⁴ She points out the authority given to the Member of Parliament, Paraire Paikea to intensively stimulate Maori involvement throughout the country when the stress of war heightened and the need for Maori reinforcement increased. It was this publicity and recruitment campaign throughout New Zealand which, I think, led Pacific Islanders to enlist in the Maori Battalion. Lauren Keenan's research sheds light on the historical status quo in tribal and crown politics, which may have enabled the recruitment of Pacific Islanders as soldiers in the Maori Battalion.²⁵

Monty Soutar, who wrote the entry on the Maori Battalion in Ian McGibbon's *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*,²⁶ continues the omission of Pacific Islanders from this history. He restates the Parliament agreement to send Maori troops in "that all-Maori unit",²⁷ previously documented by Cody and Gardiner. It should be acknowledged that Soutar has been the driving force behind the 28th Battalion C Company community history project, which has led to the

²³ Ngata, *The Price of Citizenship*. p.18.

²⁴ Claudia Orange, "An Exercise in Maori Autonomy: The Rise and Demise of the Maori War Effort Organisation," *The Shaping of History: Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History* (2001). p.63.

²⁵ Keenan, "For God, for King and for Country?" p.4.

²⁶ Monty Soutar, "Maori War Effort Overseas in the Second World War," in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, ed. Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000).

²⁷ Ibid.

development of the C Company Museum in Gisborne. His work helps fill the gaps left by the previous historians of the 28 (Maori) Battalion.²⁸

The omission of Pacific Islanders in the secondary sources cannot be attributed to the lack of primary sources but points to the political context and the process in which the Maori Battalion history was written. Primary sources confirm the participation of Pacific Islanders in the Maori Battalion. The story of their involvement contributes to a more multi-faceted history of New Zealand's social and military history. The existence of Pacific Island soldiers indicates that Sir Apirana Ngata's anticipated Maori unit did not emerge exactly as how he wanted it. The 28 (Maori) Battalion's ethnic and cultural composition proved to be more diverse than anticipated. Approximately 452²⁹ Pacific Islanders from Samoa, Cook Islands, Niue and Tonga joined the Pioneer Maori Battalion and the 28 (Maori) Battalion. About 150 Niue men and 50 Cook Islanders were plucked from the security of their small islands to join the pioneer unit in World War One.

Tracking the number of Pacific Islanders who were in the 28th (Maori) Battalion is problematic because the records of the Defence Force Personnel Archives do not have definitive personnel lists of those who were transferred to the Maori Battalion while overseas. Pacific Islanders, who enlisted in New Zealand, found it much easier to join the army while those who enlisted from the Islands had to go through bureaucratic hurdles before enlisting. The Samoans especially, petitioned to be eligible to enlist from Samoa to the New Zealand army, and were eventually integrated into the 28 (Maori) Battalion.

²⁸ Monty Soutar, ed., *New Zealand 28 (Maori) Battalion Twenty Third Reunion. Hosts-C Company at Te Poho-O-Rawiri Marae, Gisborne, 29th March-2nd April 2002*. (Gisborne, New Zealand: Reunion Committee, 2002).

²⁹ Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, and Radio New Zealand Sound Archives, "Ake, Ake, Kia Kaha E! Songs of the New Zealand 28 (Maori) Battalion," (New Zealand: Atoll Records, 2006). Notes on the Pacific Island men's participation has this statistic for 'Te Hokowhitu a Tu' and 28 Maori Battalion on the CD cover.

John Thomson's *Warrior Nation: New Zealanders at the Front 1900 – 2000*³⁰ is a historical survey of New Zealand's involvement in international conflicts in the twentieth century. His writing about the Maori Battalion in the various campaigns is similar to those previously published by Cody and Gardiner and does not offer a new view. Thomson emphasised how sources of information were censored by the government. 'Military censorship put a clamp on news and was seldom delivered with the speed and depth that the New Zealand public deserved.'³¹ This act in the long run affected the depth of information in the newspapers and in a way determined the path for historians when deciding which sources to consult when researching New Zealanders participation in World War Two. I encountered the same situation when I tried to find newspapers at the Nelson's Memorial Library in Apia, Samoa. There are no records for newspaper issues of the 'Samoa Mail' for the years 1940 to 1945.

The official history project which included Cody's work on the 28 (Maori) Battalion is greatly nipped and tucked by the problems of such a big project as well as the context of a selective representation of New Zealand society during the war years. The only secondary source in which the stories of Pacific Island men in organized effort to put the Maori Battalion that filter through is the reunion magazines, especially when the 'D' Company acted as hosts. An article in the 19th reunion magazine of the Maori Battalion gives an account by veteran Rangi Logan of his memories of the late Lt. Colonel Tiwi Love and his batman, a Rarotongan with an unusual name, Viking Rota.³² It is unfortunate that there is no D Company history, as this was the division in which most of the Pacific Island men were placed.

³⁰ John Thomson, *Warrior Nation: New Zealanders at the Front 1900-2000* (Christchurch New Zealand: Hazard Press Ltd, 2000), pp.209-10.

³¹ Ibid. p.335.

³² Rangi Logan, "Lt. Colonel Tiwi Love, Mid," in *New Zealand 28 Maori Battalion Nineteenth National Reunion: Host Company D, Turangawaewae Marae, Ngarnawabia, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th April, 1994*, ed. Maori Battalion Association (Wellington: 28 Maori Battalion Association., 1994). pp.35-6.

James Belich's *Paradise Reforged* sides with Ronald Walker and supports my claim of the superficial nature of the official histories and that 'subsequent histories tend to hold the same line'.³³ Ian Stuart's *In the Line of Fire*³⁴ is similar to Monty Soutar's work, which focuses more on the men from their region, C Company.³⁵ Ranginui Walker's texts, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*³⁶ and *He Tipua: The Life and Times of Apirana Ngata*³⁷ do basically the same thing. In the former text, Walker offers a retrospective view of the implications and the effects of the Maori Battalion on the Maori people while the latter is more or less a biographical profile of Sir Apirana Ngata and the socio-political climate that influenced his career. All these sources seem to share the common absence of Pacific Islanders in the Maori Battalion and are all guilty of having held 'the same line' as Belich puts it.³⁸

The production of television documentaries acts as another agency of history, which endorses the same practice of omission. The recently released *Maori Battalion: March to Victory* as part of the 2006 New Zealand ANZAC Day commemorations outlines the story of the Maori Battalion through the experiences of five veterans.³⁹ The vivid memories of war and the terror of what might happen to them, as told by these five men, were remarkable. Patriotic and historical background commentaries by the narrator never once mentioned the presence of any Pacific Islanders. However, the veterans while revisiting Point 209, where the Battle of Casino was fought acknowledged the presence of Pacific Island men. Padre Wi Huata said a karakia (prayer), to farewell all the Maori Battalion soldiers

³³ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*. (Auckland: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2001). p.270.

³⁴ Stuart, *In the Line of Fire*.

³⁵ Soutar, ed., *New Zealand 28 (Maori) Battalion Twenty Third Reunion*.

³⁶ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1990).

³⁷ Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua: The Life and Times of Apirana Ngata* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2002).

³⁸ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*. p.270.

³⁹ Television New Zealand, "The Maori Battalion March to Victory," in *ANZAC Day Commemoration* (New Zealand: 2006).

who perished there. In his farewell and cleansing *karakia*, Huata acknowledged the tribes that made up the Maori Battalion. He also named the Pacific Island countries represented in the unit. Oral histories, therefore, are an important way to access the history of Pacific Island soldiers in the 28 (Maori) Battalion.

Huata's actions signal the respect and the camaraderie of the men who went to war. Having gone through most of the Television New Zealand's (TVNZ) war documentaries held by the Hocken Library I conclude that all these documentaries draw heavily from Cody and Gardiner. Again, they fail to mention the involvement of Pacific Islanders in the Maori Battalion. More recent televised documentaries made in the 1990s, however, have exposed the participation of Pacific Islanders in the Maori Battalion in World War II. These documentaries are very important to my research, as they are, at times, the only source of information for some of the veterans.

Methodology

Both primary documents and the extensive popular and academic secondary literature are crucial to the methodology used in this research to reveal history's silences. The lack of representation of Pacific Islanders in the secondary material, or rather, the exclusion of the Pacific Islanders from the history of the 28 (Maori) Battalion, is a clear signal that this research will delve deeply into the archival material to address this imbalance.

The 2NZEF Disembarkation Nominal Rolls,⁴⁰ the 28 (Maori) Battalion papers and the Island Territories' documents have been invaluable for this research. Army records and the Defence Force Personnel Archives contained records of Pacific Island born soldiers

⁴⁰ Second New Zealand Army Expeditionary Force, *New Zealand Expeditionary Forces Nominal Rolls, 1939-1948* (Auckland: Filmed and published on microfiche by BAB Microfilming, c1988).

in service with the 28 (Maori) Battalion. The most interesting papers used in this research are the 'Island Territories Papers.'⁴¹ These papers contain a wealth of bureaucratic correspondence about the recruitment of Pacific Islanders to the New Zealand forces during World War II. Analysis of these documents conveys the different agendas and reasons why Pacific Island men joined the New Zealand forces at the time.

Personal archives, Defence Force Personnel Files and Attestation documents are vital in this study. War diaries of the Battalion operations while overseas contain detailed accounts of battalion actions and movements. I analyzed the personnel files which I had access to, together with the Maori Battalion War Diaries to trace the movement of these Pacific men and what positions and responsibilities they held. I discovered that some of the Pacific Islanders either started or ended their careers as soldiers in the 28 (Maori) Battalion through transfers of soldiers to various Companies and Platoons while in Europe and the Middle East. Personal diaries are always helpful in locating people in the contexts of their war experiences. Unfortunately none of the Pacific Islanders who went with the Maori Battalion kept a war diary.

One body of evidence which strongly testifies to the participation of Pacific Island men in the 28 (Maori) Battalion is the archival sound recordings of the Maori Battalion during World War II. One of the recordings of the Maori Battalion's great concert in Italy during 1941 contains two Samoan songs sung by soldiers from the Pacific Islands in Taranto. The songs entitled, '*Samoa e, nei [e le] galo atu*', (Samoa you are not forgotten) and a farewell song, '*Tofa my feleni*', (Oh, I never will forget you) were sung in both English and Samoan.⁴² The two songs were dedicated to the families waiting and praying for the

⁴¹ IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment.", IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers."

⁴²Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, and Radio New Zealand Sound Archives, "Ake, Ake, Kia Kaha E!" Track 4.

soldiers back in their Pacific homes. I will translate and discuss in details the lyrics of these two songs later. Just as Ngata viewed the 28 (Maori) Battalion as an opportunity to assert Maori autonomy, I suggest that the composers of these songs were asserting their identity.

The lack of secondary sources on the participation of Pacific Islanders in the Maori Battalion has been the most difficult problem encountered in this research. Attempts to contact some of those who have been involved in writing the history of the Maori Battalion have been unsuccessful. Correspondence with the 28 (Maori) Battalion Association has proven less fruitful than anticipated. The Veteran's Affairs Office and the Ministry of Cultural Heritage as well as the Defence Force Personnel Archives do not have a complete list of the Pacific Islanders who enlisted in or were transferred to the Maori Battalion during the Second World War. The absence of such important information leads to difficulty in locating the veterans who are still living to be interviewed for their contribution to the war efforts. Assistance from the various Returned Services Associations (RSA) and family members of some veterans has been instrumental in locating some of the records and vital information needed for the research.

The significance of oral sources cannot be underestimated when one deals with research participants with a culture rich in oral tradition. The Italian oral historian, Alessandro Portelli, who argues for the value of oral history of non-hegemonic groups, posits that:

The unique and precious element which oral sources force upon the historian and which no other sources possess in equal measure is the speaker's subjectivity... Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did.⁴³

⁴³ Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991). p.50.

All my participants are Pacific Islanders. I am a mere Pacific Islander. The sacred legacy of the Maori Battalion made me anxious about undertaking the research in case I failed to do justice to its celebrated history. It is the immediate view that they would easily relate information to me because I am already an insider. I identify with Linda Tuhiwai Smith's views on indigenous methodologies.⁴⁴ Her discussions about the realities and the consequence inside researchers have to live with and the expectations on the outside researcher is reflected in the research process undertaken for this thesis. I found myself on the borders of being an inside and an outside researcher. I am a Pacific Islander, and that makes me an insider, but I am also an outsider, because I am Samoan, not Tongan or a Cook Islander. Pacific Island cultures are not homogenous, but are diverse and complex, and my identity as a Samoan can place me on the margins as a researcher. I also felt awkward as a Pacific Islander writing about Maori history, especially such a celebrated history and battalion. I was anxious to do justice to this history, and to also balance this out with the need to give a voice to a marginal set of men in this history.

Arranging and planning interviews with participants took a long time. Some of my participants, especially the second to last surviving Pacific Island veteran continued to be ill. Correspondence with the 28 (Maori) Battalion also took a while and proved fruitless as well as the advertisements for participants. I understood my role as a Pacific Islander approaching Pacific Island elders for information. My oral history interviews were in the form of conversation instead of direct question/ answer approach. It is considered inappropriate to do such an act to elders. Even more, I was a guest at the participant's house. In this research I found that no one really is an inside researcher. The participants decided the information passed on, regardless of whether you share a common trait or gene with them.

⁴⁴ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2001). p.138.

At the core of this study are the personal experiences of three Pacific Islanders who fought with the 28 (Maori) Battalion during the North African, Italian and Middle Eastern campaigns of the Second World War. These men's experiences give us an idea of what life was like at the battlefield for Pacific Island men. Only two Pacific Island veterans of the Maori Battalion are still living. I was anxious to get these two men to participate in the research, but severe age related illness restricted me to only one veteran informant. This made my project more significant in capturing the history from the last of the first hand sources. Interviews of veterans' family members offer another view of the story. The importance of these oral histories is highlighted by Portelli, who states that: 'Interviews often reveal unknown events or unknown aspects of known events; they always cast new light on unexplored areas.'⁴⁵ Through their stories we can capture their experiences in combat during the Second World War, as well as the implications of their participation in the Maori Battalion. Family members' knowledge in relation to the veterans are also very helpful as they shed light on the home front and how families were affected by the participation of their loved ones in the war.

Elements of ethics and caution have to be taken into consideration, given that the war only finished some 66 years ago. The memories of terror, or rather the terror of memories, of the Second World War experiences of the 28 (Maori) Battalion left perpetual scars for some families. The interviews were recorded and transcribed by myself. Informed consent was obtained from the informants for name usage and the use of other materials such as photographs, diaries, letters and other memorabilia.

The outcome of this historiographical overview appears to be that no one has ever conducted any research on the Pacific Islanders in the 28 (Maori) Battalion, despite the available literature, both public and academic on the history of the battalion. Given the status quo, this

⁴⁵ Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. p.50.

research's contribution to historical scholarship seeks to illuminate the lives of those who were left in the shadows by orthodox histories of the Battalion and to shed light on the complexity of individuals who made up the Maori Battalion. It is not my intention to disrespect the works of those gone before me. However, I believe that it is my role as a researcher to reveal what has been long neglected from the history of the Maori Battalion. Whether we like it or not, the facts, justified by the primary sources, prove that Pacific Island men, regardless of their small numbers, fought side by side with Maori and Pakeha on the battlefields of World War Two. They too shed their blood for the same God, King and for New Zealand and their country of origin as well. Pacific Islanders have been a part of the very colourful and intricate fabric of New Zealand society, long before the much studied great influx of Pacific migrants in the 1960s – their involvement in the 28 (Maori) Battalion and contribution to New Zealand's war effort is proof of this.

Thesis Structure

This thesis follows a chronological structure. Chapter Two focuses on the recruitment of the Pacific Islanders into the Maori Battalion. It looks at some of the criteria for enlistment to the Maori Battalion and recruitment patterns of Pacific Islanders into the Maori Battalion. It is important to note that Pacific Islanders were already starting to make their mark in New Zealand society as far back as before the First World War. So when World War Two broke out, many of them were resident in New Zealand and decided to take up the call to arms. It is the recruitment of those residents in the Pacific that is the main focus of this chapter. I discuss the centrality of 'race' and 'blood quantum' to enlistment criteria. The petition by the Samoan 'half castes' to the New Zealand Government against racial conditions for enlistment, and the request not to fight with the Maori contingent but to be distributed amongst the Pakeha units, is examined.

Chapter Three draws mainly from the oral histories done specifically for this research. It examines the frontline experiences of the veterans and how they saw the war. The interviews with the research participants' illuminate the reasons why these Pacific Islanders decided to leave civilian life and joined the battalion. It indicates that comradeship during the war was a very significant part of this shared battle front experience. More importantly, it reveals how the Pacific Island men forged their identities in the Maori Battalion. I examine the nature of their participation through the analysis of the interviews with the veterans and their families.

Chapter Four looks at experiences of the veterans' families when they returned from the war. I examine how their families saw them, and ask, if there any regrets of the war? If there were, what are they and how were they relieved, if they were ever resolved. I consider the question of post-war rehabilitation, and examine the Rehabilitation Funds scheme set up by the government for those who returned from the war. A close study of this scheme brings to light the different ways of how compensation was distributed and handled by the New Zealand government within New Zealand to the Pacific Island Territories.

Oral history as a tool of historical enquiry plays a significant role in revealing very important the experiences of Pacific Islanders in the 28 (Maori) Battalion. I am hopeful that through this research the history of these brave men is kept alive. It is important for them to have a say in the histories of the war unit that they gave their all for.

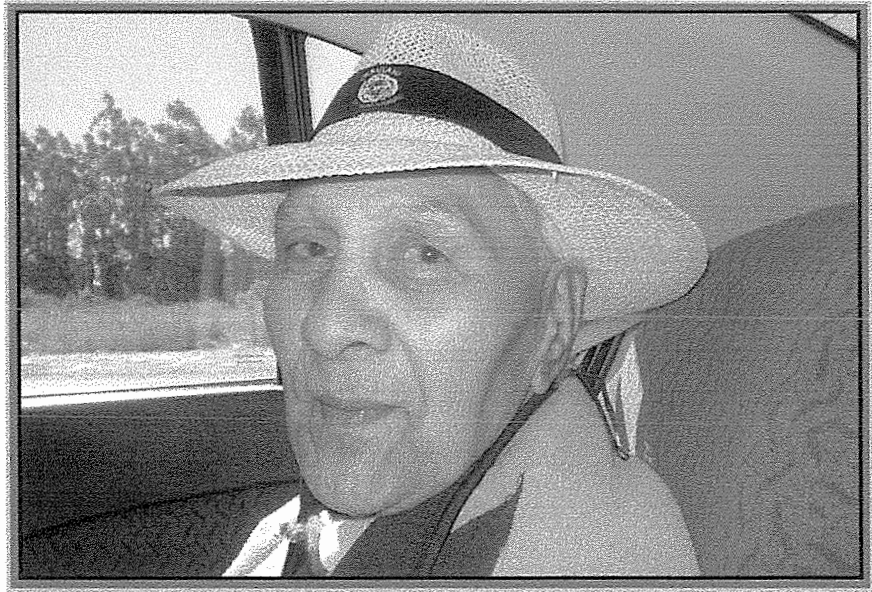


Figure 1: Eric Henry- Christchurch, 18 November 2006.

Chapter 2

RECRUITMENT OF PACIFIC ISLANDERS INTO THE NEW ZEALAND ARMED FORCES AND THE MAORI BATTALION.

While there have been thorough studies on factors influencing patterns of recruitment of men into the Maori Battalion, there has been no examination of the recruitment of Pacific Islanders and how they joined the various units and battalions of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Forces during World War II. Unlike the relatively straight-forward enlistment of Maori, the recruitment process in the Pacific Island Territories was characterized by political, ethnic and legal complexities, which the New Zealand authorities had to consider before and during the course of the war. This chapter examines recruitment of Pacific Islanders into the New Zealand Armed Forces and how these individuals ended up in the 28 (Maori) Battalion. It illustrates that the question of 'race' was central to recruitment in the Pacific. Following Cynthia Enloe's discussion of ethnic soldiers, I examine the politics of identity in the Pacific, particularly the anthropological idea of 'Euronesians'.⁴⁶

Cynthia Enloe's analysis of the complexities of the position taken by the British help us understand the perspectives taken by both New Zealand, as an administrator, and the citizens of the Island Territories who demanded citizenship rights through participation in the war.⁴⁷ I shall discuss Enloe's theoretical position in relation to enlistment from the Islands. Her contribution to this discussion sheds light on ethnicity and state security in multi-ethnic societies. Of all the Pacific Island Territories administered by New Zealand during World War II, Western

⁴⁶ Damon Salesa to Judith Bennett and others, "Definition of 'Euronesian'," (Email, 18/06/2006).

⁴⁷Cynthia H. Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980).

Samoa, in terms of recruitment, was the most difficult to organize. Yet it had the most patriotic population, willing to give their service to the British Crown, like the generation before them. Being a Mandate of the League of Nations added to the problem and the wounds to the Samoan dignity from a conflict with the New Zealand administration in the 1920s was still fresh. This made the New Zealand administration suspicious of some of the population, especially the 'Euronians' or 'half-castes' who were part European and part Polynesian. Given the fact that Western Samoa was formerly administered by Germany, claims to Britishness were central to the push by 'Euronians' to be allowed to enlist.

This chapter also compares and contrasts the recruitment of the Samoans, Tongans, Cook Islanders and the Niueans into the New Zealand Army. The Cook Islands and Niue did not share the tangle of the Samoan situation. These two Pacific Island Territories were made an extension of New Zealand jurisdiction under the Cook Islands Act of 1915.⁴⁸ New Zealand law applied to them in a relatively straight-forward way. Tonga, as a British protectorate, was under the general oversight of the Governor of Fiji, with Britain responsible for its defense. This role was allotted to nearby New Zealand once war broke out in Europe. Tonga, which has its own formal standing army, had no special political arrangement with New Zealand. Nevertheless, archival and army personnel records show three Tongans enlisted and went with the fourth reinforcement of the 28 (Maori) Battalion as part of the 2NZEF. Fijians also featured as soldiers but they went with the British forces. Records also point to the participation of a 'half-caste' Tahitian named Max Winiki in the 28 (Maori) Battalion.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Report on Island Territories political status, 24/4/1941, IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W)

⁴⁹ Attestation record, 24/4/1940, Army Department Personnel File Archives, "Pf 64167 Max Winiki," (Army Department Personnel File Archives - Wellington (ADPFA-W): 1940).

Recruitment

The New Zealand government agreed to establish a Maori Battalion in October 1939. The Maori Members of Parliament played an active role in persuading Maori enlistment and by November over 850 Maori had registered.⁵⁰ About 4000 young Maori men had enlisted by June 1941. Included in this figure, were men from the Pacific Islands, who either enlisted within New Zealand or from the Island Territories. It is important to note that before the establishment of the 28 (Maori) Battalion, other Maori soldiers were already serving with the second echelon overseas or were members of the territorial forces within New Zealand. These men were given the choice to transfer to the Maori Battalion.⁵¹

The events of the war in Europe threatened New Zealand's security in the Pacific. With an extensive geographic area under its jurisdiction, New Zealand, for a long time, had depended on the British Navy to deter any risk that might emerge. When World War II broke out, it was expected that New Zealand would use its manpower resources from within its jurisdiction to protect itself. Under the New Zealand Emergency Regulations of 1940, Local Defence Forces were set up in the Island Territories, including Western Samoa. Local European residents and men of mixed European and Polynesian blood constituted the Local Defence Force. Most of these men were World War One veterans. With the exceptions of the Niue veterans of World War One, soldiers who enlisted from Western Samoa were probably the only Pacific Islanders with any real exposure to conflict against foreigners. Samoa had gained this experience when they resisted the militaristic

⁵⁰ Enlistment List for the Maori Battalion as 1/11/1939, AD1-300/1/2/Vol.1, "Army Department Papers Regarding the 28 Maori Battalion," (Army Department (ANZ-W): 1939). cited by Keenan, "For God, for King and for Country?" p.13.

⁵¹ Lt. Col. Conway (Director of Mobilization) to All Districts Camp Commandants, 9/10/1939, AD1-300/1/2/Vol.1, "Army Department Papers Regarding the 28 Maori Battalion." (ANZ-W)

New Zealand administration in the 1920s through the Mau Movement.⁵² However, it should be noted that the level of fighting during the Mau movement involved minimal skirmishes and cannot be compared to the World War II battlefield.

The relationship between New Zealand and recruitment of Pacific Island Territories for the Army is best understood through discussions by Cynthia Enloe. She theorised in the early 1980s about the relationship between armed forces, national security and ethnicity in, *Ethic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies*.⁵³ She discussed 'state security maps'⁵⁴ which is the political strategy of colonial powers within plural societies to use ethnic populations in their military in situations where state security is paramount. What this meant is that there is always the tendency for colonial powers to use ethnic populations they administer as a resource, in this case as soldiers within the colonial powers' military. This was the nature of the relationship between the Pacific Island Territories with New Zealand and between New Zealand and Britain. One of the groups which feature mostly in such security maps includes those ethnic groups which dwell along sensitive frontiers.⁵⁵ In the Pacific, such population groups include 'half-castes', or 'Euronians'. Correspondence, secret in some instances, between the Acting Administrator of Western Samoa, the resident commissioners of the Cook Islands and Niue and the Department of External Affairs brings to light New Zealand's 'security maps'⁵⁶ when it decided to accept voluntary enlistment from the Pacific Island Territories. The entire process of enlistment for overseas service in the Pacific Island Territories emphasized measures of European ethnicity alongside the physical ability to fight.

⁵² Michael Field, *Black Saturday: New Zealand's Tragic Blunders in Samoa* (Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2006).

⁵³ Enloe, *Ethic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies*. p.5.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.15.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p.15.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p.15.

Colonial taxonomies sought to categorize people collectively especially when dealing with the consequences of miscegenation. Damon Salesa refers to these taxonomies as ‘capillaries’⁵⁷ of a colonial legacy, which resulted in the creation of terms such as ‘Euronians’, ‘Eurasians’, ‘half-castes’ and use of the term ‘part’ to define one’s blood quantum which was linked with identity, status, and citizenship rights. ‘Euronian’ was a term that referred to those with Polynesian and European parentage in the Pacific. It was commonly used by Europeans during the colonial period and was considered to be more humane than demeaning terms such as ‘half-castes’ or ‘part-European’ which were used in official documents.⁵⁸

‘Euronian’ was an extension of ‘Eurasian’, a term used during the British Raj and the miscegenation which occurred in that part of the British Empire.⁵⁹ It is assumed that ‘Euronian’ was coined when the British moved to the Pacific Islands. The term was first used in 1911 but could have been in use earlier. It was widely used with regard to Fiji but this does not mean it was not used in other Island Territories under New Zealand administration. The *Auckland Star* newspaper published an article in 1941 about the responses to recruitment in Samoa citing that ‘Euronians, ineligible in Samoa, are accepted and are serving with distinction in New Zealand and overseas.’⁶⁰ Strangely enough, this remnant of a past era is still being used by some groups in official reports. One example is a February 2007 country report for Samoa, posted on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) website.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Damon Salesa, "Samoa's Half-Castes and Some Frontiers of Comparison," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (London: Duke University Press, 2006). p.84.

⁵⁸ Damon Salesa to Judith Bennett and others, "Definition of 'Euronian'," (Email, 22/06/2006).

⁵⁹ Judy Bennett and others Roderick Ewins to Damon Salesa, "Definition of 'Euronian'," (Email, 20/6/2006).

⁶⁰ "Call for Recruits in Samoa," *The Star*, February 25th 1941.

⁶¹ Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), "Website: Gov/Cia/Publications/Factbook/Print/Ws.Html" (2007).

Many of those who enlisted from the Pacific had no prior experience with combat training except for a number of Niueans that fought with 'Te Hokowhitu A Tu' (the Pioneer Maori Battalion) in the First World War.⁶² Like most of the young soldiers who fought in the Second World War, most of the Pacific Island soldiers who enlisted were still in their formative years during the Great War and most only experienced the war indirectly. The closest they had ever had to a formal standing army was the Local Defence Force in the Island Territories to defend against a possible German attack in wartime.⁶³

A committee was set up by the New Zealand government to assemble reinforcements for the army and other occupations needed for national security during the war years. The question of providing the Pacific Island territories populations with the opportunity for voluntary enlistment for overseas service was discussed in Wellington on 20th November 1940, by Hon. David Wilson, the Associate Minister of National Services, together with A.C. Turnbull, Administrator of Western Samoa, Mr. C. A Berendsen, Head of the Department of External Affairs, J. S. Hunter, Director of National Service and Col. Conway, Adjutant-General of the New Zealand Army. They recommended to the New Zealand War Cabinet that, 'in principle eligible men should be given an opportunity to serving with the New Zealand Forces, or made liable for service.'⁶⁴ The phrase 'or made liable for service', emphasized the importance of loyalty to the colonial power in charge. The committee also proposed conscription for local defence. In January 1941, the War Cabinet approved only the former part of the recommendation to allow enlistment to take place from the Pacific Island Territories. Discussions about conscription were deferred because of

⁶² Pointer, *Tagi Tote E Loto Haaku = My Heart Is Crying a Little : Niue Island Involvement in the Great War, 1914-1918*

⁶³ Sylvia M.A Masterman, *An Outline of Samoan History* (Apia: Commercial Printers, 1980). Appendix, p.19.

⁶⁴ Select Committee recommendations to War Cabinet regarding recruitment from Pacific Island Territories, 10/12/1940, IT1-ex89/1/24/pt1, "Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment."(ANZ-W).

legal and political consequences relating to the case of Western Samoa, which was a League of Nations' Mandate.

One reason why discussions on the subject of conscription were deferred was because it was not applied to Maori in World War II. Many of the Maori Members of Parliament urged the government against the application of conscription because this would create a generational gap in the Maori population if the young men were all to be sent to the frontline.⁶⁵ The Maori population had barely recovered from the fatalities during Land Wars and World War I. In the previous world war, some Maori Members of Parliament had supported conscription in those areas with low participation in the Maori contingent, especially areas such as Waikato and Taranaki who were reluctant to help the Crown in this course. Gardiner, Shepherd and Keenan amongst many other historians have reported on how the Government applied conscription to the Waikato by force.⁶⁶ Men were arrested and were taken to training camp against their will.⁶⁷ Maori politicians and leaders did not want this to be repeated. It was proposed, however, that all single New Zealand men in Western Samoa and the Cook Islands be compelled to register in the same manner as if they were resident in New Zealand.⁶⁸

The most interesting character in this committee was Berendsen. Either by luck or by design, his career was closely related to the Samoan political events at the time. Berendsen was a reluctant Lance Corporal in the hastily formed New Zealand expeditionary force, led by the inept Colonel George Logan, which captured German Samoa in 1914.⁶⁹ He

⁶⁵Keenan, "For God, for King and for Country?" p.17.

⁶⁶Ibid. pp.16-17., Bruce R. Shepherd, "The Formation of Te Roopu Rua Tekau Ma Waru a Tumatauenga - the 28th Maori Battalion from July 1939 to May 1940" (BA (Hons) Dissertation, Massey, 1987). p. 5., Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*. p.22.

⁶⁷Ibid. pp.16-17., Bruce R. Shepherd, "The Formation of Te Roopu Rua Tekau Ma Waru a Tumatauenga - the 28th Maori Battalion from July 1939 to May 1940" (BA (Hons) Dissertation, Massey, 1987). p. 5., Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*. p.22.

⁶⁸ IT1-ex89/1/24/pt1, "Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment."

⁶⁹ Colonel George Logan, the first New Zealand Administrator of Samoa was held responsible for the outbreak of the Spanish Influenza in that killed of approximately 20 per cent of the Samoan population at the time.

returned to New Zealand the following year and continued to be in the Army until the war ended in 1918, after which he returned to the public service and diligently worked his way up the ranks. He frequently accompanied a succession of New Zealand Prime Ministers to international conferences and, as an advisor, dealt closely with Island Territories' issues, especially in matters relating to Western Samoa. His high standards and executive experience with the Pacific Island Territories won him the confidence of the government which saw him rise to the head of the Prime Minister's Department by 1935.⁷⁰

Berendsen became secretary of the New Zealand War Cabinet and was responsible for organizing New Zealand's war efforts and then implementing them when the war started in 1939. Being an adept strategist, he became an instrumental figure of New Zealand's international relations in the first three years of the war. However, this influence was short lived when he was made New Zealand's High Commissioner to Australia in 1943.⁷¹

Berendsen was an adamant advocate of 'Europe First', a policy which focused on the protection of Britain as a paramount priority rather than the home front in New Zealand. There was always the reluctant anticipation of the unwanted political implications if Britain fell. Berendsen believed that since New Zealand always identified itself as a member of the British Commonwealth, it must continue to support the overseas campaign so as to deter such a reality. This policy came under fire when Australia withdrew its forces from the North African campaign.⁷² Public opinion demanded that New Zealand should follow suit. This dilemma came at a time when the entire British Empire in the Pacific was threatened by the Axis sprawl into the region, culminating in

⁷⁰ Ian McGibbon, ed., *Undiplomatic Dialogue: Letters Between Carl Berensen and Alister McIntosh 1943 - 1952* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Historical Branch Department of Internal Affairs, 1993). pp.1-10.

⁷¹ Ibid. pp.1-10.

⁷² Department of Internal Affairs War History Branch, *Documents Relating to New Zealand's Participation in the Second World War 1939-45*, ed. War History Branch (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1951). p.143.

the war in the Pacific with Japan. New Zealand now had to juggle its priorities. Should they continue with 'Europe First' or pay close attention to the demands of having to defend its entire Pacific jurisdiction threatened by Japan? Moreover, the New Zealand Prime Minister Hon. Peter Fraser did not subscribe to the idea of the Americans having too much influence in the South Pacific.⁷³

The dispute over policy related to trying to recruit Europeans for Army in the Pacific led to the question of recruiting Pacific Islanders, especially those with Pakeha 'blood'. By means of a secret memorandum, Turnbull, the head of the New Zealand Administration in Samoa and the Resident Commissioner of the Cook Islands were informed that the New Zealand War Cabinet approved the recommendations for voluntary enlistment and were instructed to publish the conditions for enlistment. This decision was published in various local papers in the Cook Islands and Western Samoa as follows on 21 January 1941:

The war Cabinet approved of the acceptance of voluntary enlistments for overseas service from residents of the Cook Islands and Western Samoa in April 1941, provided they meet the three criteria they have set out as follows:

- a) Full-blooded whites and up to but not including persons of half European blood.
- b) Single men and married men with not more than two children
- c) Men who have attained the age of 21 years but have not attained the age of 41 years.⁷⁴

⁷³ Ibid. p.142.

⁷⁴ Telegrams from External Affairs, Wellington to Admor, Apia; from Cidep, Wellington to Commr, Rarotonga. Both telegrams dated 21/1/1941, IT1-ex89/1/24/pt1, "Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W)

The same memorandum for recruitment was sent to the Resident Commissioner of Niue, on 5th February 1941. However, the first condition for enlistment had the phrase 'but not including', underlined. The resident commissioner was specifically instructed not to publish the notice but to give his opinion based on his own experience, as to who would be eligible to enlist.⁷⁵ One can immediately infer the disinclination to accept Niueans into the army despite the usefulness of the Niue soldiers after the experiences of World War I.

A total of 150 men from Niue, together with 50 men from the Cook Islands with no military experience were recruited and attached to the Maori contingency for the Great War.⁷⁶ These men were dubbed 'Pomare's own'.⁷⁷ Sir Maui Wiremu Pomare was the most vocal of all the Maori MPs in raising the Maori Contingent when World War One broke out. As the Minister of Maori race, for the Cook Islands and other Islands and chairman of the Native Contingent Committee, Pomare was under pressure to match his political principles with support from the Maori through increased numbers of recruitment. He almost failed to deliver, and was on the verge of political embarrassment when the need arose for reinforcement, and tribes refused to give more of their men to war.

Attempts to recruit his own electorate, Taranaki and Waikato, to participate in the war failed. In a last resort to avoid a political dilemma, Pomare then turned to the Islanders, a resource in which he, in his capacity as a Cabinet Minister, had access to exploit. He went out of his way to make sure that this regiment was raised. Even to the point that he went to Niue to medically examine the recruits and brought the men to New Zealand as their commanding officer. He even sought out

⁷⁵ Secret Memorandum from W. Tailby to the Resident Commissioner of Niue, 5/2/1941.IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W).

⁷⁶ Pointer, *Tagi Tote E Loto Haaku = My Heart Is Crying a Little : Niue Island Involvement in the Great War, 1914-1918*). p.10.

⁷⁷Ibid. p.10., P.S. O'Connor, "The Recruitment of Maori Soldiers, 1914 - 1918 " *Political Science* 19 (1967). p.60.

expatriates enlisted in the New Zealand Army to be with the Niue Regiment. It was truly 'Pomare's own.'

Yet when it came to World War II, W. Tailby, the acting Assistant Secretary for External Affairs acknowledged the services by Niue in a memorandum which stated that, 'the patriotic spirit of the people of Niue is well appreciated but it is thought that there will be very few [men available]...in view of the three pre-requisites...'⁷⁸ The Resident Commissioner's reply to Wellington sealed the fate of any Niuean man wishing to fight in World War II. The succinct reply stated, 'with [the] exception of Hepburn and McIntyre, also Harley [full Europeans], none here satisfy the conditions.'⁷⁹

The rationale behind the first condition for enlistment, 'Full-blooded whites and up to but not including persons of half European blood'⁸⁰ is a mystery. Records indicate that those who drafted the criteria considered ethnicity and blood types were important at the frontline where compatible blood supply for the resuscitation of casualties was critical. This was evident in the Minister of Defence's report to the two Houses of the General Assembly. One of his main concerns with 'blood-grouping' was for practical medical reasons. He substantiated that,

The value of this to a soldier wounded and on point of death through exsanguinations [excessive loss of blood] is incalculable...it will be possible to perform blood transfusions at once either from one of the man's comrades in the same group or from supplies of citrated blood which will be sent up to the front line.'⁸¹

⁷⁸ W.Tailby to Resident Commissioner, Niue. IT1-ex89/1/24/pt1, "Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W).

⁷⁹ Telegram from Resident Commissioner of Niue to External Affairs, Wellington, 1/3/1941. IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W)

⁸⁰ Advertisement for enlistment published in the Western Samoan Mail, 8/2/1941, IT1-ex89/1/24/pt1, "Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment."

⁸¹ "Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand Session 1940," (Wellington: 1940). pH-19A, p.4.

The Minister's view differs to a great extent with current medical opinion which finds no correlation between ethnicity and blood quantum.

From the perception of the Pacific Islanders, medical practicality was a secondary issue compared to the questions of ethnicity brought to the fore by the published enlistment criterion when it reached the islands. It should not have surprised the bureaucrats who drew up the criteria for enlistment from the Pacific Island Territories that its racial implications would aggravate and affect patriotic attitudes and loyalty among the Islanders, especially from the 'Euronesian' population of the Island Territories. This race-based criterion took the wind out of the sails for indigenous Islanders under the New Zealand administration who hoped to join the New Zealand Armed Forces. Legally, the League of Nations Mandate for Samoa disallowed military training of the indigenous people other than for purposes of internal police and the local defense of the territory.⁸² This meant there was only one portion of the Island population that New Zealand could draw enlistment from – the 'Euronesians'.

The question and complexity of ethnicity and 'racial categories' played out in the recruitment processes of Pacific Islanders during World War II. The interpretation of 'Full-blooded whites and up to but not including persons of half European blood'⁸³, was taken to include Europeans and those 'Euronesians' who have some Samoan Polynesian blood, but are less than 'half-caste'. Simply put, the lesser Polynesian blood one has, the more likely one will be considered for voluntary enlistment. It is this measure which literally excluded a lot of 'half-castes' from enlisting from the Islands. A comment by Colonel Brant Harley, commander of the Samoa Local Defence Force implied that a number of men who were

⁸² _____, "Mandate for German Samoa," *The American Journal of International Law: Supplement: Official Documents* Vol. 17, no. No. 3 (July 1923).

⁸³ Advertisement for enlistment published in the *Wester Samoan Mail*, 8/2/1941, IT1-ex89/1/24/pt1, "Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W).

left out by the first criteria, even though they were 'Euronians' in every way. 'I have made private inquiries in an endeavour to find out who has actually been prevented from volunteering...I have not been able to find anyone. I have only been able to find about six who would have been eligible to volunteer if the racial qualification had been widened...'[sic].⁸⁴ Harley's comments suggest that the criteria did not have an adverse effect – that few are being prevented from enlisting under the criteria. The petitions from 'Euronians' however, show this was not the case.

In New Zealand, there were already Pacific Islanders of mixed descent enlisting without any trouble. This is where the irony of the situation comes in. The Western Samoans who enlisted in New Zealand when war broke out were not actually in the Mandate where the League of Nations binding conditions held legal sway. There were also men who did not fit the ethnic criteria but were allowed to enlist, and were later placed in the 28 (Maori) Battalion. One of the three Tongans who went to New Zealand for the sole purpose of enlisting in the New Zealand Forces had no European blood, and his only connection was his Maori paternal grandfather.⁸⁵ His widow confirmed these men's ethnic status stating that, 'Yes, my husband joined the Maori Battalion even though he was more Tongan than Maori. The other guys with him, I know were part Samoan.'⁸⁶ Theoretically, he would not have been considered for enlistment under the 'blood' conditions if he had enlisted from elsewhere in the Pacific. A more interesting example is the acceptance of two half Chinese, half Samoan men to enlist.⁸⁷ In dealing with these two men's

⁸⁴ Lt. Col Brandt Harley 10/4/ 1941, IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment."

⁸⁵ Mere Montgomery, "Interview with L. Mataia," (Portobello, Dunedin: 2006).

⁸⁶ IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment.", Louise Mataia, "Interview with Lesieli Meanata," (Avondale, Auckland, New Zealand: November 14 2006).

⁸⁷ Secret Memorandums: A. Turnbull to Secretary of External Affairs, 13/6/1941, W.Tailby to Lieut. Colonel R.H. Guillian, 2/7/1941 regarding the enlistment of part Chinese men.IT1-ex89/1/24/pt1, "Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W)

cases, Turnbull decided it was best left to the army to make the final decision instead of him.

On issues of eligibility by ethnicity, interesting comparisons can be seen between the Maori Battalion and recruitment of Pacific men. Recruitment criteria for the North Island Tribes differed from the South Island Tribes. Maori from the North Island 'must be not less than half-caste' while South Island Maori 'must not be less than quarter-caste.'⁸⁸ The reason for the difference between the two is linked to miscegenation, which was more extensive in the South Island. The Army always anticipated that enlistment for the Maori Battalion would be low in numbers.⁸⁹ Even lesser numbers would be recruited from the Pacific Islands.

Post graduate studies research such as Lauren Keenan's 'For God, For King and Country?'⁹⁰, and Bruce R. Shepherd's 'The formation of Te Roopu Rua Tekau Ma Waru A Tumatauenga'⁹¹ have addressed recruitment criteria from the Maori perspective. Lauren Keenan in her discussions of the recruitment patterns of the Maori Battalion cited the case of B. H. Glover from the South Island, showed that the New Zealand Army did not strictly adhere to their own requirements. Through her lawyers, Mrs. Glover informed the Minister of Defence in 1945 that her husband, a soldier in the 28 (Maori) Battalion was more Pakeha than Maori. The Minister of Defence at the time replied that they did not have to prove that they were Maori.⁹² This is in contrast to the recruitment process in the Pacific Island territories where ethnicity and blood quantum were the main criteria for eligibility to enlist.

Despite the controversial ethnic criteria, there was a varying degree of lenience by officers who were immediately responsible for the

⁸⁸ AD1-300/1/2/Vol.1, "Army Department Papers Regarding the 28 Maori Battalion."

⁸⁹ Keenan, "For God, for King and for Country?" p.27.

⁹⁰ Ibid.p.27.

⁹¹ Shepherd, "28 Maori Battalion".

⁹² Keenan, "For God, for King and for Country?" p.15.

recruitment. An interesting example is the acceptance of three half Chinese, half Samoan men for enlistment.⁹³ The process of recruitment it seemed was at the mercy of the recruiters, not the policy makers. An example for this case is the report by Turnbull, Acting Administrator of Western Samoa who was in charge of recruitment in Western Samoa, to the Army Department, on enlistments for overseas service from Samoa. It is revealed in this comment the different opinions of the New Zealand government officials on the criterion.

In arriving at my decision I have not had strict regard to the proportion of Polynesian blood because I do not think that this factor counts nearly as much as the man's own personal and physical characteristics. The men that I have chosen I would be prepared to take with me on service anywhere.⁹⁴

This personal view of a New Zealand official was shared by the Crown Legal Office whose legal opinion was requested by the External Affairs on the matter at hand. Contrary to the blood qualification, the opinion given was 'there would seem to be no particular reason for distinguishing persons of Polynesian blood from persons of European blood'.⁹⁵ It is evident here that although the New Zealand government was stringent in the bureaucratic process of enlistment, in practice, the Army Department did not really adhere to such strict ethnic criteria in New Zealand. There are also questions as to how the New Zealand Administration medically determined blood quantum when the processes of enlistment was done in only a matter of weeks without any proper medical facilities in the Islands. Presumably blood quantum was determined by parental lineage.

⁹³ A. Turnbull's comments to External Affairs regarding the enlistment of Part Chinese Men. IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers."(ANZ-W).

⁹⁴ A. Turnbull to Army Department 10/4/1941, Ibid. (ANZ-W).

⁹⁵ Memorandum from the Crown Law Office, Wellington, 23/5/1941, Ibid.(ANZ-W).

In the Pacific Islands, the most vociferous opposition to the race-based condition came from the 'Euronesian' of Western Samoa, who viewed the condition for enlistment as racial discrimination against them. Their opposition culminated in a petition to the New Zealand government to change the criteria so to allow those Islanders with European ancestry to be allowed to enlist in the New Zealand Army. The petition, dated 11 February 1941, from the 'British subjects of and resident in the Territory of Western Samoa being of part Samoan blood'⁹⁶ outlined in 16 articles their grievances regarding the first condition set by the New Zealand government.

On one level, the indigenous populations within New Zealand's jurisdiction, especially the Samoans were protected by the Mandate. Therefore, they were not considered for enlistment. Accepting them to enlist would prove more expensive, time consuming and in breach of the Mandate conditions. Again, it raises the question of on what grounds did the committee base the drafting of the criteria. I suspect that one reason for such criteria was to target Pakeha residing in the Pacific Islands, which would strengthen the implementation of the policy of conscription. If Maori volunteered to go to war and Pakeha within New Zealand were conscripted, those Pakeha located in the islands were expected to show the same patriotic stance. Islanders who had mixed European descent and take this ethnic identity more seriously also showed interest in joining. At the same time, diplomatic rules hindered any freedom do such with the Islanders, unlike that practiced by Pomare during World War One.

The context of this relationship can be seen from theories developed by Enloe's discussions on 'ethnic state security maps'.⁹⁷ Governments always have in their collective minds the political vision of the dependability of various ethnic groups and their usefulness. Prominent

⁹⁶Samoan Euronesian's Petition to the Prime Minister of New Zealand, 11 February 1941. Ibid. (ANZ-W).

⁹⁷ Ibid. (ANZ-W).

in such maps are those ethnic groups residing along sensitive frontiers. The Euronians, were neither European nor Pacific Islanders but both. This whole entangled context is best summed up by Enloe's discussion about the importance of building and maintaining a pattern of ethnic relations and state-ethnic relations so as to maximize national security. 'To do this, each group will be treated according to its saliency for security and its estimated political reliability.'⁹⁸

The entire recruitment process and how it developed, both for the Maori and the Pacific Islander, support Enloe's discussion on internal colonialism.⁹⁹ This theory describes how some groups, which are not direct members of the larger nation- state become resources to be exploited. Both Maori and Pacific Islanders were trying to assert themselves as British citizens. On one hand, the Maori as a New Zealander with equal standing to the Pakeha, and on the other, the Pacific Islander, as a patriotic member of the British Commonwealth. The petition from the 'Euronians' asserts their loyalty, and links this with this Britishness, thus denying any links with the previous German administration.

Individuals can also exploit the system created to categorize them. It is important to find a common identity to fight for. Theoretically, the 'Euronians' are located along ethnic borders and are able to shift between their two identities depending on the situation. Such boundaries, as Enloe wrote about it, are 'movable.'¹⁰⁰ The common identity in this situation is their 'European-ness', and Britishness. These situational identities were demonstrated in the petition 11 February 1941, when they introduced themselves and attempted to define their position. It stated that:

We the undersigned British subjects of and resident of the
territory of western Samoa being of part Samoan

⁹⁸ Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies*.

⁹⁹ Ibid.p.13.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. .13.

blood....that we are representatives of the old British families...that we and our descendants are loyal to the British flag...that in honour of our British blood, we have for years past conducted ourselves and lived as Europeans and particularly as British people and we have [been] so treated by our local Administrator, to which we unfaithfully pay the European taxes....¹⁰¹

Some Samoan 'Euronians', (because of their German ancestry) in New Zealand were unwillingly occupying Somes Island in Wellington Harbour as internees.¹⁰² David McGill wrote that 35 men were interned from Samoa because of their expressed nationalistic German sympathies.¹⁰³ At the same time, members of the same population were claiming their Britishness.

Enloe is in agreement with Linda Colley that in trying to find a 'one size fits all', British representations of national identity in wartime either subsume or deny the significance of other identities.¹⁰⁴ One can claim to be either European or Pacific Islander, depending on how profitable the situation is to the 'Euronian' individual involved. It is this moving across boundaries that make them problematic. During the recruitment for World War II, Britishness was considered to be more important than the Samoan or Cook Island heritage and identity because it enabled a person to enlist and then if accepted, travel away from the mundane and routine Island life. This option was not available for those of 'half-caste' or more 'blood', whose lack of Britishness prevented them from enlisting.

¹⁰¹ ITex 89/1/24 pt 1 Petition to the Right Honourable Peter Fraser, 11/2/1941 .pp.1-3. (ANZ-W)

¹⁰² David McGill, *Island of Secrets: Matiu/Somes Island in Wellington Harbour*. (Aotearoa, New Zealand: Steele Roberta and Silver Owl Press, 2001). pp.82-4, 92-4, 108-9.

¹⁰³ Ibid. p.83.

¹⁰⁴ Sonya O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain 1939-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). pp.8-9.

Ethnicity as a criterion for enlistment for the New Zealand Army raises questions about the practices and procedures of colonial power in their attempts to construct a single corporate, 'one size fits all' identity among the many ethnic groups under their control.¹⁰⁵ Rose has argued that it is impossible, even in a period of total war, to fashion a singular identity as 'no nation is ethnically pure and no nation is free of class and other forms of inequality'.¹⁰⁶ She claims that recruiting ethnic people into the army were 'strategies deployed to manage or organize the differences among people that have come to be the sites of collective identity formation.'¹⁰⁷ Enloe argued that ethnicity was a resource to be exploited in times of conflict.¹⁰⁸ These two arguments illuminate the security maps or hidden political agendas of state. The recruitment of the Pacific Islanders and the Maori seem to be managed under the same circumstances. The only interesting difference is that the Pacific Islanders were asserting their 'British-ness' in order to be included in the Army. The Maori were asserting Maoritanga to be recognized as a collective, autonomous body. Within the Maori Battalion, all of these men were mere machines of war, harmonized by their similar Polynesian cultural identity.

Like the state, which asserts itself via the army and policies, ethnic groups as cultural and collective units attempt to assert themselves and their situational identities. The petition from the Samoans signaled the assertion of their identity as 'Euronians' and represents a claim to their right, by birth, to be in the Crown's forces. In New Zealand, Sir Apirana Ngata saw the recruitment of Maori into a single Battalion as a collective effort to be one people, equal in status to the Pakeha. The petition by the Samoan 'Euronians' claim their English identity yet, while at war, these men claimed their Pacific Island identity as it made them distinctive in a Maori unit. Evidence of situational shifts of identity and

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. pp.8-9.

¹⁰⁶ Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain 1939-1945*. p.9.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p.13.

¹⁰⁸ Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies*.

allegiance within an ethnic force is found in the lyrics of the Samoan song, composed and sung by Pacific Island soldiers in the 1941 Maori Battalion concert in Taranto, Italy.

Ou te le faavaivai O le mea na ou lotoi ai. Le tauavega o le lanu Samoa o lou fatu Le penina o le pasifika Le motu lea pei o se tae lagoon E le galo i lou manatu Mafaufau i aso ua alu.	I will not surrender for it was my choice To carry the colour of Samoa, my heart. The pearl of the Pacific, This island [small] like fly droppings. I never forget you When I think of days gone by.
Po o le ola po o le oti Tumau pea lou faamaoni Samoa aua o le suega o se lanu mo ina Ou te taamilo i nuu ese E manatua pea le upu i le pepe. E taamilo i lalolagi Ae mate i le mea e tasi	In life or death I remain true Samoa, In search of a colour [glory] for you. As I travel these foreign countries. I remember always the story of the butterfly It flutters around the world but longs for that one place to expire.
Tiga o le faigata pulu faga ma mea faapapa Ae leai se vaivai o Samoa o loo faatali mai.	Though it is hard the bullets and bombs But surrender we not for Samoa awaits.
Samoaiaalofagia Talosaga ia molia I lenei faigata O malo o Europa. 109	Samoa we plead you to pray [for us] during this hardship [of war] in the countries of Europe

The lyrics of the song illuminate the shifts in identity of ethnic soldiers at the personal level. Connections with Britain have been set aside and the link with Samoa and the Cook Islands were asserted.¹¹⁰ There is no reference to New Zealand and Britain in the song.

A decade before the outbreak of World War I, the New Zealand administration in Samoa faced a national resistance movement against its cultural insensitivity and militaristic approach. This was the Mau movement of the 1920s which initiated the burst of nationalism amongst the Samoan population in the desire to free itself from colonial influence. This was a result of a series of events which demonstrated New

¹⁰⁹Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, and Radio New Zealand Sound Archives, "Ake, Ake, Kia Kaha E!" Track 4.

¹¹⁰ The Cook Islanders also sang their national songs in this concert. The first half was not recorded due to technical faults.

Zealand's 'high-handed attitude' towards Samoa.¹¹¹ The New Zealand Administrator, Colonel George Logan antagonized the Samoans when his administration failed to thoroughly quarantine the passenger carrier, *Talune* at the Apia Wharf which had passengers infected with the Spanish influenza on board. This incident resulted in the unnecessary death of approximately 20 percent of the Samoan population in 1918. Logan's attitude towards the Samoans about this crisis was evident in his infuriating remarks about the Samoans at the time, 'I do not care if they are going to die, let them die and go to hell'.¹¹² The administration made numerous attempts to suppress the Mau but was unsuccessful and had to take a cautious approach when the 'Euronesian' section of the Western Samoan population filed their petition against the racial limitations criteria. 'Half-castes' or 'Euronesians' made up approximately 4.96 percent, the largest minority among Western Samoa's population in 1940.¹¹³ **Table 1** below; summarize the different groups that made up the Samoan population in 1940.

Table 1: Western Samoa Population as at 30/09/40

Ethnic Group	Male	Female	Total
Europeans	265	140	405
Half-castes [Euronesians]	1,614	1,447	3,061
Natives	29,387	28,435	57,822
Chinese Labourers	321	0	321
Other Chinese	7	3	10
Melanesians	77	1	78
TOTAL	31,671	30,026	61,697

(Source: IT1-ex89/1/24/part 1, 'Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment').

¹¹¹ Field, *Black Saturday: New Zealand's Tragic Blunders in Samoa*. p.95.

¹¹² Michael J Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle against New Zealand Oppression* (Auckland, New Zealand: Reed Ltd, 1984). p.42.

¹¹³ Army and Island Territory records, IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W).

The Western Samoa 'Euronesian' petitioners directed their grievances to the Right Honorable Peter Fraser, the Prime Minister of New Zealand. One of their main arguments was to justify that they were Europeans despite their Samoan blood.

(4) In this Territory, in honour of our British Blood, we have for years past conducted ourselves and lived as Europeans and particularly as British people and we have been so treated by our local Administration, to which we unfailingly pay the European taxes levied upon us, for which we assume jury service and in the support of which we do all in our power to uphold the prestige of our British ancestry [sic].¹¹⁴

The petition symbolically demonstrated a patriotic desire to 'place ourselves in the service of the Crown in any capacity military or otherwise'.¹¹⁵ The proposed condition for enlistment also ruled out any chances for re-enlistment by half-caste veterans, despite the fact that they were accepted to fight as British subjects in the previous war. The petitioners stated that,

many of the present signatories served the Crown in the Great War and none of them nor their children would qualify under the present proposed conditions which in fact under local circumstance, practically ensure that no one of part Samoan blood is receivable in His Majesty's forces [sic].¹¹⁶

In direct opposition to the criteria for enlistment, published in the '*Western Samoa Mail*' of the same month, the petitioners lashed out at the unreasonable racial limitations put on those persons who fathers are full white but had Samoan mothers, because this 'type of people is

¹¹⁴ Petition to the Right Honourable Peter Fraser, 11/2/1941, pp.1-3 (ANZ-W).

¹¹⁵ Petition Clause 5 IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W.)

¹¹⁶ Ibid. (ANZ-W).

naturally the most anxious to enlist'.¹¹⁷ The petitioners argued against the unfairness of the terms for enlistment as 'many of the class now restricted...have left Samoa to enlist, have been accepted for service and are now, in some instances, already overseas.'¹¹⁸ This practice implied double standards and the varying degree of leniency in the recruitment criteria in New Zealand and that applied in the Pacific Island Territories.

The ambiguity of the criteria applied to the Island Territories displeased the Samoan 'Euronians'. They pointed out that, 'your Government sees fit to accept full blooded Maoris for military service overseas and Tongans of full blood are also welcome in His Majesty's armed forces'.¹¹⁹ It is important to note that this evidence implies another level of identity – a pan Polynesian one. The petition concluded with an earnest appeal that the New Zealand Government clarify the conditions for enlistment:

(14) That if those of the class represented by your petitioners are not acceptable for service overseas, your petitioners would prefer a declaration by your Government that those of Samoan blood are not required for service, and of that reason, which your petitioners consider is wrapped up in the question of Mandate irrespective of racial origin.¹²⁰

The New Zealand Government withheld its response to the petitioners for two reasons. Firstly, the question of the Mandate was clear and understandable to both parties. The second reason was more important to the New Zealand Government. The racial issue would have created political crisis and conflict. It suggests that the government was not going to face legal and diplomatic consequences nor risk another skirmish with the Samoans while the war was on.

¹¹⁷TT1-ex89/1/24/pt1, "Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W)

¹¹⁸ Petition. Ibid. (ANZ-W).

¹¹⁹ Petition, Ibid. (ANZ-W).

¹²⁰ Petition, Ibid. (ANZ-W).

On the same day as the Euronesian's petition, another petition was sent to Peter Fraser in support of the first. This time, it was from New Zealanders, those with full European blood residing in Samoa. In this second and smaller petition, the European residents of Western Samoa stated of the 'half-caste' population, we feel that by reason not only of their British blood but also of their never changing loyalty to the British flag while living in this Territory both under British rule and under flags of foreign powers, they are entitled to show in a practical manner by service overseas that they are worthy of the stock from which they have sprung.¹²¹ The Europeans petition to Fraser points to the complexity of ties created out of interracial marriage and hybridity, that can only be understood by those who have lived in a community for a long time. There is a relationship between the two petitions. Some of the signatories of the two petitions like the Irwin's share the same surname. It suggests that the fathers, who are full Europeans, are writing in support of their 'Euronesian' sons. The petition from the European fathers gives nuance to the dynamics of this complex relationship'. This showed the intricate cross section of the population, which no politician at the time can attempt to cut apart. The parent's intuition to give the offspring was more important in this case. Robert Young, argues that such affiliation is an inevitable result of 'covert theories of desire' in the colonial period.¹²²

There was never a formal written reply to the petitioners. A memorandum from the Acting Secretary of the New Zealand Administration, to the Department of External Affairs showed that their decision was verbally relayed to the first signatory of the 'Euronesian' petition. 'From what can be learned it would appear that no reply was sent from your office to the petitioners, but of course the decision of

¹²¹ Full Europeans' Petition , Ibid. (ANZ-W).

¹²² Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. Routledge (London, 1995). p.9. Scholarship on Hybridity, problematizing identity can be found in Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, *The Imperial Animal*. Secker and Warburg (London, 1971) and Robert Young's work on *Colonial Desires*.

Government was published in the *Western Samoa Mail* and had been verbally intimidated by the Acting Administrator [A. Turnbull] to Mr. I. H. Carruthers.¹²³ It was Turnbull also who suggested to the Wellington office in a telegram dated 22 February 1941 that the 'Euronesians' from Samoa were recruited for two classes: 'First, general service, second, garrison and guard duties outside Samoa...'¹²⁴ In fear of the implications if such classifications were published he went on to say, 'Classification not to be disclosed to applicants.'¹²⁵

The conditions for enlistment that caused resentment from the Samoan Euronesians were finally amended by the New Zealand War Cabinet in April 23rd 1941. The recruitment period which was supposed to cease on the last day of March was extended to the end of April for the amendments to be effective. This practically meant that only one week was given for the part European and part Samoan recruits to enlist. The amended criteria for voluntary enlistment for overseas service from Western Samoa inclusive of persons of mixed descent satisfied the petition from the Samoans. The document which follows conveys the new criteria.¹²⁶

¹²³ Memo for the Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Wellington from Acting Secretary, Administration of Western Samoa, 14/7/1941, IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W).

¹²⁴ Telegram to External Office, Wellington, 22/4/1941, Ibid. (ANZ-W).

¹²⁵ Ibid.(ANZ-W).

¹²⁶ Proposal for amendment by Tailby to the Minister of Defence, 22/4/1941.Ibid. (ANZ-W)

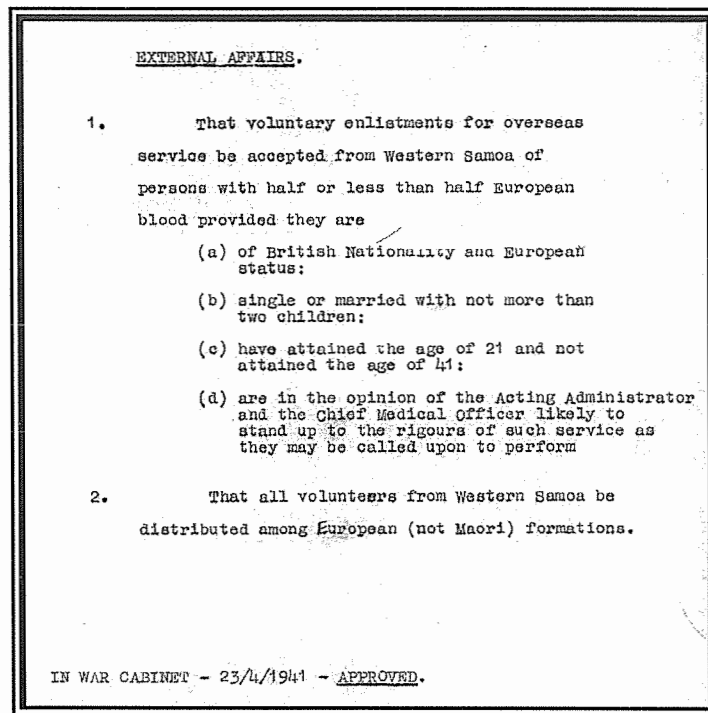


Figure 2: Approved amendment for enlistment from Samoa. The amended criteria above were the answer to the petition. (Source: IT1-ex89/1/24/Part1- 'Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment.')

Legal advice from the Crown Law Office warned the New Zealand government to refrain from setting up a military training base in Samoa. Such action was disallowed by the United Nations under the Mandate Articles. Nevertheless, a military camp was set up, but only on a temporary basis, in the Administrator's premises at Apia, Samoa, to assemble recruits for Army enlistment procedures such as attestation and medical examinations, before shipping them over to New Zealand for training. The government felt that the temporary military camp was not a breach of the Mandate rules.¹²⁷

Medical examinations and testing, devised by the Army to ensure suitable recruits included a chest x-ray, and tests for venereal disease and tuberculosis. Marching tests demonstrated the flat footedness of the

¹²⁷ Defence Military Services in the Island Territories, 29/10/41- 31/12/4. IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers."(ANZ-W).

Polynesian race, Maori and Pacific Islander alike. The Chief medical officer had this to say about R.J. McFall, one of the 'Euronians' he re-examined: 'Feet slightly flat. Passes all tests. Has done heavy walking in the bush and over rough tracks all day, and had no trouble. Tests in the book of instructions were carefully carried out.'¹²⁸ Immediately after his comment he reported on two individuals by the name of H.J.R. Moors and Hancock as, 'very fine specimens of men. They are both known to me and Mr. Moors has only been sick once, with a sore throat all these years I have known him.'¹²⁹ The medical reports suggest that while most were screened and thoroughly tested, others were treated more generously.

Local Administrators were in charge of enlistment procedures. They were required to interview and report about the condition of men they recommended for enlistment. The information was used by Army officials to assist in placing Pacific Island recruits in the right unit for service once they arrived in New Zealand. These interviews gathered information about their blood degree, schooling and what they did for a living, before he made remarks to recommend the men for enlistment. Some of his remarks include, 'Educated at St. Stephens College, Auckland Form II. 'Character good', 'Intelligent type', 'permanent in Defence Force.'¹³⁰ These types of remarks do not bear any connection to the ability to participate in the war as a soldier except on the type of work they had to do.

However a more interesting observation of the Chinese-Samoan men who were examined further suggest that despite the restrictions, the Acting Administrator, A.C. Turnbull was contradicting his own stance about hybridity when he reported what he thought of the Europeans, the Polynesians and the part Chinese men who enlisted:

¹²⁸ Medical Tests for Enlistment. IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W).

¹²⁹Defence Military Services in the Island Territories IT-1ex69/144Pt1, "Defence Military Service," (Wellington: 27/10/41 - 31/12/49). (ANZ-W).

¹³⁰ Ibid. (ANZ-W).

Taking into consideration the question of degree of Polynesian blood and its effect on the mode of life which, taken as a general standard, varies considerably in individuals according to education, qualification, intelligence and occupation, it is found that in many cases some having a preponderance of Polynesian blood are considered more suitable for military service than others having a preponderance of European blood.¹³¹

As noted earlier in the chapter, three Chinese-Samoan men enlisted. The part Chinese men were the descendants of the Chinese indentured laborers brought from Southern China to work in the coconut and rubber plantations in 1903, when Western Samoa was administered by Germany.¹³² Turnbull, in his commentary about the part Chinese men reflected the colonial idea of the white race degeneration in the tropics, which peaked in the nineteenth century.¹³³ He stated that the ‘Chinese strain is better than Polynesian and preferable, often, to the poor European strain found in the Islands.’¹³⁴

The difficulty of distributing the Western Samoan recruits into the New Zealand Army was dealt with by Turnbull. He recommended that the Samoan recruits should incorporate into Pakeha units rather than posted to the Maori Battalion. The Commanding Officer of the Samoa Local Defense Force, Lt. Col. W. Bailey in his memorandum to the External Affairs. Bailey stated that,

...men have been selected on the understanding that they are not be used collectively as a Section or Platoon but

¹³¹ Acting Administrator of Western Samoa to Secretary, Department of External affairs. 10/4/1941 IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment."(ANZ-W)

¹³² Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoffel Meleisea, eds., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa* (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1987).

¹³³ Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (London: Duke University Press, 2006).

¹³⁴ Turnbull on Chinese Samoans during the enlistment process in Western Samoa. IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment.", (ANZ-W).

are to be mixed indiscriminately with New Zealanders. I do not think it advisable to keep them together because if that is done they are apt to regard themselves as a Samoan unit and will expect to be nursed.¹³⁵

Bailey's recommendations, supported by Turnbull, were approved by the War Cabinet in Wellington on April 24, 1941.¹³⁶ This was also emphasized in the second criteria as stated in **Figure 2**. Again, security maps come to mind in this discussion. It was better to integrate these Pacific men into the Pakeha units because they were too European to be in the Maori Battalion. As we will find out later, this did not really amount to anything during the overseas campaigns the men participated in.

Placing the recruits in the units and platoons was reserved for the Army officials according to their protocols and procedures.¹³⁷ In practice, the formation of a special unit was impossible due to the difficulties of finding reinforcements from the small populations. The 'Euronians' accounted for only about five per cent of the population, where approximately two to 300 could be considered to be within the eligible age group of 21 to 40 as stipulated in the published enlistment criteria. **Table 1** showed that Western Samoa had a population of 61,697 in total with only 3061 half-castes.¹³⁸ The Samoan population had just recovered from the loss of a generation caused by the Spanish Influenza of 1918 which killed almost 24 per cent of the Western Samoan population.¹³⁹

At the end of the recruitment period, 72 men enlisted from Western Samoa, and 20 of them were full blooded Europeans. 'Euronians' made up the majority of this group. Three of the men were part Samoan and part Chinese, and one half-caste Gilbert Islander. Oddly enough, one

¹³⁵Lt. Col W. Bailey, to External Affairs by 10/4/1941, Ibid. (ANZ-W)

¹³⁶ Ibid. (ANZ-W)

¹³⁷ IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers."(ANZ-W)

¹³⁸IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment."(ANZ-W).

¹³⁹ IT1-ex89/1/24/pt1, "Island Territory Papers Regarding Recruitment." (ANZ-W)

of the recruits was a Fijian born, full blooded Indian, fluent in four languages. **Table 2** below illustrates the different ethnic groupings, and is adapted from the statistics in **Figure 2** which is the Samoan Enlistment list as of March 1941.

Table 2: Enlistment for Overseas Service from Western Samoa
(to 31/3/41)

Part Native	
Samoa/European	48
Samoa/Chinese	2
Gilbert/European	1
Indian	1
Total Part Native	52
Full European	20
Total Enlistment	72

Source: IT1-ex89/1/21/Part 1, 'Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment.'

ENLISTMENT FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE - WESTERN SAMOA (to 31/3/41)			
Ah Kupa	J.	Penn	G.
Ah Kwan	P.E. (AUKWANI)	Peselly	J.
Ah Ma	M. (Jnr)	Pritchard	E.J.
Ah Ma	R.	Pritchard	G.
Aleki	H.		
Aspinal	L. <i>L. Lewis</i>	Rea	F.H.
Ayers	A.H.P. (Observatory - married 1 child - now returned to N.Z.)	Rivers	M.
		Schuster	F.M.
Baker	E.J. ?	Schuster	H.
Bentley	J.	Schuster	H.G.
Bernard	J.	Schuster	J.
Blakelock	J.	Schuster	F.G.
Bower	J.M.H. (Police - married 2 children)	Schwenke	J.
Brewster	P.	Shanick	J.M. (Treasury - single)
Brownlee	B.W.	Skelton	L.
		Stanley	R.
		Tyrell	B.
Cameron	J.A. (Hospital - single)	Ulukita	F.
Carter	R.A.		
Charles	M.	Westbrook	F.
Clarke	W.	Westbrook	W.E.
Coe	J.	Williams	A.
Cook	E.	Williams	A.W. (N.Z.R.E. - married 1 child)
Cook	L.M. (Treasury - married no children)	Williams	J.F. (Dental Officer - married 2/childless)
Eden	D.R.A. (N.Z.R.E. married 2 children)	Wilson	E.
		Wilson	E.H.
Fairbairn	J. (Police - single)	Yandall	D.
Poster	J.	Yandall	P.
Gillies	K. (Audit - single)		
Guttan	F.J.H. (Native Affairs - married 2 children)		
Hancock	J.N.		
Hellesoe	C.		
Irwin	H.D.		
Jessop	J.		
Jessop	L.		
Katterna	R.E.		
Krone	H.C.		
Larch	T.		
McClymont	D.S. (Postal & Radio - single - enlisted for Air Force)		
McFall	F.J.		
McFall	R.P.		
McMillen	A. (Police - single)		
McRae	J.K. (Secretariat - single)		
Mann	H.J.		
Manuela	E.		
Meredith	W.K.		
Moors	H.W.		
Morrissey	R.J. (N.Z.R.E. - single)		
Murphy	S.T. (Treasury - single)		

Total	<u>72</u>
Part Native	52
White non-official	4
White official	9
single	7
married	2
	<u>72</u>
Single officers of (Administration	15
military age from (N.Z.R.E.	3
New Zealand employed (OBSERVATORY	2
in -	<u>20</u>
Married officers of (Administration	10
military age from (N.Z.R.E.	2
New Zealand employed (OBSERVATORY	2
in -	<u>14</u>

Figure 3: List of Samoan Enlistment for New Zealand and Overseas 1941. (Source: IT1-ex89/1/21/Part1)

Of the 72 men enlisted, 14 were categorized fit for service anywhere, which included two Chinese-Samoan men at the top of the list. Nine were considered suitable for home guard duties in New Zealand and the Pacific. Despite this categorization, some of these nine men went all the way to Italy with the 28 (Maori) Battalion.

As for the Cook Islands, no men were eligible to enlist as ‘half castes’ were considered ‘natives’ under the Cook Islands Act of 1901.¹⁴⁰ Under this Act, ‘Euronesians’ regardless of blood quantum were treated as Polynesians in every respect. In a telegram to Wellington dated 21 April 1941, the Resident Commissioner for the Cook Islands expressed his concern about the restrictions of the ethnic criterion. To avoid any public resentment he considered that ‘applications should not be extended to them [half-castes] until full-blooded Natives are accepted’ [sic].¹⁴¹

There were problems brewing in the Cook Islands, which the New Zealand government had to address as well. The two most significant problems encountered were the slowness in the process of enlistment and medical examinations caused by the remoteness of several Islands from which the recruits were drawn. The second and more critical issue that the Resident Commissioner had to attend to was the request by the Cook Islands’ recruits for dependants allowances, especially for widowed mothers’ allowances. The difficulty with this request was that there was no social security benefit scheme in the Cook Islands. The New Zealand Military forces advised that there were widowed mothers allowances allotted to family members if the recruits applied for it. In comparison to the Samoans, this issue was never discussed because they were not entirely under New Zealand administration and the question of ethnicity limitation was more important to them.

A minor problem which affected some of the European officials was the attempts by the Resident Commissioner to defer enlistment from two Resident Agents from the out Islands. These are Mr. H.H. Hickling from Mangaia and W.N.A. Allison of Atiu. The Resident Commissioner considered that, ‘These men should not be allowed to

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. (ANZ-W).

¹⁴¹ Resident Commissioner of the Cook Islands to External Affairs, 21/4/1941Ibid. (ANZ-W).

proceed at least until they have completed their term of service [as Resident Agents].¹⁴² The Resident Commissioner felt they could better serve the country by staying at their work. Hickling for example stayed in his position as resident agent throughout the war. By April 1941, 18 volunteers enlisted from the Cook Islands. All these men were full blooded Europeans. Half of these men were government officials and had to be replaced before they proceeded with their enlistment.

With the bureaucratic dilemmas out of the way, the army rules and procedures were straight forward. Recruits from Western Samoa and the Cook Islands were all shipped to New Zealand where they were to be medically examined, some for the third time, before proceeding to the training camp in Trentham. 'Euronians' who left the Pacific Island Territories for New Zealand before the war and enlisted from there did not suffer the same racial limitations. One Cook Islander was on holiday in New Zealand when war against Germany was declared. He decided to stay in New Zealand and join the army.¹⁴³ Their choice of a regiment to join was theirs alone and was not dictated to them by bureaucratic officials. Most of them though, opted to fight with the 28 (Maori) Battalion while some enlisted for other regiments, subject to whether they passed or failed the medical examination.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the factors which influenced patterns of recruitment of Pacific Island men into the New Zealand Army and the 28 (Maori) Battalion during World War II. It was a process charged not only with aspects of colonial legacy of intermarriage, but it was also one

¹⁴² Cook Island Resident Commissioners Office Public Notice: The War. 1, April 1941, IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment."(ANZ-W).

¹⁴³ IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers."(ANZ-W).

shaped by colonial Administrators' attitudes and perceptions which disadvantaged a wider sector of the Pacific Island population. These attitudes were reflected on the restrictive criteria for enlistment with an emphasis on ethnic measures more than the physical ability to fight.

The complex issue of blood quantum criteria, race relations and that of identity generated a lot of ill feelings amongst Euronians, were disadvantaged by the criteria. The Western Samoans petitions against the criteria signaled an assertion of their identity not as Pacific Islanders but as Euronians.

Enloe's discussions on the concepts of state security maps and internal colonialism help put the entire relationship between the New Zealand government and the Pacific Island Territories in perspective. One of the most striking aspects brought to the forefront by Enloe's discussions is the idea that New Zealand was only looking after its own interests in the Pacific. The possibility of using the Islanders as a resource was always there, willing to give their service in the name of God and King. The down side of this as Enloe posits, is the expendable nature of the resource, like the case of Niue and Cook Islands. Recruitment processes in Samoa was a challenge to the New Zealand administration because of the awkward political status as a mandate of the League of Nations. It became a tangle in which the Administrators had to use caution to avoid criticism. New Zealand policed the criteria and severely scrutinized the Euronians who wished to enlist for service in the Army from Samoa. However, evidence presented in the discussions showed that such strict control was never applied to the Maori or to the Pacific Islanders who enlisted in New Zealand. This inconsistent practice by the New Zealand Administrators in the Pacific affected not only the number of enlistments but the ethnicity of who should participate in the war from the Pacific.

The aspect of ethnic mobility of the Euronians made it possible for them to manage the racial criteria which almost barred them from participating in the war. In apprehension of any negative retaliation by

the newly enlisted soldiers from Samoa, efforts were made to disperse them in the various army units. However these efforts were in vain. In the battlefields of the North African, Greece, Crete and Italian Campaigns, the Pacific Island men, regardless of where they enlisted from, defied these efforts by the local Administrators and came together as a distinctive group. This time instead of using their British identity, they used their Pacific Islander identity to define themselves in one of the infantry units of the New Zealand Second Division, the 28 (Maori) Battalion.

Chapter 3

PACIFIC ISLANDERS' WAR TIME EXPERIENCES

This chapter recounts the experiences of Pacific Island soldiers during World War Two. It explores these through three oral histories undertaken for this thesis. These individuals joined the 28(Maori) Battalion and were mobilized for the North African and the Italian Campaigns during World War II. Their participation in these theatres of war indicates that they too, regardless of how small their group was, had created a new chapter in history by fighting for their beliefs and their rights. Through oral history, this chapter attempts to rescue the remnants of this special history from obscurity. It looks at their experiences in combat, some of the problems they encountered and how they, as Pacific Islanders, tried to solve them. It also looks at the nature of their relationship with the Maori soldiers. Their stories take us back to the scene of the war, and allow us to see, through their eyes, some of the atrocities they witnessed at the frontline.

As an indigenous researcher, I recognise the many difficulties in the data collection process. I feared that the participants were going to be suspicious of me and might decide not to share their stories. This was true when I started the research process. I was initially faced with the dilemma of a lack of research participants. One reason which may explain such great difficulty is the fluidity of identity of Pacific Island men. Government policy barred any full blooded or mostly indigenous Pacific Islanders from enlisting in the armed services when war broke out. Many Pacific Islanders who were already living in New Zealand at that time had to use English names so they could be eligible to be enlisted. The Samoan and the 'Euronians' had to go through a very strict screening process by Administrators before they were considered.

Even more pertinent to the oral history aspect of this thesis, and to the importance of the project, is the lack of surviving veterans to share their

experiences of the good, the bad and the ugly scenes of the war. Pacific Island veterans who served with the 28 (Maori) Battalion in World War II have become obscured in the published histories available at the moment, and their history is becoming more challenging to bring to light, because of the difficulty of finding veterans for oral histories. Cody devoted only half a sentence in the history of the 28 (Maori) Battalion while Gardiner noted Pacific Island men's accolades to only one sentence.¹⁴⁴ None of the veterans on which this research focuses kept a diary of events during the war. It is heartrending to learn that only two Pacific Islanders who went with the Maori Battalion in World War II are still alive; but with the passing of the years, the ranks of veterans of this war are being thinned, no matter their origin. This suggests that such research was long overdue and was going to need a miracle compass to direct the researcher to other sources.

I was fortunate enough to personally meet the second to last surviving Pacific Island veteran of the 28 (Maori) Battalion.¹⁴⁵ Eric Henry, who enlisted from Napier, went to Egypt with the 4th reinforcement of the Maori Battalion in 1940. He served in the North African, Greece, Crete and Italian campaigns until the end of the war in 1945.¹⁴⁶ Despite his ill health, at 88 years old, Eric still remembers his Island and Maori boys and what they stumbled upon during the war. In a deep ardent bass voice, Eric shared the good times, his anxieties and the good fortunes he had as a young man at war.

This chapter also tells the story of two other veterans. The second one was Iosefo (Joseph) Vailima Meanata, a Tongan-Maori who passed away in 1971. Accounts of Meanata's experiences with the 28 (Maori) Battalion during and after World War II were revealed mainly by his widow, Lesieli, and his eldest daughter, Mere. Aleki Ledger and a

¹⁴⁴ Gardiner, *Te Mura o Te Ahi*. p.7., Cody, *28 (Maori) Battalion* p.3.

¹⁴⁵ The other surviving veteran is Eric's brother, Ru who lives in Auckland. Requests for his contribution to the research were stopped when family advised of his illness.

¹⁴⁶ Eric Henry and Arohanui Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia," (Burnham Army Camp, Christchurch 2006: 2006).

friend, Manuel Santos, went with Vailima to the war. These men are significant to this history because they were the only three men who came out of Tonga to join the New Zealand forces beyond the Pacific at the time

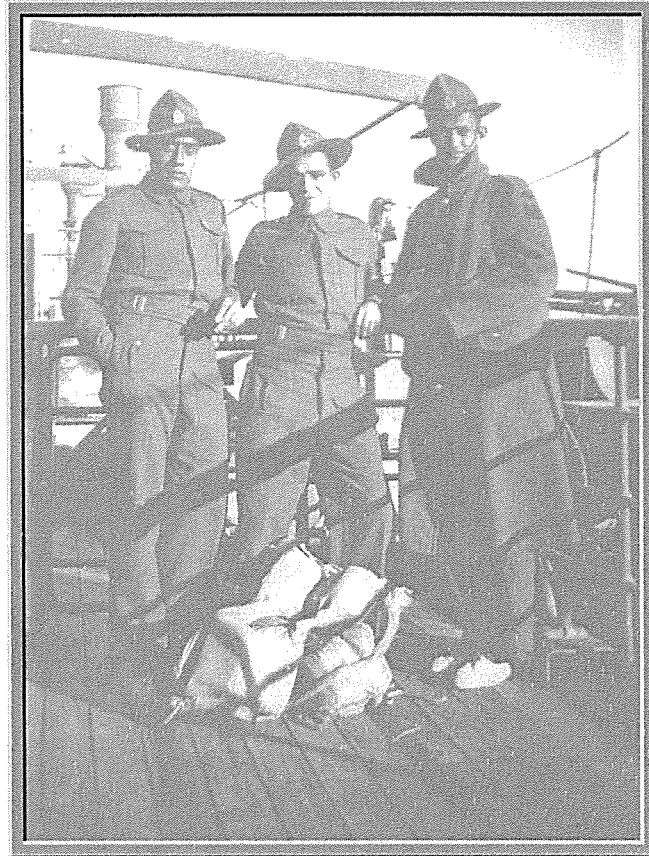


Figure 4: Tongans in the 28 (Maori) Battalion. (L-R) Joseph Vailima Meanata, Manuel Santos and Aleki Ledger. Photo not dated but is believed to be in 1941. Ledger was injured within a year of his enlistment and returned to New Zealand. (Source: Meanata Family Personal Photo Collection).

The third veteran whose experiences give us a Pacific Islander's view of aspects of World War II is Jim O'Dwyer. Sadly, this Irish-Samoan veteran of the Maori Battalion passed away in April 2005, so I did not have the privilege of getting first hand information from him about his experiences of the war. For this reason, I have not only personally interviewed the survivors, but I have also used video footage and official archives which gave me more information about the

participation of these men in the Maori Battalion. O'Dwyer and Henry were involved in several televised interviews with the Tagata Pasifika and Waka Huia programmes, in 1993, 1997 and 2005. This is an indication of Maori and Pacific Islanders' awareness of the importance of these men's contributions to history. The most important of these was the unedited footage of an interview with the two war veterans in 1997.¹⁴⁷ A variety of oral sources about the same person, persons or event help preserve the record and maintain the authenticity of the history over time. I have used this valuable source of information to complement and cross check my recent interviews with Eric Henry and his daughter Arohanui, in Christchurch. I also used the 1997 unedited footage to corroborate my interviews with the O'Dwyer clan members. They were his daughters, Rosita and Josephine, whom I had interviewed in Auckland, and his son Don, who is presently living in Samoa. Vailima passed away in 1971 and was not filmed or interviewed. Nevertheless, his widow and daughter took me through his journey with his fighting comrades. These sources become invaluable assets of history as we record aspects of the past experience of the veterans and the battle field environment they were in. From them we can learn not only of the physical conditions the men faced but also of the psychological impact their experiences had on them.

The experiences of these men are vital to a growing scholarly interest in revising and reviewing the New Zealand war effort through personal accounts, oral histories, memoirs and family stories/memories. Visual archives are also an important part of the new scholarship of Pacific Islanders in the 28 (Maori) Battalion, which, in combination with oral histories, present a very vivid account of wartime experiences. Oral histories are significant historical sources, because research participants give an insight into the range of personal experiences during the war.

¹⁴⁷ John Utanga, 'Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer (Unpublished Raw Footage)' Auckland: Tangata Pasifika, 1997)

Anna Green, a leading New Zealand oral historian, argues that memories and stories told in interviews enable us to 'reach a more finely grain and nuanced understanding of the texture of everyday life in the past'.¹⁴⁸ This connection to the senses makes oral history more rewarding to the audience of history. By listening to research participants' voices we can more easily understand the different levels of meaning and emotions and the different textures, be it sad, happy or the mere relief of being lucky to have survived. The video recordings have a similar impact but, are more meaningful in that we can visualize and hear the soldiers. Such a dimension is deficient in written records.

Oral histories give meaningful insights into the ways these individuals made sense of their dangerous enthusiasms, their selfless commitment to die for their countries and maintained their complex identities in the multifaceted context of World War II. The holistic and yet microscopic capabilities of interviews, posits Ludmilla Jordannova, points how oral history 'places the nature of human consciousness at the very heart of scholarship'.¹⁴⁹ Together with visual images, these prove to be treasures of historical enquiry. They encapsulate the position and emotions of the interviewee at that moment in time. They become what Anna Green, quoting Jules Michelet, refers to as, 'living documents'.¹⁵⁰

Oral history projects that focus on veterans' stories of the war, and funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Cultural and Heritage, have been instrumental in keeping New Zealand's war history alive. Megan Hutching,¹⁵¹ Ian McGibbon¹⁵² and Monty Soutar¹⁵³ are three recent

¹⁴⁸ Anna Green, "Oral History and History," in *Remembering: Writing Oral History*, ed. Megan Hutching (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004). p.2.

¹⁴⁹ Ludmilla Jordannova, *History in Practice* (London: 2000). p.42.

¹⁵⁰ Green, "Oral History and History." p.1.

¹⁵¹ Ian McGibbon, Megan Hutching, and Parr, eds., *Against the Rising Sun: New Zealanders Remember the Pacific War*, Megan Hutching et al., eds., *A Unique Sort of Battle: New Zealanders Remember Crete* (Auckland, New Zealand: Harper Collins New Zealand in association with the History Group, Ministry for Culture and Heritage., 2001).

¹⁵² Jock Phillips Megan Hutching ; with Ian McGibbon, David Filer., ed., *A Unique Sort of Battle: New Zealanders Remember Crete* (Auckland, New Zealand: Harper Collins New Zealand in association with the History Group, Ministry for Culture and Heritage., 2001).

historians who have compiled and edited soldier's stories. Soutar's focus is mainly on the 'C' Company of the 28 (Maori) Battalion.¹⁵⁴ John Crawford, the New Zealand Department of Defence Force historian, has published general texts on the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Forces (2NZEF) overseas campaigns during World War II.¹⁵⁵ Crawford's approach is far different from the context in which J.F. Cody produced the official history of the 28 (Maori) Battalion.¹⁵⁶ Crawford's work helps readers to understand other authors' accounts and arms neophyte historians like myself with geographic logistics of where, when and which battles the authors and research participants relate to. An example of this work is *North from Taranto*, which deals with the Italian campaign in which Eric Henry, the late Joseph Vailima Meanata, Jim O'Dwyer and other Pacific Islanders were involved.¹⁵⁷ However, these 'odd men' from the Pacific, have been marginalized in most of the official, academic and popular histories of the 28 (Maori) Battalion.¹⁵⁸ This was mainly due to the emphasis in previous texts on political motives and propaganda, and a focus on national images at the time. Since 1960, seismic changes in historical enquiry and scholarship have restored credence in oral history, which is used in this chapter as evidence of the Pacific Island soldiers' participation in the 28 (Maori) Battalion.

For the purpose of this chapter I have focused discussion on four significant themes referred to frequently throughout the interviews. The first section examines special relationships and friendships fostered, not only with other Pacific Islanders while at war, but with the Maori. The

Ian McGibbon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁵³ Soutar, ed., *New Zealand 28 (Maori) Battalion Twenty Third Renmion*.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ John Crawford, ed., *Kia Kaha New Zealand in the Second World War* (Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁵⁶ Cody, *28 (Maori) Battalion*. p.6.

¹⁵⁷ John Crawford, *North from Taranto: New Zealand and the Liberation of Italy, 1943-45* (Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Defence Force, 1994).

¹⁵⁸ Cody, *28 (Maori) Battalion*.p.6.

notion of connectedness of the Pacific Islanders to other comrades of the 28 (Maori) Battalion affects their perspectives of the war. They become the ties that bind them together as brothers, as friends and as comrades in war. Such relations affect the confidence, the reactions and most of all, the nature of participation in the war. Recruitment narratives by these Pacific Island men illuminate their own feelings as non Maori in an indigenous battalion. It tells the stories of how they survived as a collective and as individuals within the Maori Battalion and also in the New Zealand army in general.

The second most significant collection of stories deals with the scenes and battlefields as they received their first baptism of fire. The significance of such recollections gives us a distinctive texture and the terrain of where and what these veterans experienced. Related to the second theme is the third most significant collection of stories; that of injuries and fatalities of the Island boys. Such incidents came as a rude awakening to the Islanders, that their involvement in the war had deadly consequences not only on other Island soldiers but back home in the Islands as well. Oral histories from families reveal the extent of injuries and what happened in the aftermath of such battles. And lastly, I shall consider the importance of the Pacific perspective of humour as a survival strategy amongst death and destruction during the atrocities. In the oral histories, different Pacific Island characters in the Maori Battalion come into focus and the veterans remembered them for their humour.

Recruitment and Friendship

There was an interesting array of recruitment stories which were revealed in the oral histories. Henry and Vailima enlisted immediately when World War II broke out, and already had their baptism of fire in the North African frontline before O'Dwyer received his taste of war in 1941. Each of them had different paths to enlistment although they all shared the same passion of wanting to defend the empire from the

enemy.

Joseph Vailima Meanata was born and raised in Tonga by his Maori grandfather. He worked as a steward at the Nukualofa Club, which was a regular haunt of European expatriates. Vailima never entertained publicly the thought of leaving Tonga because of his loyalty to his grandfather. It was only when the elderly man passed away that he decided to travel to New Zealand to join the Army. His recruitment was a result of efforts by many New Zealand expatriates who frequented the Nukualofa Club:

[Vailima's grandfather] didn't want him ever to leave Tonga or be away from him. So as soon as the old man died he decided that he could do that. And when the recruitment officer came along, my understanding is, he was keen to go. But I understood that he was sought out anyway to, to go. It was a combination of two things. Partly they knew of his [Maori connection] and he was fit, and would be keen to go in and do something....When the guy asked him he said, "Yeah! I'll go!" [sic].¹⁵⁹

Two other men accompanied Vailima to New Zealand with the same intention of joining the army. His cousin Aleki Ledger, and a friend named Manuel Santos enlisted the same year as Vailima. None of them had ever had any encounter with warfare or joined the local Tongan Army, but all were eager to go to war. As Mere Vailima mentioned in her interview, it was her father's Maori connection that gave him solid reasons to go to war.

I think he had two agendas. One is adventure and the other is New Zealand and to find his Maori family. My understanding is he wanted to find them. And when his grandfather died, he thought that he could go. He had

¹⁵⁹ Montgomery, "Interview with L. Mataia."

more motivation to go! I think his cousin Aleki probably wanted to go ANYWAY! He's going somewhere else. And Nelo [Manuel] actually probably thought, "Ooh! Yeah I'll go! Nothing here we have to do" [sic].¹⁶⁰

The same carefree attitude was shared by O'Dwyer and Henry. 'You know when you are young and you think you can do everything. You want to go places, well this is it. Join the army' [sic].¹⁶¹ Vailima and his two Tongan comrades were too late to be included in the first contingent of the Maori Battalion, the A Company which left New Zealand in May 1940. Vailima wanted so much to join A Company because it included his Maori whanauga, unfortunately he was late. They were then registered in the B Company of the Maori Battalion, and also left New Zealand later in 1940. It seems, therefore, that links to New Zealand – whether through residence or kinship – were vital to Pacific Island men joining the Maori Battalion.

The distinctive factor about these men is that they were the only three men to have come out of Tonga with the New Zealand Forces, in the 28 (Maori) Battalion, for World War II.¹⁶² The Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force (2NZEF) disembarkation rolls listed the three men, and they are the only soldiers who cited Tonga as the addresses of next of kin.¹⁶³ The rolls also contain some Samoan and Cook Island addresses such as the registration data for O'Dwyer and Henry. The most interesting one is the information for Max Winiki, whose address for next of kin points to his mother living in a village in Tahiti.¹⁶⁴ However, in the army files, it showed that this person had lived in the Waikato

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ John Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)," (Auckland: Tagata Pasifika, 1997).

¹⁶² Lesieli Meanata, "Interview with L. Mataia," (Avondale, Auckland, New Zealand: 2006), Montgomery, "Interview with L. Mataia."

¹⁶³ Second New Zealand Army Expeditionary Force, *New Zealand Expeditionary Forces Nominal Rolls*.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

before and after the war, proving that links to New Zealand were central in the recruitment process.¹⁶⁵



Figure 5: Brothers Ru and Eric Henry during World War II.
(Source: Henry Family Album).

The link with New Zealand is reinforced by Eric Henry's recruitment story. Henry and his brother were working in Matura, south of Gisbourne and were awaiting the *Matua* to take them home, when World War II broke out. Henry, who had just completed studies at Te Aute College, a prestigious church boarding school for Maori boys, considered the possibilities of what he would do back home in the Cook Islands. He decided it was more appealing to go to war than to go home. Henry was undecided whether he should join his Te Aute school mates, who encouraged him to enlist, or to respect the New Zealand government policy that prohibited any Island boys going to war. The persistent efforts from his school mates induced him to try his luck at the enlistment queues.

¹⁶⁵ Montgomery, "Interview with L. Mataia."

We went to town one day and we saw, one of the buildings filled with men. We [Henry and younger brother] went to look and, ohhh! A lot of the boys from school [enlisting]. We called out, "What's on?" And they told us to shut up because they were all underage. And they said called out, "come join, a war is on! They were going to join to create a Maori Battalion". I knew that Island boys were not allowed to go to the war. And I didn't want to come home. I wanted to go to the war. I saw the age criterion was 21 and I worked it out and I wasn't 21 yet. But when I went up to the [recruitment] officer and they asked how old I am. I said, "21", and he said "Okay". And that was it. I was ready to go to war [sic].¹⁶⁶

Henry's brother tried the same trick of turning 21 in front of the recruitment officer. However, he was not lucky enough to go to North Africa like his brother because he was found to be underage. Instead Henry's brother was accepted as a member of the Territorial Army, who later built the Waiouru Army camp. Another reason why the war appealed to Henry was the idea of going to holy places mentioned in the Bible. When he found out that the war was in the Middle East, he immediately thought of places in the Bible and wanted to go see for himself these historical places.¹⁶⁷

Jim O'Dwyer was born in 1919, at the New Zealand Army Barracks in Western Samoa.¹⁶⁸ His father, a veteran of the South African (Boer) war, was a member of the New Zealand forces that took over Western Samoa from the Germans in 1914. Jim's father died when he was only three. His education began in his village school and then he moved to the

¹⁶⁶ Louise Mataia, "Interview with Eric Henry and Arohanui Henry," (Burnham Army Camp, Christchurch 2006: November 18 2006).

¹⁶⁷ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

¹⁶⁸ Louise Mataia, "Interview with Don O'Dwyer (Son of Jim O'Dwyer)," (Apia, Samoa: January 12 2007).

Marist school for boys in Apia. At the age of 16, Jim left for New Zealand to stay with a family friend, Aunty Bessie, and to work. He was only 20 when World War II broke out in 1939. In 1941, the war escalated after Japan bombed Pearl Harbour, the American naval base in Hawaii. The threat of war became much closer to home. His father and grandfather were both military men who believed in freedom and like them, Jim felt that he had to defend it. He enlisted in the New Zealand army and trained with the 21st Battalion in the Bay of Islands before they moved to Papakura, then to Trentham Army Camp before they were shipped to Egypt.¹⁶⁹



Figure 6: Samoan Soldiers in Maadi. Jim O'Dwyer (far right in the front row) and Jacob Foster (middle, back row). O'Dwyer and Foster are the only two soldiers identified correctly. The other soldiers are believed to be Rex Brighthouse, Edmund Cook, Louis Aspinall Doug Irwn, and Patrick Ah Kwan. All except for Brighthouse were in the 28 (Maori) Battalion. Photo was taken in Maadi, Egypt in 1942. (Source: O'Dwyer Family Album/ Tagata Pasifika Program 1993)

It was at Maadi Camp in Egypt, that Jim O'Dwyer reunited with his old Marist school mates - Edmund Cook, Louis Aspinall, Doug Irwin, and

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, Louise Mataia, "Interview with Rosita O'Dwyer and Josephine O'Dwyer," (Block House Bay, Auckland, New Zealand: November 11 2006).

Jacob 'Poe' Foster - from Western Samoa. These soldiers were part of the 72 soldiers who enlisted from Western Samoa and integrated directly into the 28 (Maori) Battalion.¹⁷⁰ Cook, Aspinall, Irwin and Foster quickly persuaded their classmate to join the Maori Battalion. With not much effort, Jim was convinced to transfer to the 28th (Maori) Battalion shortly after. In describing this reunion, Jim stated:

I was instructing some of our troops in Maadi for marching and stuff. And some of the Samoan boys who were already there in Maadi heard I was there. So they found out where I was one day and when I looked up one day, there were about four, five of them. I looked up and said to myself, "I've seen these fellas before". I looked up again and yes. They were all my school mates from Samoa. Dougy Irwin, [Edmund] Cookie, Poe Foster, Louis Aspinall. And of course we had a big *fiafia* [signals a hugging pose] and from there on they started to get me to join them in 28 (Maori) Battalion. And I said, "But I am with the 21st" and they said, "Yeah! But we want you to come with us!" [sic].¹⁷¹

It was in Egypt too that O'Dwyer and his classmates befriended Eric Henry and his brother. They all shared a common connection as Pacific Islanders within the Maori Battalion, and undertook an unspoken obligation to look after each other while at war. 'Dad always felt responsible for the boys. Every time they go on a mission, he said that when they come back he always does a headcount of the island boys to make sure that no one is missing.'¹⁷² A televised interview with O'Dwyer has him recalling some of the Samoans and their responsibilities during the war years. This gives us a sense that there

¹⁷⁰ Voluntary Enlistments Recruits, 10/4/1941, IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers." (ANZ-W)

¹⁷¹ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

¹⁷² Don O'Dwyer, "Interview with L.Mataia " (Apia, Samoa: 2007).

were a handful of Pacific Islanders around. The majority though were Samoans.

In the Maori Battalion, four of our Samoan boys were in the Signals Troops. They were Louis Aspinall, Jacob Foster, Eddie [did not mention the forth name]...And there was myself and Doug, he was in headquarters, I in D company with Eric. But [there were] others of the Samoan boys. [They] were either in the 23rd or 21st Battalion. There were a couple of Samoans in the 21st. After every battle, when we come back and we have R and R we always make it a point to come together. That's when the fun starts.¹⁷³

To get by, one had to rely on the camaraderie of the other soldiers. Such was the relationship between Jim O'Dwyer and his 28 (Maori) Battalion comrade, Eric Henry. Even though World War II ended in 1945, this friendship, which started on the battlefield in Egypt in 1941, only ended when Jim O'Dwyer passed away in 2005.¹⁷⁴

In one of Tagata Pasifika's oral histories, Jim O'Dwyer and Eric Henry relayed their great appreciation of their time with the Maori Battalion and their warmhearted memories.¹⁷⁵ As non Maori, the Islanders must have some reserved feelings towards the Maori members of the Battalion. Nevertheless all these feelings dissipated when they realized that they were just the same as the Maori. Describing this relationship, Jim O'Dwyer stated,

The Maori boys! You couldn't wish for a better crowd to be with. They know we were islanders. They were curious at the start. But when they found out we were

¹⁷³ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

¹⁷⁴ Henry is not aware that Jim passed away in 2005. During the interview he asked if I have been to see Jim.

¹⁷⁵ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

doing things the same to what they were doing,
everything clicked in to place!¹⁷⁶

O'Dwyer's comment suggests that people or rather, soldiers were suspicious of the participation of Pacific Islanders in what was supposed to be a solely Maori battalion. It also illuminates the camaraderie of these veterans and the security they felt as a minority group within the Battalion. Such characteristics are attributed to the ethnic adaptability of the Pacific Island individuals.

I never regretted one moment of my time I had with the Maori Battalion boys. In fact because of their quick action when I got wounded, otherwise I wouldn't be here today [sic]. And the fighters, they're just A-One [A1].¹⁷⁷

Although it was the general impression among the public that all those in the Maori Battalion were Maori, this was not the case, but it is a view which was commonly accepted by many. To the Pacific Island men themselves, there was always the desire to maintain their distinctiveness. 'Eric and Samoan boys all in a bunch. Maori boys in a bunch. And we all go to town and God help the poor Gypos! Everyone all worked together, sleep together and have a good time together.'¹⁷⁸ It is obvious from this observation one can be a part of the many different groups within a battalion, despite socialising together. Both the Islanders and the Maori accepted the differences and at the same time reciprocated, as in the Polynesian culture, the mutual respect and understanding. Again, O'Dwyer described their good relations as, 'There is no animosity what so ever, there has never been any animosity between the Maori and Island boys.'¹⁷⁹

The most interesting theme revealed through these oral histories was the camaraderie and the friendships fostered not only among the Pacific

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

Islanders themselves, but also with the Maori soldiers. The mutual feelings of trust and affection were reflected in how they related to each other in battle and continued after the war ended. A deeper notion of their connectedness is in their shared Polynesian ancestry. The Pacific Island men were visitors in New Zealand and the Battalion, *whakapapa* or descent lines envisaged the indigenous Maori as *teina*, younger, and thus more junior brothers with a reciprocal responsibility to assist their distant Polynesian relatives as older brothers or *tuakana*.¹⁸⁰ With camaraderie comes the responsibility to look after each other during battles. Especially when your comrade is also your brother, *uso*.¹⁸¹ I referred earlier in the thesis about the argument by Alessandro Portelli on the value of oral history. He argued that the most unique element of oral sources tells us not just what people did, but also what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing and what they now think they did.¹⁸² Their stories bring to light the familial ties and personal kin relations, aspects of what goes on in the war which are not in official histories.

One of Henry's most important responsibilities while at school in Te Aute was to look after his brother. This continued while at war, especially when his brother reached Cairo, where he was stationed. 'Many of us tried our best not to keep our brothers in the war zone. You try your best to get them sent back, or out of the battle, because you are in, and you know what it's like'.¹⁸³ On many occasions, Henry succeeded in persuading his brother. But on occasions, which he knew would be beyond his control, breaking the law can be considered a minimal offense compared to living a lifetime with a guilty conscience for not saving one's brother.

¹⁸⁰ Whakapapa – geneology, teina/tuakana refers to the traditional Maori relationship between older (tuakana) and younger (teina).

¹⁸¹ Uso- Samoan word for 'brother'

¹⁸² Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. p.50.

¹⁸³ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

We went to Cairo with my brother. The MPs [Military Police] came along, and they started talking. I popped one of them, and when they turned around, I told them "He did it, I didn't do it He did it." They threw Ru in the boot, and they took him to the Punishment Centre. The idea is to keep him away from the battle. For us, we prefer to have our brothers sent away, far away from the battle field.¹⁸⁴

Henry never regretted doing this for his brother. He also considered his tactic much more humane than the other guys who took extreme measures to save their brothers. 'Mine was quiet nice, but this other fellow was not so lucky. He shot his brother's leg, so he could get his brother sent away'.¹⁸⁵

Another significant aspect of this story is the multiple roles, identities and expectations for these soldiers to balance out. At the same time, they had to deal with the reality of losing loved ones, friends or even becoming a prisoner of war. The close relationship of these Pacific Island men in the Maori Battalion helped them as individuals during their shared ordeal. O'Dwyer, Vailima and Henry all had similar charismatic personalities which attracted other soldiers to them. One such characteristic was being able to socialize with others and respect their comrades' feelings and beliefs.

I actually think that he [Vailima] used to socialize quite well. So that wouldn't have been a problem for him. Because he was a Maori too, he probably had an affinity with the Maori ones. And he probably adjusted quite well. And I think the other two; they would have been taken along with him [sic].¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia."

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Montgomery, "Interview with L. Mataia."

This affinity and closeness with the Maori Battalion comrades continued long after they returned from the war. Both Mere and Lesieli acknowledged that Santos and Ledger were always part of their family and they were also accepted as part of theirs. The Santos, who were not blood kin, became their family because of the shared experience with them. 'I saw both of those guys later on in life, they always sort of looked for him and appreciated, you know, if there were family things on, like we were included in the Santos things' [sic].¹⁸⁷



Figure 7: Joseph Vailima Meanata. (Meanata Family Album)

Battlefields

Camaraderie and friendships continued onto the battlefield. The battlefields of North Africa, Greece, Crete and Italy became the graveyard for the willing martyrs of the 28 (Maori) Battalion. The stench of the fast decaying bodies and the semi desert-like terrain,

¹⁸⁷ Meanata, "Interview with L. Mataia.", Montgomery, "Interview with L. Mataia."

flattened to rubble by bombs and booby traps offered no comfort for any soldier. Everyone was on high alert at all times, knowing the risk that every step on the battle ground can be a last one. Far away from home the Pacific Island soldiers quickly got acquainted with the smell of burnt bodies and the painful cries from agony and injury. Such traumatic surroundings can actually break a man's defenses.

The men, both Pacific and Maori, kept their spirits high and worked together to ensure that no one was left behind. In an unedited interview with a journalist in 1997, O'Dwyer claimed that feelings of uncertainty and fear had to be put aside when the battle is on. 'You must never let those things get to you. The moment you do that, you sink. You are finished.'¹⁸⁸ Eric Henry later claimed that this was always the case for all of them. 'Every time I go in to battle I've got to think, "it's either the German or me who is going to get killed."' So, all the time I have to fight and get them first before they get me.'¹⁸⁹

Oral histories reveal that the environment of the battlefields were just as important as the dreaded war that was fought on it. Fighting the blistering sand storms and the sun baked sand during the day followed by the wintry gusts at night was another battle the Pacific Islanders and Maori fought. The sensory scenes of the battlefields are replayed forever in the memories of those who fought on the sands of Egypt or the chilled wintry mountains of Italy. This further suggests that oral histories are important because they evoke the smells and climate – they are sensory and therefore personal and vivid.

Mere Vailima stated in her interview that Henry and her father discovered that the location of the 2NZEF Headquarters at Maadi Camp in Egypt was too hostile in landscape and very hot, even for Pacific Islanders. 'My father always said he hated Egypt because of the heat and the flies at camp. In fact there was a time where he got into trouble

¹⁸⁸ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia."

for cutting off the sleeves of his army shirt because he was too hot.¹⁹⁰

O'Dwyer added to this,

During the day it is hot like anything else. If you go from about six o'clock [in the evening] to about three o'clock [in the morning], you look around for about three to four blankets. It's freezing! From one extreme to the other! Italy had grapes and trees where as Egypt had sand and sand storms by the millions and dust. Over in Italy it was a different story. Everything green!¹⁹¹

Perhaps the only good thing about the desert was that there was always a *hangi* every now and then without any difficulty. Vailima captured one of these moments while at war, like the photograph below.



Figure 8: Vailima (with his hand up in the middle) and his Maori Battalion comrades waiting for the Hangi to be cooked. On the back of the photo is written the following – ‘Koe fuke eni a e mau umu buaka mo e kumala. Kai lelei aubito hage be nau i Toganaa i he aho nae fai ai e mau umu’. –‘We are unearthing our umu now. It’s pork and kumara. Very nice food which reminds me of the days that we used to eat umu in Tonga’. Note that the spelling uses the old Tongan alphabet. (Source: Meanata Personal Collection).

¹⁹⁰ Montgomery, "Interview with L. Mataia."

¹⁹¹ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

The Italian campaign started in the middle of winter. Apart from South Island Maori and those living close to the mountains in the North Island of New Zealand, the majority of the Maori Battalion, which included the Pacific Islanders, had their first encounter with snow in Italy. This experience left a profound imprint on Henry's memory. At 88 years of age, Henry still remembered this encounter as if it happened a few days ago and the reactions by some of the Island boys. A similar oral account was recorded in the 1997 unedited records of Tagata Pasifika.

We come from a tropical island then, to a desert and then snow. A lot of people talked about it and we wondered what it is, until you run into one....preparing to go into battle and the snow [build up] crashed down the tent and the snow crashed down on you. That was funny. I remember Doug was fixing dinner and he was giving a cup of coffee when the tent roof came down. Ha! [sic].¹⁹²

The Pacific Island soldiers were laughing when they came face to face with snow for the first time in their lives. It was so hilarious for them that they almost forgot they were in the battle zone. Men's lives depended, not only on their work as a team and as soldiers but also on their ability to use humour in the face of difficulty.

It was in Crete and Greece that the Maori Battalion displayed their traditional fighting styles in their agile manipulation of the bayonet gun. Such application of traditional fighting techniques to a modern war would have put proud smiles on tribal kaumatua¹⁹³ such as Sir Apirana Ngata; an acknowledgement of such a worthy battalion for Tumatauenga, God of War.

The Pacific Islander soldiers, like the Maori volunteers, had no formal military training before joining the Maori Battalion, but they learnt combat techniques quickly. Henry and O'Dwyer attributed this

¹⁹² Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia."

¹⁹³ Kaumatua – tribal elder(s).

successful adaptation of the traditional fighting techniques of the Maori and Pacific Islanders to the using of their hands and hand made tools for hunting, fishing and in combat instead using machinery or weapons. One of the advantages which the Maori battalion had in combat was their fast action during the bayonet charges. 'This is because of the use of [the] bayonet on the battle ground is similar to the 'taiaha'¹⁹⁴ used by Maori, the 'ko' in the Cooks Islands, and the 'tao' for used by Samoans and Tongans.'¹⁹⁵ These are traditional weapons used by Polynesians in traditional warfare. The movements of thrusting and parrying are taught at a very young age to Island and Maori boys by elders

There were also some momentous events in the war zone that veterans found unforgettable. For a long time, these events were considered unimportant by many but to the soldiers these are records of traumatic experiences, which have extensive effects on individuals, families and communities. Such trauma requires time to heal and the therapeutic aspect of oral history helps draw out the memory by talking about it and perhaps coming to terms with it. One of the most important events remembered by Henry, in the recent interview, is the horrors of a massacre that occurred in Sora, a town in the province of Frosinone, north west of where the battle of Cassino was later fought. Henry remembered arriving at Sora with some of his battalion members and discovering the aftermath of a massacre of the local children by the Germans.

We attacked Sora. When we got there, OH! [Shaking his head in remembrance of the terror he saw]. Parents were lying on the ground crying. And I said, "What's the matter?" And they said, "All their kids, all dead!" They told us, The Germans, German youth. They were living

¹⁹⁴ Taiaha (Maori), 'Ko' (Cook Islands), 'Tao'(Samoa) all translate to 'spear' in English language

¹⁹⁵ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

there and they were drinking wine. And what happened was their kids were playing outside. So what the German did was, he got out the grenade, pulled the trigger out and called the kids saying, "Do you want lollies?" The kids came running and he threw the thing [grenade] and BOOM! That's what knocked off the kids! [sic].¹⁹⁶

To Henry and his comrades, such atrocities committed against children justified an immediate attack on the German youth.

When we heard this, Ohh! We were all fired up! My mates and I, we were up! Go to war! We went straight at them. And we caught quite a few of these Germans there. They were terrified but we charged them. We captured them there at Sora [sic].¹⁹⁷

Henry also claimed that their actions further boosted the reputation of the Maori Battalion, and the residents of Sora were very grateful for avenging the death of their children.

After 1941, the diplomats were debating whether to take New Zealand troops home to halt the Japanese advances in the Pacific, or to stay in North Africa for the war. The Australians had withdrawn their forces from the Middle East to help defend the homeland, and at one stage it seemed that New Zealand was going to follow the same course, an embarrassment for Britain. Nevertheless, the 'Europe first' policy prevailed and the troops were not withdrawn. This meant a prolonged war for Vailima, O'Dwyer, Henry and others.

After the North African Campaigns, the Maori Battalion was told that they were going home. Little did they know the Italian battle just across the Mediterranean Sea had already reached a stalemate and needed the New Zealand troops to break it. Cody, Wira Gardiner and others document this battalion's operation thoroughly but do not have the

¹⁹⁶ Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia."

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

Pacific texture of the soldier experience. Henry vividly remembers the fluctuation of morale:

We were told that we were going home. And we were all happy and we went back to Maadi to pack our stuff. And then eventually we suddenly realize that we were doing a lot of walking. And the walking went further and further away from camp and soon we found ourselves in Alexandria. "Why are we here?" we asked. An again the answer was, "we are going home". Again we were happy and got on the ship to go to Italy and then at Taranto. The truth came out. The eighth army was held up and couldn't go forward and the fifth army, the Americans couldn't go forward and they need the New Zealand Army to make the break [sic].¹⁹⁸

Taranto, according to Henry, was the preparation place for the first daylight battle in Italy. The Battle of Orsonga was to capture enemy territory in Florence leading up to the brutal battle of Cassino. Soldiers were rallied and told to send messages home to New Zealand.¹⁹⁹ Such action suggests the urgency of war and sudden realization that a hard battle was expected which might result in a violent ending, and that Radio New Zealand broadcast of messages and entertainment was the last mooring to the familial anchor back in New Zealand.

The Pacific men were also given the chance to say their goodbyes. It was sad because there was no radio service in the islands at the time, and these broadcasts never reached the Pacific Islands. One moving farewell to their families, composed and sung by the Pacific soldiers was recorded, and was only released in 2006. This audio archive is the result of a joint effort by the 28 (Maori) Battalion Association and Alexander

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, Mataia, "Interview with Eric Henry and Arohanui Henry.", Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

¹⁹⁹ Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia.", Mataia, "Interview with Eric Henry and Arohanui Henry.", Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

Turnbull Library.²⁰⁰ Led by the charismatic O'Dwyer, the Pacific Island men sang in the 1943 Taranto 28 (Maori) Battalion concert about their love for their countries and of their being in the war to give glory for their countries. The last two verses illustrate the brutality of the battle front. It also suggests the feeling of battle weariness but they have to fight on.

Tiga o le faigata	Though it is hard,
O pulu faga ma mea papa	the bullets and bombs.
Ae leai se vaivai o	But surrender we not
Samoa o loo faatali mai.	for Samoa awaits.
Samoa ia alofagia	Samoa we plead
Talosaga ia molia	you to pray [for us]
I lenei faigata	during this hardship[of war]
O malo o Europa. ²⁰¹	in the countries of Europe.



Figure 9: Jim O'Dwyer during World War II (Source: O'Dwyer Family Album/ Tagata Pasifika Program, 1993)

The New Zealand Division's attempt to take Orsogna at the end of 1943 brought an unexpected end of the war for O'Dwyer, and tragically for

²⁰⁰ Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, and Radio New Zealand Sound Archives, "Ake, Ake, Kia Kaha E!"

²⁰¹ Ibid. Track 4, Lyrics transcribed and translated by Louise Mataia.

others. Fought in blizzard conditions, the operation succeeded, but was earned at a high cost of casualties. Jacob Foster was killed in action. Jim O'Dwyer, who had a brotherly relationship with him wanted to retrieve the body. 'Dad said it took about a week to convince his commanding officers to retrieve the bodies.'²⁰² This can be attributed to the heavy snow fall and aggressive patrolling and shelling by the Germans.²⁰³ O'Dwyer took Eric and other members of D Company to retrieve Jacob's body and any others still living.

At the ambush site, one of the Maori boys pointed out where a body was lying. When O'Dwyer got there, he immediately knew it was Foster because of the brown hair. By then, the Germans had booby-trapped all bodies, targeting anyone who returned to collect the casualties. O'Dwyer rushed over to Jacob's body, 'after a week I still had a feeling that he was still alive'.²⁰⁴ He described how his war ended.

When we got to the incident area, one of the Maori boys came up to me and said "Jimmy, I know where your mate is." I asked him "Who?" He replied "Jacob Foster." I asked again "Where?" He said "Down there, the track there, lying there." I told three boys of my sections to come with me. When we got there, I saw him laying there, three of them. Jacob, I know with brown hair, Lou Paul the officer, and the sergeant. I walked up, sort of lift up Foster, get him out of there, and there's the explosion. It's a booby trap! One of the boys must have stood on the booby trap and then, BOOF! The EXPLOSION! I got wounded, my stomach, my arms, you know. THAT WAS THE END OF MY WAR! [sic]²⁰⁵

²⁰² Rosita O'Dwyer and Josephine O'Dwyer, "Interviewed with L. Mataia," (Block House Bay, Auckland, New Zealand: 2006).

²⁰³ Crawford, *North from Taranto: New Zealand and the Liberation of Italy, 1943-45*

²⁰⁴ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

Years after the war, O'Dwyer related the enormity of his horrific injuries to his son.

In his own words he described to me what happened to him. He said, "the booby trap blew up my stomach. All of my intestines were running out, but I had the presence of mind that I was still alive and I stick my fist in there to stop it because it kept coming out. My arm was all shattered, and was just hanging down by the skin. My leg was totally smashed, with a big huge gash across the back of his back."²⁰⁶

Henry was the first soldier to reach O'Dwyer. Shocked by the site of his comrade's horrific wounds he had to quickly run to get a stretcher bearer.²⁰⁷ Henry returned to find other soldiers were already shifting O'Dwyer's body on to a stretcher. The Germans open fire with the machine guns and were shelling at the same time. Henry had to quickly get back to the war while O'Dwyer was carried away. He thought it was the last time he would ever see his friend again. '...to me, I thought my friend was gone, dead!'²⁰⁸

In rescuing O'Dwyer, two Maori soldiers were shot and killed straight away. Don, who explained the intimate details of his father's movement during his injury claims it was the quick thinking of the Maori boys that saved him. He claimed that his father was always appreciative of the two soldiers who helped him. 'This is why my father loves the Maori people. He would start, "Under all that fire!" He said they grabbed him, picked him up and rushed him to a stone building by the road where the medics were located'.²⁰⁹

Jim was ready to die but was interrupted by a priest. Don further detailed this encounter while heavy fighting was still on. 'He said, right

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia."

²⁰⁸ Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia."

²⁰⁹ O'Dwyer, "Interview with L.Mataia ".

in the middle of this blooming battle, there's a priest giving him his last rites.'²¹⁰ Jim O'Dwyer told this story in his own words:

I looked up again, and started to moan because of the pain. My arm was hanging by the skin. I looked up and there's a dark shadow hanging over me. I said to myself "what's this?" I looked again, it's a priest, a catholic priest. I said to him "Father, I'm not going to die". The priest replied "Yes son, Bless you son!" After saying that, the priest did the last sacrament cross. After that, I started to faint, then I kind of black out, and did not know much after that [sic].²¹¹

O'Dwyer's exit from the battle of Orsogna was atrocious. He was taken from hospital to hospital before he ended up in Maadi, six months after he was first wounded. It was at the hospital in Maadi that he saw more horrific remnants of bodies after an ammunition-ship at the harbour was torpedoed by the Germans. He stated, 'All these hundreds and hundreds of people being brought in by stretchers. Some of them got arms missing, legs missing. And were all yelling. And they looked like moa tunupa'u - barbequed chicken! Like they've gone black, burned on a barbeque' [sic].²¹²

Henry and other Pacific Islanders like Doug Irwin and Edmund Cook and the rest of the Maori Battalion continued to fight with great difficulty in the bloodiest Italian campaign - the battle of Cassino in 1944. The Maori were very much against the bombing of the monastery. 'Because it was a holy place to them.'²¹³ This Maori stance against such a blasphemous act of war is similar to what the Islanders

²¹⁰Ibid.

²¹¹ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

²¹² O'Dwyer, "Interview with L.Mataia".

²¹³ Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia."

also believed in. Sacred places are taboo and it is sacrilege to bomb it. 'However, Americans bombed it.'²¹⁴

The battle of Cassino was a great loss to the New Zealand division. About 1,400 New Zealand casualties resulted from an assault which lasted eleven days, from the 15th to the 26th March 1944.²¹⁵ Officers of the Second New Zealand Division were bitterly disappointed with this outcome. In the end, Monte Cassino had to be bypassed. The natural elements, continuous rain and snow added to the chaos.

You're walking around here and the next thing you know a German was standing in front of you. It's either you or him. Quick! The whole time we were there, you actually didn't know where your frontline is. It was all very confusing. But we managed to live it through and the only thing we could do was bypass it. We went around it [sic].²¹⁶

Humour

The battlefield can be a place of death and destruction. Among it all there are always those characters who become a point of admiration. It is these characters who represent the other side of the war. The Maori and Pacific sense of humor are similar. This aspect of the Polynesian character helped the Maori battalion cope with the trauma of war. Wira Gardiner cited these funny moments of comradeship in *Te Mura O Te Ahi*.²¹⁷

In these oral histories, similar attitudes were revealed when the veterans mentioned peculiar events which happened during the war. Two of these incidents involved a Cook Islander by the name of Willie Woodpine. In

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Crawford, *North from Taranto: New Zealand and the Liberation of Italy, 1943-45* . p. 20.

²¹⁶ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

²¹⁷ Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*. pp.158-163.

each case, humour can be seen as a strategy to cope with the tragic circumstances. O'Dwyer in the unedited interview recalled this funny fellow.

During one advance, one of our officers, Boy Tomoana, was going along in the heat of the battle, Ha Ha! And he saw Willie Woodpine, flat on his back reading a book. In the middle of the action! And so he stopped and he said, "Willie, what are you doing reading a book there?" And he says, "well I'm trying to keep my mind off from what is going on here!" And that is true story! Ha Ha! This Willie Woodpine, he is a really funny fellow.²¹⁸

Willie's novel way of relieving his nervousness in the middle of the war was so unique that his Platoon officer shared with Cody this story. Cody wrote perhaps, not knowing that Willie was a Pacific Islander:

One soldier introduced the novel, possibly unique, method of calming his nerves by reading a book during waits for the barrage to lift; Lieutenant Tomoana was startled to find any of his men with such pronounced literary leanings. In a letter to the author (Cody) he says: During our advance a young fellow, Goodwillie, R. T. M., took a book with him and as we went to ground he promptly lay on his back with his head to the enemy and commenced to read his book. An act of bravado really to take his mind off the battle. At one stage a mortar bomb landed close to him and his mind was soon brought back to the job in hand. Quite a sound idea in theory. I witnessed all this but said nothing. You know yourself all sorts of methods are used to conquer the feeling of fear.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ O'Dwyer, "Interview with L.Mataia ".

²¹⁹ Cody, *28 (Maori) Battalion*. pp.332-3.

Another weird experience told by Henry of his Island friend Willie was the act which led to his death. However, his innocent and honest remarks and sense of humor stripped of any patriotic perspective or rhetoric is one example of the truth spoken by soldiers who have had enough of the war. His view was shared by many soldiers, regardless of what they were fighting for.

He was killed. It was because he was standing around trying to copy me. "I said to him, what are you doing standing and walking around us for?" And he said, "I am trying to get my first wound so I can go back home." This was in Italy. We were all trying to get wounds so we can go back home. Ha Ha! We had enough of the war already!²²⁰

Conclusion

The employment of oral history in documenting the story of the Pacific Island soldiers in the Maori Battalion during World War II is very important. This research tool reveals new perspectives from the Pacific Island Maori Battalion veterans, which have never been recorded before. It highlights those who have been marginalised for over sixty years because of the different priorities in the written histories. Many of the Pacific Islanders who went with the Maori Battalion died in faraway lands. Family narratives help tell the story of these fathers. The families' contribution to this story is valuable too as their relationships with their fathers are still within living memories.

Interviews and video footage of the research participants showed different views, opinions, feelings, the relationships, and the camaraderie fostered on the battlefields. These human interactions enabled them to cope with the trauma of war. The Pacific Islanders' responses to the battlefield and their relationship to other soldiers were first and foremost

²²⁰ Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia."

distinctively cultural and were in line with the concept of upholding the 'mana' Maori.

The dangerous theatre of war was a foreign environment to both the Pacific Islander soldiers and the Maori. Through the articulation of traditional perspectives and protocols, the Pacific Islanders applied themselves and managed to stay as a distinctive group within the Maori Battalion. Friendships were made and strengthened by the bizarre circumstances of war. The Battalion managed to form a network that enabled them to communicate during the war, taking responsibility for their own battlefield family, even to the point of risking and indeed giving their lives for their comrades.

Chapter 4

ANOTHER BATTLE AT HOME

This chapter examines the experiences of the families of soldiers' who went overseas either from New Zealand or the Pacific Islands to the battlefield. Most of the Pacific Islanders who went away to war with the Maori Battalion were young and single lads. It was only when they returned from war that they started families. Nevertheless, examining the family experiences through their children's and wives' perspectives can give us intimate insight into the way the war left its mark on these young men. It is through the lenses of the family that we can get insight into a different kind of battle that each individual soldier had to fight after the war. I argue that the process of healing for these Pacific Island soldiers took place through their families, and suggest that the Pacific Island or the Polynesian aspects of family became the agency for rehabilitation, especially when the state ceased to extend its help.

I also examine the significance of the rehabilitation processes set up by the New Zealand government for those who returned from the war. A close study of this scheme brings to light the different ways compensation was distributed and handled by the New Zealand government within New Zealand and the Pacific Island Territories. Their peripheral participation in written history mirrors their entitlement to war pensions and other monetary compensation. This Rehabilitation Funds scheme applied only to soldiers residing in New Zealand, which was a great disadvantage to those who decided to go back home to the Islands to reside. This scheme included loan benefits, free educational training, and other family assistance programs for the returned soldiers. Island soldiers who returned home were only entitled to very limited Army benefits and these benefits ceased when a soldier was discharged

from the Army.²²¹ Numerous efforts were made by the New Zealand administrators in Samoa and in the Cook Islands to raise compensation funds for returned soldiers, but these efforts were in vain. The local business communities also rallied to support the soldiers.

Literature Review

In Chapter One, I referred to the recent shift in the subject matter of military histories. Historians have begun to focus on personal narratives of returned servicemen. These personal histories momentarily immortalize the soldier at the time when they asserted themselves as individuals and their experiences during and after the war.²²² Examples include Martyn Thompson's accounts of soldiers' stories in *Our War* which looks at the African Desert Campaigns; *Night After Night* is Max Lambert's description of the horrors of aerial warfare and Daniel Riddiford's tale, edited by Yvonne Riddiford, is based on his experiences as a prisoner of war feature in *Committed to Escape*.²²³ *Scars of the Heart* by Chris Pugsley is a compilation of New Zealand's war history, celebrating this war experience over two centuries.²²⁴ The recently published work by Megan Hutching, Ian McGibbon, and Alison Parr detail stories and photographs of battles fought by New Zealand soldiers in the war of the Pacific.²²⁵ However, these recent publications rarely tell of the dark and tragic aftermath of the war, particularly the process of returning to civilian life, raising a family and the responses of children to their father's wartime experiences.

²²¹ New Zealand Rehabilitation Secretariat, *War History of Rehabilitation in New Zealand 1939 to 1965: Ex-Servicemen of World War II (1939-1945); Occupational Troops in Japan; Forces in Korea Waters and Malaya or Malayan Waters*. (Wellington: Rehabilitation Board Secretariat, 1965).

²²² Richard H. Kohn, "The Social History of the American Soldier: A Review and Prospectus for Research," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 86, no. 3 (1981). p.553 – 355.

²²³ Yvonne Riddiford, ed., *Committed to Escape* (Martinborough, N.Z. : Ruamahanga Press 2004).

²²⁴ Ian McGibbon, Megan Hutching, and Parr, eds., *Against the Rising Sun: New Zealanders Remember the Pacific War*

²²⁵ Chris Pugsley et al., *Scars on the Heart: Two Centuries of New Zealand at War*. (Auckland: David Bateman in association with Auckland Museum, 1996).

The significance of these histories lies in how we see the individual personalities through the war. There is danger, however, with this perspective. All these books tend to share a similar perspective. The protagonist always wins in the end, because we are reading histories of the victors, by the victors. To query family members of veterans about the war experience can be humiliating for them. Some may feel that the veteran might be perceived as weak and different from all the other 'heroes' of war. If we, as historians, tend to report or select only the positives in the writing of history, then we are not fulfilling our responsibility to society to record the nature of events as truthfully as we can with our analytical and research tools. Therefore, I share Ian Stuart's stand about reporting war stories and experiences, 'Good or bad, the stories will be told.'²²⁶

For most soldiers, the memories of war continued to haunt them when they got back home. Each of them dealt with their demons differently. While the Army Department provided war pensions and the Government provided the rehabilitation assistance for economic welfare,²²⁷ their mental rehabilitation was overlooked, and when authorities recognized the need, the realization came too late. An example of this was the complaints laid to the Maori Welfare officers about high alcohol abuse, especially by men who had been to war.²²⁸ One attempt was made to solve this problem by the Maori Welfare Officers, who initiated the establishment of the 28 (Maori) Battalion Association for men who shared similar experiences of the war in 1950. Reunions were the main activity of the Association. These reunions brought the veterans together for a few days in fellowship. However, in its early stages, the

²²⁶ Ian Stuart, "War and Media," *RSA Review* April (2003).

²²⁷ Defence Military Service, IT-1ex69/144Pt1, "Defence Military Service.", IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers.", New Zealand Army Education Rehabilitation Service, *Serviceman to Civilian* (Cairo: 2N.Z.E.F. Education Rehabilitation Service, 1944).(ANZ-W).

²²⁸ Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*. p.183.

Association did little to ease the pain of the war for individuals scattered around New Zealand and in the Pacific Islands.

The Second World War had numerous lasting effects, many of which may never be known. On the global scale, the cost of lives was great. Approximately 55-62 million soldiers and civilians lost their lives. The geo-political boundaries of most of Europe and East Asia were redrawn after World War II. Economies recovered at swift tempo to meet fast growing, post-war population growths. The threat of Fascism as an international movement was annihilated. For a period of time, countries who participated in World War Two seemed to recover at a tremendous pace. This raised the morale of the whole world from the 'baptisms of fire' they had passed through.²²⁹ On the micro level, none was more affected by the war than the soldier himself. Some, more than others, were tormented by their frontline experiences and the enormity of the trauma they witnessed. In New Zealand, soldiers who exited their front doors and stepped into the frontline, returned as different men. In addition to this, thousands met tragic deaths and only memories of their bravery in the form of telegrams and medals reached home.

Coming Home

By June 1945, all the campaigns in which the Maori Battalion was a part had already been concluded triumphantly, despite the high casualties. The capture of Trieste in early May, by the Allies was expected to be the last moment of glory to end the Italian campaign by New Zealanders before going home. But attempts by the Yugoslav Forces, commanded by Lieutenant Marshall Tito, and backed by Stalin, turned Trieste into a hotspot. It almost erupted onto a battle in Malfalcone, west of Trieste. Following persistent warnings by Lieutenant General Bernard Freyberg and other Allied commanders about the unnecessary consequences of

²²⁹ Ibid, p.183.

such a petty ego-driven conquest on Tito's part, the Yugoslavian Forces withdrew. The New Zealand forces remained in Trieste until Marshall Tito decided to enter into a Peace Treaty.²³⁰ Finally, Trieste was liberated and the curtains came down on this theatre of war.

The young Maori Battalion soldiers, which included the Pacific Islanders, were weary and worn down from war, and ready to come home. The only possible alternative was redeployment in the Pacific to take up defence against Japan. Many did not choose this long way home. Gardiner sums up the common feeling of the soldiers: 'The majority seemed to have had enough. Those with families just wanted to go home to pick up the threads of life. For many, life would never be the same again. Nevertheless, they all wanted to see Aotearoa as quickly as possible.'²³¹ Following military protocol, memorial services for fallen comrades took place, and then a convoy carrying most of the New Zealand troops set sail for home.

At night while at sea the entire convoy became a phantom as it sailed into darkness. All the lights were turned off on deck except for the HMS *Achilles*, which led the homeward bound voyage in 1945.

'The *Achilles* was the only ship with the lights on. It was patrolling all that time because Japan had not surrendered by that time. All the ships' windows were blocked. Up the top it was called "Dark Deck" and down below we were always playing cards to win some money' [sic].²³²

Eric Henry, added that it was only when the *Achilles* turned on all its lights and signaled to the rest of the convoy that they found out that Japan had surrendered. 'We were happy we were coming home. "Kia Ora! Kia Ora!" was all we heard Ha! Ha! But I remember being asked to

²³⁰ Geoffrey Cox, *The Race for Trieste* (London: William Kimber & Co. Ltd, 1977). pp.263-64.; Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia.", Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

²³¹ Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*. p.166.

²³² Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."
Eric Henry talking about the end of the war.

go to fight the Japanese and I said, "I can't! I want to go back home"
[sic].²³³

The return of the 2NZEF was a historic moment for New Zealand. The heroes were welcomed publicly, just as they had been farewell a few years earlier. The 28 (Maori) Battalion returned to New Zealand as a formed unit. Every other unit of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force was disbanded overseas.²³⁴ The Maori Battalion arrived in Wellington on a typical overcast and windy afternoon. Such victorious and happy homecoming scenes were repeated in every port, bus and train station around the country. It was a proud moment for families who had long prayed for this hour to come. At the same time there was the sadness of missing those who had died and were committed either to the sea or frontline graves on foreign soil. Many, like Henry, did not stay for all the celebrations in Wellington because he had received a telegram while still at sea to take the train to Auckland where his family awaited him. Henry's brother and sister were waiting for him in at the train station in Papakura when he arrived. A few days later, Henry went home to the Cook Islands to face his parents. His father told him, 'You are lucky you went from there [New Zealand]. I would never have let you go to war.'²³⁵

One of the first tasks Henry had to do was to explain to his parents what happened to him when he was lost during one of the assaults and ended up with the British troops who later took him back to the New Zealand Division. 'When I walked up to the camp, one of the Maori boys said to me, "You cannot be here, you're dead!" I said, "what do you mean?". And he answered back, "Check the list! Your name is in it"'[sic].²³⁶

²³³ Eric Henry and Henry, "Interview with Louise Mataia.", Louise Mataia, "Interview with Eric Henry and Arohanui Henry," (Burnham Army Camp, Christchurch 2006: 2006).

²³⁴ Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*. p.176.

²³⁵ Television New Zealand, "*The Maori Battalion March to Victory*.", Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)." Padre Wi Huata refers to the same incident in this Documentry. Huata claims he told a soldier the exact same thing. It is assumed the Maori boy Henry referred to was Huata.

²³⁶ Utanga, "Interview with Eric Henry and Jim O'Dwyer, (Unpublished Raw Footage)."

Henry then had to quickly let the officer's of his platoon that he was still alive. 'News went to my family immediately I was missing in action and they had to send another one that I am still alive.'²³⁷ Henry's mother was crying while Henry explained his case. 'We killed a pig for your mate! And we thought you were dead. And the next thing we got another telegram saying you are still alive.' Henry was quick to see the funny side of the situation, 'Well as long as I am alive it doesn't matter how many pigs you kill Ha! Ha!'[sic].²³⁸

Joseph Vailima also went back to Tonga to see his mother. On his army file, Vailima returned to New Zealand from the Middle East on 5th December 1944 and left for Tonga on the same day on furlough leave. He returned from this leave on in early January the following year to live in Auckland.²³⁹ His widow claims that he went back to see his mother whom he later brought to New Zealand to live after he got married in 1949.²⁴⁰

Jim O'Dwyer also went home to Samoa in 1944 after being nursed by his aunty in Auckland. Before he left Auckland, Rosita and Josie recalled how their aunty took their Dad home after months in hospital.²⁴¹ Don recollected that his father was really blessed to have a relative that cared for him before he returned to Samoa. 'My aunt Bessie lost his son in the same war, so Dad became a replacement for her son. She looked after him like he was her own son.'²⁴² It was in Auckland too that Jim married his part Samoan, part European wife, Louise Mann. They decided he was fit for the trip back home to Samoa. Jim and his new bride went home together with other German Samoans who were

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Army Department Personnel File Archives, "Pf 26147 Joseph Vailima Meanata," (Army Department Personnel File Archives - Wellington (ADPFA-W): 1939).

²⁴⁰ Meanata, "Interview with L. Mataia."

²⁴¹ Louise Mataia, "Interview with Rosita O'Dwyer and Josephine O'Dwyer," (Block House Bay, Auckland, New Zealand: 2006).

²⁴² Louise Mataia, "Don O'Dwyer," (Apia, Samoa: 2007).

interned in Somes Island.²⁴³ 'Mom said and Dad said they spend the best years of their lives, 16 years here in [Samoa].' Furthermore, Don claimed that people who heard of his Dad's exploits were appreciative of his actions during the war and were always helping out when his parents resettled back in Vailima, where Jim spent his childhood days. Jim O'Dwyer was welcomed home as a war hero. One of his great admirers, Eugene Paul, a prominent business man in Apia, went out of his way to welcome home Jim. 'He organized to meet the boat. He went down there and personally escorted him off. Put him up on umm, like a band wagon type thing and proceeded to parade with him through town' [sic].²⁴⁴

O'Dwyer raised his family in Samoa for 17 years. He worked at Burns Philip in Apia. O'Dwyer and his family only decided to return to New Zealand to live in 1962 because three of their older kids, including Don were at school in New Zealand at the time.²⁴⁵ Before he left for New Zealand again, O'Dwyer was one of the founding members of the Returned Servicemen Association (RSA) in Apia. Together with Pat Brighthouse Snr, Henry Krone²⁴⁶ and a New Zealander, Captain Jones, they set up the RSA, which became a popular gentlemen's Club in town.

The heroes returned to their families. They all now had to leave behind the disciplined and harsh realities of war and face the transition back to civilian life. This was easier for some than others. Those who had secured employment or were farmers before they left for the war returned to these responsibilities. Others ventured into business opportunities. The ideas for business opportunities derived from what they saw and learned during the war. Unfortunately, other veterans did

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.; Rosita O'Dwyer and O'Dwyer, "Interviewed with L. Mataia."

²⁴⁶ Henry's brother, Eric Krone passed away in November 2006. He was the last of the WWII veterans who enlisted from Samoa. Family narratives state that Eric Krone was a highly decorated ex-serviceman and was the only veteran from Samoa to be invited to Queen Elizabeth II's coronation in 1953.

not have this good fortune, and as Gardiner described it, 'experienced the mundane routine of manual labour'.²⁴⁷

Expectations

It was the general and naïve belief by the individual soldiers, and the public as well, that they would just 'melt back into civilian life' as Richard H. Kohn puts it.²⁴⁸ These men had to live under the glare of the public eye. As heroes, society now looked up to them and had high expectations of these fine young warriors who had proved themselves worthy of their citizenship. It was difficult to measure up to the families', tribes and general public's expectations. The comment made by Kuru Waaka in his Presidential report of the 28 (Maori) Battalion Association, reveals the cautious awareness of the public expectations they had to live up to:

We must accept in all humility the fact that what we say or do on our own individual Marae[s] bears some weight even if only because of our service in time of war. But we must also exercise patience, tolerance and understanding when undertaking to solve some of the problems.²⁴⁹

The bravery and outstanding personalities of the leading men of the Maori Battalion caught the attention of their tribal elders at home. It almost seemed that the war was a type of initiation for this generation. Participation in the war had matured and prepared some individuals like the late Sir Charles Bennett, Arapete Awatere and Padre Wi Huata, just to name a few, for some of the tasks they were going to face in their own

²⁴⁷ Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*. p.180.

²⁴⁸ Richard H. Kohn, "The Social History of the American Soldier: A Review and Prospectus for Research," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 86, no. 3 (June, 1981).

²⁴⁹ Kuru Waaka, "The 28th Maori Battalion President's Report 1964.," in *Correspondence of the 28 Maori Battalion (NZ)*, - Otago Branch/Muribiku Association Inc. (Dunedin: Correspondence Papers of the 28th Maori Battalion Association - Otago and Murihiku Branch, 1964).((Hocken Library, Dunedin (HL))

communities in the post-war years. Many of the Maori Battalion members became prominent representatives of their tribes in matters of welfare, religion and education. Charles Bennett became the first Maori New Zealand High Commissioner and was posted to Malaysia from 1958.²⁵⁰ Awatere, excelled in things Maori. After the war, Awatere, like Bennett and other veterans, pursued university education and research. He became a prominent Maori Development Officer in the Department of Maori Affairs. Unfortunately, Awatere was for murder in 1979 and was imprisoned.²⁵¹ The downfall of Awatere was matched to a degree by the personal problems experienced by returned soldiers. His family links this to the psychological trauma from the war. Many experienced depression and turned to alcohol for comfort. Lucy Judkins study on Awatere, reveal some of the problems these men and their families went through after the war.²⁵²

Impact of War

The euphoria of the end of the war quickly passed. This shift from the public eye to the private sphere became for many another battle front which took the remainder of their lives to overcome. Many of the returned soldiers suffered from post-traumatic stress syndrome and depression when they got home. The war changed them and the reality they had in mind while at war was just an illusion compared to what eventuated for them on return

The post-war experiences of Pacific Islanders who fought with the Maori and other Battalions differed slightly to the rest of the 2NZEF. This was mainly linked to the political status of the Pacific Islands they were from.

²⁵⁰ Ballara, Angela. 'Bennett, Charles Moihī Te Arawaka 1913 - 1998'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 7 April 2006 . URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

²⁵¹ Awatere, Hinemoa Ruataupare. 'Awatere, Arapeta Marukitepua Pitapitanuiarangi 1910 - 1976'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 7 April 2006 URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

²⁵² Lucy Judkins, "How Are the Mighty Fallen: Awatere" (BA Hons Thesis, University of Otago, 2005).

In the process of healing the psychological trauma, there was no real overall scheme by the local administration in Samoa and the Cook Islands to treat this problem. The only readily available assistance was from the family. In many respects the healing process became the initiative of the soldier and his family. The wives and the children immediately became part of this self prescribed formula.

Mere, the eldest daughter of a Tongan veteran who served with the Maori Battalion commented about the effects of the war on her father. 'I think he was [affected], and I think the rest of them were too. Today you would say to somebody, "go and get some counseling. Go and talk about it." Those guys didn't.'²⁵³ The closest some of the men got to psychiatric help were talking to their wives and offspring. The wives played an important role in supporting the veterans. Mere, Rosita, Josie, Don and Aroha agreed that their mothers were very supportive of their veteran fathers, especially when the fathers were upset or something triggered a traumatic memory of the war.²⁵⁴

Some men countered the demons of war, but not always. Being the eldest in the family, Mere had a special bond with her father. He chose to talk to both her and her mother. Mere grew up under her Dad's watchful eye. She remembered how strict her father was and the high standards he set for all of them. According to Mere, her father suffered from traumatic effects of the war for many years. These hardships together with heavy drinking, affected their family a great deal. Nevertheless, Mere saw her father as a fighter, and as a good father who provided for his family, despite his strict rules and his 'grouchingness'.²⁵⁵ As a father he disciplined his children very hard. This same hardline, militaristic style of parenting has been adopted by some of Mere's siblings on their children.

²⁵³ Louise Mataia, "Interview with Mere Montgomery," (Portobello, Dunedin: 2006). Oral historiography 23 August, 2006).

²⁵⁴ Ibid, Mataia, "Interview with Eric Henry and Arohanui Henry.", Mataia, "Interview with Rosita O'Dwyer and Josephine O'Dwyer."

²⁵⁵ Mataia, "Interview with Mere Montgomery."

His army life came into our lives...we were told what to do, and you did it, at the time you were told. You didn't say, "No no, no I got to do something else." You have to do it then and there. And he kept everything clean and tidy. And, that was just the way we were raised. So I mean that came into our lives. And I know my brother, who went into the army, he is exactly like that. He tells, he expects his son to obey everything. Then and there! No discussion! If you got to go up the road to return a video he times it. Like it takes 15 minutes, there and back, on army time! That is if you are jogging. And I mean that is exactly what he expected! That's exactly what my father was like! My youngest brother was lucky, he didn't get that. There are a couple of us in our family that are quite casual, compared to the other ones who are very much like him in terms of expecting things to be done [sic].²⁵⁶

Mere remembered the many times her father told stories about how he got lost and was separated from his Company. There were also fond memories of the father who loved to talk about the buildings in Italy and taught her Italian songs. However, these memories were mixed with painful memories of what she saw her father go through as a result of the war, because 'he brought his army life into our lives'.²⁵⁷ At a young age Mere noticed that father would be vague about aspects of the war. She observed how her father would refuse to talk or to look at pictures of the war. This made it difficult for him to help her in her schoolwork. Sometimes the text books triggered his moods and he would get upset with her.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

I used to just sit there talking with him or I'd ask if I have a school project or something I would bring along and just talk to him... We used to have a history book at home. I have an Aunty that was about 10 years older than me and she used to have a history book on Russian History and they used to have a lot of the pictures of the Russians that had died and they had pictures of them in communal graves and stuff. And that used to trigger him! You know if I was sitting there reading that stuff and he would not really want me to look at it, while he was there. But he used to say it wasn't, that's [what] he said. He used to say it wasn't a good time. "Lots of people died! Lots of people died!" And I think a couple of times I may have said, "Like this?" you know showing him the pictures of the dead bodies. And, and, he would say, "Shut the book! Shut the book!" "I don't want it! I don't want to talk about it!" [sic].²⁵⁸

One of the highlights of her father's influence which affected her was his love for languages. Vailima, Mere's father, spoke five languages. As a student of language, Mere claims that her father's love of languages instilled in her a love for languages and poetry. Two of her children have also developed the same gift of linguistics and she has her father to thank.

The highlights that I got from him is that he enjoyed the languages. Because he came back speaking Italian, whatever Italian, like he had a gift. Like I love languages, my kids love languages. Well two of them love languages. And it's all around his ability to speak to people. He came back to New Zealand [from the war] speaking Maori, fluently! You know, it didn't take him

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

very long, but he was speaking Maori, he spoke Tongan,
he spoke Samoan, and Italian [sic].²⁵⁹

Two of Mere's poems are reflections of her love and affection for her father. 'Buano Sera Signorita', written in 1992 is a compilation of childhood memories of the family.²⁶⁰ She tells of the Italian songs which she thought were very romantic. At the same time there are the scars of the heart that never healed.

Buano sera signorita, l'amore
Amore, Amore signorita
We sang that around the house when I was small, Amore,
Amore.
A heart rendering song so romantic to a 10 year old
So romantic, so far away and so long ago.

My dad used to sing A'amore, A'amore
He told me it was Italian.
Learnt it with the Maori Battalion
During World War Two.
Those days that left scars
Of the pain and sadness of Egypt,
Cyprus, Italy and Crete.

It's only now I can appreciate
How five new languages were added to his native tongue
By his attentive ear and excellent recall.
Taonga passed on to his mokopuna...
For his passion so proud, and his love of A'amore,
A'amore, papa, A'amore
A'amore and peace

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Mere Meanata, " Poem 'Buano Sera Signorita' " (1992).

For that far away time
In that far away land
A memory jolted by a white carnation.²⁶¹

As a young person Mere saw the many problems her dad went through. The heavy drinking and the 'weird things', as Mere puts it, were all part of stress from the war.²⁶²

Mere understood why her father had problems but it was the heavy drinking and his violent behavior which stuck in her memory most. 'ANZAC- Pakanga past and present' depicts in poetic form Mere's thoughts, which she also shared with Gardiner, about why alcohol became the solace for most veterans.²⁶³

My Matua tane was in the 28 (Maori) Battalion.
He told tales of romantic far away lands,
Of Italy, Cyprus and Egypt.
He sang their love songs,
But of the hardships, the wounds,
The fallen comrades and the nightmares
He would not sing.

Every other day
He lived a private war
The sleepless nights
Wandering around in the dark
Or sleep walking.
Two jobs, long hours of work
Then drinking to forget.
The short temperedness, the anger, the hidings
The battle ground was extended.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid

²⁶³ Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Abi*, Mataia, "Interview with Mere Montgomery."

²⁶⁴ Mere Meanata, "Poem 'Anzac - Pakanga Past and Present' " (April, 1992).

From the above poem, we can deduce that the war never really ended for many of the soldiers. Many suffered from peculiar behaviour such as sleep walking. When Mere talked to her mother about her father's sleep walking habit, she said, 'you couldn't do any anything else about it!'

When my father went to sleep at night, he didn't, he used to get up and sleep walk. Like when we were up North, she talked about a time when he used to sleep walk. And we lived down in this gully and there was a creek. And he used to sleepwalk across the creek to go and find the old Marae, which belonged to his great grand parents on the other side of the damn creek [sic].²⁶⁵

Vailima's drinking was 'phenomenal' according to Mere. 'Like, he drank everyday of the week. They had six o'clock closing in those days. And that is where they would head to and when they finish work at 5[pm] he'd be at the pub until six.'²⁶⁶ She remembers the Sunday routine for her family revolved around her father's drinking.

Nelo Santos had a cousin, Salesi Santos, and they used to have home brew. So the Pub would open Monday to Saturday and then they would go drinking on Sunday after Church. Like they always go to Mass on Sundays, both, all families would go to church, and the women and the kids went home [sic].²⁶⁷

At one point Mere's father, realizing that his family was affected by his manners and actions, decided to send them away and he lived by himself. The family used to live in Ponsonby, Auckland. At one time, Vailima was not employed and so he sent the family, including his mom

²⁶⁵ Mataia, "Interview with Mere Montgomery."

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

and other Tongan relatives to live with his Maori family in Kaitaia until he was ready to have them back. This goes to show that the extended family, or whanau all worked together to help get these damaged men back on their feet. Despite his problems, the family stayed tight and managed to work around it. He continued to put food on the table from working two or three jobs and with the great support of her mother, who had to go through all of this for the sake of her husband and six children.

We had enough for us to all go to Catholic Schools and pay our fees. We had enough to give something to church. We had enough to keep ourselves fed and we had enough, he had enough to buy his grog. He might have worked two or three jobs, but we had enough to survive. And it was only from my mother's astuteness that kept us off the poor house, you know, really badly. We could have been really, really poor but she was really really good, made our clothes, did the cooking and stuff. And I mean he is good! He worked but like the other guys from the Battalion, I think some of them use to drink more than they should have. But I can understand it in terms of what they saw during the war [sic].²⁶⁸

Mere's father suffered a great deal. It was only in 1971, the year her father passed away, that she began to understand him. Without the help of anyone but the family this Pacific Islander veteran attempted to heal himself. Mere's story is important as it does show some of the raw and grim nature of the suffering which these Island soldiers went through. Moreover, this is an experience shared by most of the soldiers who returned from the Second World War. They become strangers in the familiar place – the home.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

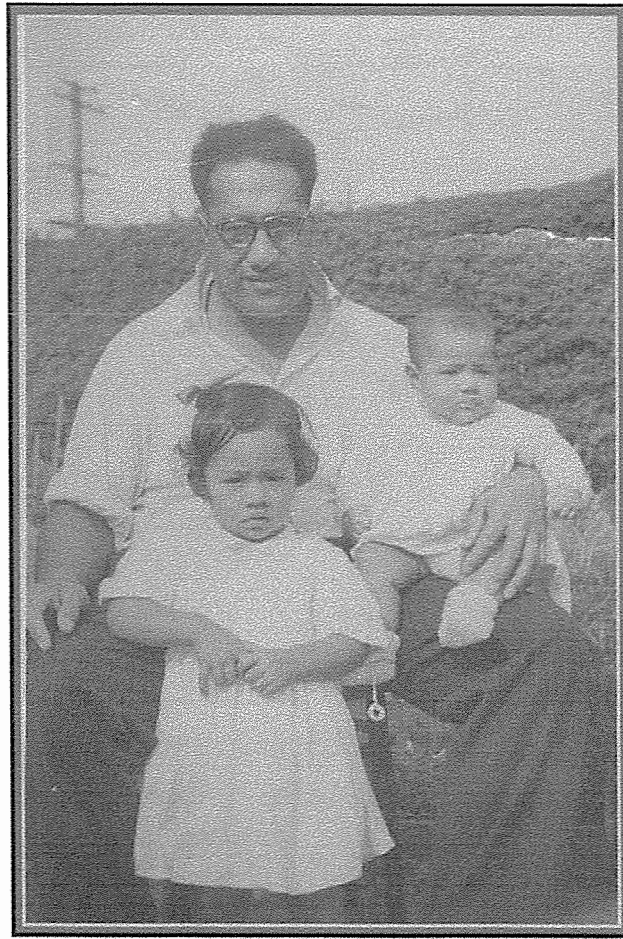


Figure 10: Joseph Vailima Meanata with his two eldest children in the early 1960s. (Source: Meanata Personal Collection).

Vailima's ordeal is similar to Henry's case immediately after the war. Aroha recalled how her mother talked about the hard times her father, Henry went through. Henry returned to New Zealand and was lost for a long time. He joined gangs of workers who built the railway lines. He was a very angry man about the war until he met her mom.²⁶⁹

Vailima's and Henry's cases are different from Jim's. According to the O'Dwyers, their father's life as a soldier affected them in a positive way. The RSA was an important part of Jim's family and social life. Rosita

²⁶⁹ Mataia, "Interview with Eric Henry and Arohanui Henry."

and Josie reasoned that this happened because, 'He moved on with life. He was so busy with RSA things. Both him and our mum were always going on tours with the RSA.'²⁷⁰

Don, Jim O'Dwyers son, had fond memories of his Dad are also the same.

It didn't really affect me. He never ever imposed his army stuff on me. As I grew up, I knew he was in the army. But he kept it between him and his mates. The way Samoan kids are brought up is you go play over there and we sit here and drink our beer. And you don't ask anything unless we ask you first. Ha Ha! But no I never had any type of regimental of upbringing.²⁷¹

Recent scholarship has illustrated that there has never been an adequate exploration of the long-term psychological effects of the war. A survey of the post-war problems of Vietnam veterans by Long, Vincent and Chamberlain in 1994 indicated that about 45 percent of Vietnam veterans suffered post-traumatic stress disorder and other 55 percent suffered from related mental illnesses.²⁷² The time difference between the Vietnam war and this study suggests that a lot of veterans suffered silently within the family.

John Raftery is very important in this discussion as it was his inquiry into the lives of New Zealand veterans and their families that brought to light a lot of tragic family stories about the Second World War. This New Zealand study involved many voluntary informants and showed that all of the veterans had experienced severe to extremely stressful events during war service, either in active combat or as prisoners of war.

²⁷⁰ O'Dwyer, "Interview with L.Mataia ".

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷²N. Long, C. Vincent, and K. Champerlain, "Effects of the Gulf War on the Reactivation of Adverse Compant, Related Memories in Vietnam Veterans.," *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 50 (1994). pp.138-43.

Their postwar experiences ranged from successful adjustment over time, like some of the veterans I discussed earlier, to more serious illness or suicide.²⁷³

The ANZAC tradition has prevented two generations from focusing on such psychological costs of war. This silence may also be explained by the association of war neuroses, or shell shock in World War I, with shirking one's duty and the shame of being labeled mentally ill. Raftery, in previous work with Schubert, confirmed similar behaviours in Australia and other countries and has identified three broad outcomes of the war for veterans and families.²⁷⁴ The first possible outcome is the successful adjustment from being a soldier to adapting to civilian life. 'After the initial post-war period of adjustment they generally became successful, devoted themselves to wives and family, were good providers and community workers and considered the stress of war as a time of learning and personal enhancement.'²⁷⁵

The second category of veteran was able to maintain the outward appearance of success and resilience but had an undercurrent of distress which was generally known only to the family. While they may have derived benefit from war service, and been very attached to their partners and children, their internal distress, from time to time, impaired their work and family life. The source of their distress was both psychological and physical illness. Their long struggles with health also affected the lives of their partners.²⁷⁶

The third group of veterans, identified by Raftery, was those who were permanently psychologically damaged. These individuals never recovered and some ended their lives prematurely or drank excessively

²⁷³ John Raftery, "He Never Talked a Great Deal: The Experience of Partners and Children of World War Two Veterans," in *ANZAC Fellowship Report* (Wellington: 1996).

²⁷⁴ John Raftery and S. Schubert, *A Very Changed Man*. (Adelaide: University of South Australia, 1995).

²⁷⁵ John Raftery, *He Never Talk about it*, (Wellington, 1994) p.7.

²⁷⁶ Raftery, "He Never Talked a Great Deal: The Experience of Partners and Children of World War Two Veterans."

as a way of coping. One of Raftery's informants expressed her frustration of not being able to help the veteran husband.

We are the ones who married these battered men... the pain our husbands have endured adjusting to life after release has affected the quality of our lives and the lives of our children. We have borne the agony of watching them suffer through recurring bouts of anger, hatred, remorse and guilt. We have stood by helplessly while they were tormented with insomnia and nightmares. (Extract from EJOS submissions to the Tokyo District Courts in Japan, January 1995).²⁷⁷

Rehabilitation

The rehabilitation efforts for the veterans in the New Zealand case occurred on three levels. The first level of the rehabilitation process was provided by the government. The Rehabilitation Act of 1941 passed by the New Zealand government was a clear signal of efforts to help the ex-serviceman return to civilian life.²⁷⁸ Rehabilitation efforts include the establishment of Rehabilitation Boards and the continuation of Patriotic Funds around the country.²⁷⁹ The Patriotic Funds were intended to fund war efforts, whereas the rehabilitation scheme was to re-establish the soldiers' livelihood after the war. Towards the end of the war, a loans scheme was made available for men to rehabilitate themselves. This was an indication that the government was concerned about the welfare of the returned soldier. A study by David Rowlands, referencing the United States assistance to its returned soldiers, claims that the government's

²⁷⁷ Ibid, p.23.

²⁷⁸ Raftery, "He Never Talked a Great Deal: The Experience of Partners and Children of World War Two Veterans."

²⁷⁹ New Zealand Rehabilitation Secretariat, *War History of Rehabilitation in New Zealand 1939 to 1965: Ex-Servicemen of World War II (1939-1945); Occupational Troops in Japan; Forces in Korea Waters and Malaya or Malayan Waters.*

primary obligation and attitude towards loan schemes was based on the accepted theory that, 'a home is a vital means of rehabilitation.'²⁸⁰

A second level and very subtle process of rehabilitation was provided by the Army Department. The rehabilitation process and efforts were for the benefit of the veteran. It was important that the soldiers themselves, long before they enter civilian life again must know what resources are available for him to use. An example of this came in the form of a booklet given to everyone who was placed on the 2NZEF Roll. *Service to Civilian* was used as a guide on how to become a civilian again.²⁸¹ This booklet also advertised employment opportunities and possible careers for veterans. These careers were mainly in agriculture, the economic sector suffered from a shortage of labour during the war years. The intention of such a scheme was summed up by Lt. Gen. Bernard Freyberg, commander of the NZEF:

Your speedy return to civilian life is a matter of importance both to you and to New Zealand. Valuable time will be saved if, through the ERS, you make your decision concerning the future and the necessary administration is completed before you reach New Zealand.²⁸²

Chapter two of *Service to Civilian* defined rehabilitation based on the rules of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.²⁸³ It appeared that the Army Department and the government wanted the process to start as early as possible to avoid any further problems. The text also aimed at advising the serviceman about the Education Rehabilitation Services, which provided special training or education for

²⁸⁰ David T. Rowlands, "Land and Homes for Returning Servicemen," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1943).

²⁸¹ New Zealand Army Education Rehabilitation Service, *Serviceman to Civilian*. p.41-2.

²⁸² Ibid. p. 41-2.

²⁸³ New Zealand. Army. Education Rehabilitation Service, *Serviceman to Civilian* (Cairo: 2N.Z.E.F. Education Rehabilitation Service, 1944),p.6.

the ex-soldiers. 'The people at home are anxious to do all they can to assist the ex-serviceman to take its rightful place in civilian life. That desire does not stop at a mere "giving his mere job back."'²⁸⁴ The text was thorough in explaining what was expected of the individual soldier when he was interviewed by a rehabilitation officer. Other issues advised by the booklet included procedures when returned, pensions and allowances and matters about disabled ex-servicemen.²⁸⁵

The Army Department was adamant that *Service to Civilian* was to ensure that the soldier's return to civilian life should be as smooth as possible.

Because of certain subtle changes that take place in the soldier after he has experienced the hurly burly of war, he is apt to become critical or even skeptical, of any official arrangements made for his return. This condition is often aggravated, too by lack of proper information. There is a definite relationship between rehabilitation and reconstruction, or, to use a popular phrase, "winning the peace."²⁸⁶

The booklet was given to all soldiers in 1944, a year before the end of the war.

Eligibility for the scheme was set out in the New Zealand Rehabilitation Act of 1941 which states 'that all servicemen, irrespective of zone or duration of service are entitled to assistance to enable them to return to civil life on terms at least equal to those enjoyed prior to their responsibility in rehabilitation.'²⁸⁷ This basically meant that all, Pakeha and Maori, will be given the same treatment.

²⁸⁴ Ibid. p.6.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.p.6.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.p.6.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.p.7.

In practice, however, eligibility and implementation of rehabilitation for the Maori did not eventuate. Sir Apirana Ngata stated in Parliament, that this was caused by the structure of a bureaucracy which cannot help the Maori soldier:

There is the difficulty that, up till today, no Department has been designated to look after the interests of the Maori soldier. The policy of the Rehabilitation Board, so far as the Maori soldier is concerned, is that we should get the best... But is he? When that is worked out in practice, where is the Maori soldier? Very much out of step! What are his requirements? Something we cannot cater for, because we have not a Department, except one, equipped for the purpose of looking his interests and which knows his mentality, his resources, and his requirements.²⁸⁸

Rehabilitation for Pacific Island Soldiers

The question that arises now is how the rehabilitation scheme, discussed and planned in 1943 by the New Zealand Government, looked after the Pacific Island soldiers.²⁸⁹ Although the scheme had already been implemented, rehabilitation was made harder by differential access. Documents of the New Zealand Patriotic Fund Board reveal that a recommendation by the board which was later adopted by the government. This recommendation stated that, 'Irrespective of the period of residence in New Zealand, all men discharged from the New Zealand

²⁸⁸ Ngata's speech in the House of Representatives about the rehabilitation of the Maori Soldier Legislative Council and House of Representatives, "Parliamentary Debates. Fifth Session, Twenty - Sixth Parliament," ed. Prime Minister Department (Wellington: New Zealand Parliament, 1943). 235 -372

²⁸⁹ MS-0982/142, "Papers Relating to the New Zealand Patriotic Fund Board," in *Paul Thomas Papers* (Dunedin: 1945). Report of Conference of the National Patriotic Council, The National Patriotic Fund Board and the Provincial Patriotic Councils. Dated: Thursday 16th- Friday 17 1940. (HKL)

Fighting Forces after serving abroad, should be eligible for unemployment, sickness benefits under the Social Security Act.²⁹⁰

The organization of rehabilitation for Pacific Island soldiers who served overseas was similar to the lengthy recruitment process in 1940-1941. An urgent exchange of correspondence between Apia and Wellington seemed to have been the norm for the administrator at the time. Issues such as eligibility for funding, administration of funds, and the procedures of how this process was managed had to be first.

The Samoan and the Cook Islands entangled relationship with New Zealand had a bearing on how rehabilitation was organized for soldiers who served with New Zealand and with the Defence Forces. Since Samoa was a mandate territory of the League of Nations, its soldiers who returned to Samoa after the war were not eligible for loan scheme established by the New Zealand Government. The mandate issue on residency versus the rehabilitation scheme was a great distress to the Samoan soldiers.

Preparation by the Administrators did not commence until 1944. In Samoa's case, local businesses and wider communities undertook to raise funds for the soldiers when they returned. The local 'Euronians', with the support of their Samoan families, began to raise funds in anticipation for their return, similar to, but on a smaller scale in comparison to the Maori War Efforts Organisation. They were considerably more proactive than the Administrator. Mr. Chisholm, director of Morris Hedstrom Limited, in Apia, donated 2000 pounds to the Samoa war appeal in 1943, the same year which saw the rise in patriotic fundraising around New Zealand for the NZEF. The money was to assist in the rehabilitation of returned soldiers. The problem was the lack of a properly constituted body to administer such funds. The money had to be invested in the bank at first to earn interest while such a body,

²⁹⁰ Ibid. (HKL)

by the name of Committee for Patriotic Funds, was established a year later.²⁹¹

According to Island Territories Department records, the ex-servicemen from the Pacific were entitled to an interest free loan of 100 pounds to rebuild their lives.²⁹² The Resident Commissioner of Cook Islands and the Samoan Administration were directed to provide reports about the possible loan collateral in the Islands. A memorandum from the Rehabilitation Director, to the two Island Administrators stated that 'unless the Board is able to take an effective and satisfactory security, it is unlikely that it could make a loan available however meritorious any individual application might be'.²⁹³ In response, all reports regarding land tenure and asset lists were sent to the Rehabilitation Department in Wellington, where the applications for loans were considered and approved or not. Loan entitlement was different from that of the New Zealand based soldiers.

Like the recruitment process in 1941, all administrative details of the loans for ex-servicemen were handled by the local Administrators of the respective islands. The New Zealand Treasury Department stated that there was no statutory authority for such a proceeding and decided together with the Audit Department that the proper manner for procedures of these loans was through advances, where a Lodgement slip from Wellington was to be forwarded to the island with details of the applicant.²⁹⁴ The system was similar to a voucher system.

Bureaucratic and meticulous procedures can be restrictive on paper. An example of this can be found in the procedures of applying for a furniture loan. In order to be eligible for a furniture loan, one had to have

²⁹¹ Wellington Office to the Resident commissioners of the Cook Island 2/5/1947IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers."(ANZ-W)

²⁹² Ibid. (ANZ-W)

²⁹³ IT ex 69/144 pt 1(ANZ-W)

²⁹⁴ Rehabilitation Arrangements c.1845, IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment.", IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers."(ANZ-W)

been an ex-serviceman who served outside New Zealand and those who served within New Zealand for more than 12 months, provided they were married, about to be married, or were setting up a domestic establishment to assist a widowed mother. First of all, not all ex-servicemen have widowed mothers. Local Defence forces in Samoa and the Cook Island were not considered within this scheme, although it was suggested by the Island Territories Department that money from the Administration should go towards these men.²⁹⁵ Furniture loans worked on the basis of hire purchase. The Administrator bought the furniture and then sold it to the eligible applicant. This loan of course was subject to the applicant having accommodation which met the eligibility criteria.
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The question of eligibility for rehabilitation had to be addressed first. A.G. Osborne, Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Minister of Rehabilitation, informed the Island territories that

Benefits under the Acts administered by the Rehabilitation Department need not be available to members of Local Defence Forces who have served only in Islands where those forces have been raised. Islanders who have served as members of the New Zealand Forces should be brought within the scope of the Acts.²⁹⁷

It concluded by stating that those in the Defence Forces were entitled to a gratuity. Those who served overseas were entitled to a payment, depending on the length of their service and the rank.²⁹⁸

In analyzing the above two schemes, both were initiated from within the government. The assistance was focused more towards the economic

²⁹⁵ Furniture Loans Documents, IT ex 69/144 pt 1 (ANZ-W)

²⁹⁶ IT1-ex 89/1/24/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers Regarding Recruitment.", IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers." (ANZ-W).

²⁹⁷ A.G. Osborne 20/12/1945 to Turnbull, IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers." (ANZ-W).

²⁹⁸ Ibid. (ANZ-W)

needs and welfare of the soldier. Such assistance can be interpreted as a robotic transition, direct from being a killing machine at the battlefield to industrial labour for production to address war debts and recover the economy. Very little attention was given to the mental state of the soldier in the aftermath of the war. This area was mainly dealt with from within the domain of the family, the third level of assistance.

Unlike the post World War Two utopian images portrayed in the television series '*New Zealand at War*',²⁹⁹ not all soldiers melted peacefully into civilian life. Most still carried the 'scars of the heart'³⁰⁰ with them. Such wounds remained open and affected the lives of those closest to them - their families.

New Zealand's rehabilitation scheme after the war was necessarily costly and was set up with good intentions. It was mainly focused on welfare with regards to economic matters. Little preparation was made to cater for psychological rehabilitation, the most crucial part of the healing process. Because of this, many veterans and their families felt that the government had failed them. It was only after the Vietnam war that awareness of the psychological effects of war became more prominent.³⁰¹ It is important to understand as well that although some solutions came with good intentions, sometimes solutions can be ill-fated and add to the problem. The government rehabilitation scheme worked well for others, but failed for most.

The concept of post-traumatic stress provides a framework for interpreting the personal narratives as well as helping to make sense of the behaviour of the veterans after the war. The basic logic of post-traumatic stress, according to the *American Psychological Society Diagnostic and statistical Manual*, which is quoted by Raftery states that, 'if one is exposed to an event that is life threatening and invokes

²⁹⁹ TVNZ, *New Zealand at War* (New Zealand: Televised May 1995).

³⁰⁰ Chris Pugsley et al., *Scars on the Heart: Two Centuries of New Zealand at War*.

³⁰¹ Raftery, "He Never Talked a Great Deal: The Experience of Partners and Children of World War Two Veterans."

intense fear and helplessness, those exposed will be affected for a long period afterwards.’³⁰² Veterans’ trauma often developed into a pathological condition, and according to Raftery it ‘leaves governments merely to preside over compensation and treatment for the more seriously mentally ill’, and not examine its role in the pursuit of war.³⁰³

We hardly hear of these family hardships after the war. One begins to question where the reward of going to the war was and where the government would take responsibility. Vailima’s war services gratuity assessment records showed his entitlement ended in 1946 when he was discharged from the Army.³⁰⁴ Mere related that her father applied numerous times for a loan for housing and for a veteran pension but was unsuccessful with both.³⁰⁵ Her mum shared how he applied for a wound pension but was rejected. ‘He applied a couple of times for pension but he didn’t get it. They said because he didn’t get his wounds from frontline he couldn’t get any assistance.’³⁰⁶ Vailima received his wounds in one of the outings in Italy. According to Mere and Lesieli, somebody hit the back of his head with an axe in 1943.³⁰⁷ His record showed that he frequented the hospital while still at war because of this injury. It is obvious from this story that the government was more concerned with the physical wounds, which affected the ability to earn rather than the mental health of the veteran. Meanata’s experience illustrates that the prize for citizenship fell short and the many ‘heroes’, if we may call them that, had to suffer the humiliating consequences.

Jim O’Dwyer’s journey after the war was not smooth sailing either. He received ‘some form of pension’, according to Don. But his injuries from

³⁰² Ibid. p.56.

³⁰³ Ibid. p.57-8.

³⁰⁴ Army Department Personnel File Archives, "Pf 26147 Joseph Vailima Meanata." Army Department Personnel File Archives (ADPFA-W)

³⁰⁵ Mataia, "Interview with Mere Montgomery."

³⁰⁶ Ibid, Meanata, "Interview with L. Mataia."

the assault in Orsogna were never healed and affected his whole life. O'Dwyer lived out all his life taking laxatives and antibiotics.

This was because there was still shrapnel in him that was never taken out completely when he was first operated on. When they fixed his stomach up. Unbeknown to us until just before he died, so much, I don't know how long it was, but a piece of his intestine was cut off and the Canadian doctor during the war rejoined them again that when it healed it had twisted...his belly button was on the side. And he had been living with that all his life. So in order [for him to pass solids he used laxatives] to soften it... I know he was on a wounds pension but for other compensations I do not know.³⁰⁸

O'Dwyer also had his share of sleepless nights. Don recollected that it happened every now and then and his sisters Rosita and Josephine recalled it was towards the end of his life that he began to suffer from sleeping problems. 'I sometime hear him screaming and moaning in his sleep. And mom would wake him up and they would talk. Dad went through that for a long long time and I don't think he got rid of it.'³⁰⁹

To cope with the stress, some veterans found refuge in alcohol and others paid the ultimate price of taking their own lives. Some of the treatment brought further suffering rather than cure. Many sought no treatment and only their families knew of the withdrawal, anger and frustration, nightmares, and in some cases, serious abuse and violence. In relation to the Pacific Islanders of the Maori Battalion, there is no documentation of the psychological damage to these men. Excessive intake of alcohol became the norm. While some veterans of the Maori Battalion decided to stay in the cities after the war, the majority went

³⁰⁸ Mataia, "Don O'Dwyer.", Mataia, "Interview with Rosita O'Dwyer and Josephine O'Dwyer."

³⁰⁹ Mataia, "Don O'Dwyer.", Mataia, "Interview with Rosita O'Dwyer and Josephine O'Dwyer."

back their tribes in the rural areas. Indeed, some of the men thought it better to 'go bush' rather than staying with families and communities. Little or nothing is known of what these men went through during the post-war years. Mere saw the 'weird stuff' happened to her father and would never wish it on anyone else.³¹⁰

Veterans and family members avoided talking about how the soldier tried to cope with life after the war. This was reinforced by a society in which there was no room for questioning the war and the stigmatization of mental ill-health damaged people's pride and caused individual distress. It could be argued that the locking away, either in the minds of men and women, or in government or medical files, was part of a much larger process of refusing to explore the darker side of war. Thus it denied the opportunity for a nation to reflect holistically on this aspect of its national identity.

Veteran's mental health became a concern in the early post-war years. However, this concern did not translate into assistance under the rehabilitation schemes. Initiatives to develop a policy for the treatment of soldiers with post-traumatic stress syndrome became the responsibility of the Hon. P. Fraser, the then Minister in Charge of Mental Hospitals, and Dr. T. G. Gray, Director for Mental Hospitals. The most popular treatment for mental disturbances caused by the war was electric shock treatment. Victims were believed to be suffering from direct physical effects of shell blasts, or from a form of monoxide poisoning. This treatment was used in Britain in the Great War but was not successful. The veteran was treated with an electric shock through the brain. The treatment was initially designed to be used in battlefield camps and the

³¹⁰ Mataia, "Interview with Mere Montgomery."

main purpose was to restore the maximum number of men to duty as soon as possible.³¹¹

Raftery reported that shock treatment was useful in the beginning. However, he noted that ‘many examples of distress that persisted for many years and often developed into more serious problems.’³¹² Some veterans managed to adapt to their new civilian lives. Their inner strength that was unleashed by adversity became a positive force. These resilient veterans did not allow the remnants of war to impinge on family or community life. But for many others their remnants of war did not ‘quickly disappear’ and they experienced an undercurrent of disturbing memories and intrusions that could not be easily talked about.

The extended family and its networks that nurture its own through understanding and patience were key to individual rehabilitation. One family I am referring to is the ‘tribe’ of Tumatauenga, the Maori Battalion, brought together through the shared experience of the battlefield. The camaraderie in a sense serves as a healing process for them. Coming together in the reunions is a chance to share the good old times. It is with old friends that they became themselves, a reassurance that they were not the only ones suffering. Henry finally met up with his friend O’Dwyer at a Maori Battalion reunion in Rotorua in 1995, more than 50 years since their abrupt parting in Orsogna.

Every reunion we have I always have it in mind that Eric might turn up. In Rotorua I was doing the same thing – walking around to see if Eric was there. One of the guys knew I was looking for Eric and they said to me, “Jim, your mate Eric is here”...so I walked around to see him.³¹³

³¹¹ Raftery, "He Never Talked a Great Deal: The Experience of Partners and Children of World War Two Veterans." pp.56-57.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid.

Henry remembered that day vividly, 'We were singing the hymn 'Aue e' and I looked across and I said to my young brother, 'I'm sure that's Jimmy. So I went across and there he was. Ha! Ha! He was singing away. O'Dwyer told how the tears started to flow when they met. O'Dwyer turned to Henry and said, 'You know I never miss thinking of you. Every reunion I wish you turn up.' 'Same here. I missed you, and Dougy, Cookie and of course Woodpine and the Cook Island group. We, all Island boys in D Coy. We stick together.'³¹⁴ The Maori Battalion Association presented a tokotoko to O'Dwyer in recognition of his services to the Maori Battalion two months before O'Dwyer passed away in 2005. It was a special occasion for the O'Dwyer family. It was even more special because it was the first time the Maori Battalion Association awarded a Pacific Islander with such.³¹⁵



Figure 11: Jim O'Dwyer and Eric Henry. First meeting in Rotorua 2005, since war ended in 1945 (Source: O'Dwyer Family Album/Tangata Pasifika Programme, 1995)

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Mataia, "Don O'Dwyer.", Mataia, "Interview with Rosita O'Dwyer and Josephine O'Dwyer."

Then there is the immediate family experience which becomes for many veterans the battle ground extended. In this quiet arena, without any defence, the veteran succumbs to the terror of memory, of the loss of friends and the killings they witnessed (or took part in) replayed time and time again. Thus the psychological effects were another price paid for the accolades and the glory of the victory.

Many of the Islanders who enlisted into the New Zealand forces did not understand or were not aware of their eligibility for benefits. The same also happened to the members of the Maori Battalion. Ted Nepia, National Secretary for the Maori Battalion Association reported complaints from members being left in the dark about their entitlements and not knowing what was going on in the Association. Nepia claims that this is the responsibility of the different Branch secretaries to inform all members about what was going on.³¹⁶

Some Pacific Island soldiers took it for granted that entitlements for pensions and repatriation fares were the same for them as for the New Zealand residents. Vailima who enlisted in New Zealand, returned to Tonga on a free passage. This was regarded as, 'in lieu of the usual free rail warrant issued to soldiers returning from overseas.'³¹⁷ He was discharged from the army while in Tonga on 15th March, 1945. A memo to the Commanding Officer of the Tonga Defence Force stated that, 'should he desire to return to New Zealand to engage in private employment, this must be done at his own expense.'³¹⁸ This meant that O'Dwyer and Henry were all entitled to a fare back home as they enlisted from New Zealand. Others found out that it was not the case for

³¹⁶ Ted Nepia, "The 28th Maori Battalion President's Report 1964," in *Correspondence of the The 28 Maori Battalion (NZ), - Otago Branch/Murihiku Association Inc.* (Dunedin: Correspondence Papers of the 28th Maori Battalion Association - Otago and Murihiku Branch, 1964).

³¹⁷ Army Department Personnel Archives, "Pf 26147 Joseph Vailima Meanata," (: 1939).

³¹⁸ Ibid.

them. In November 1946, Mr. Arthur Williams wrote to the Air (Force) Department regarding a passage for his son to return home to Samoa.

My son who is at present living in Auckland was in the Air Force, and I understand that those of them who came from Samoa were entitled to a free trip back to Samoa. Whether this still applies or terminated when they were drafted out of the force I do not quite know. I am trying to get him back in the shop with me, and he said that he has written to Wellington about a free passage, so if there is anything you can do for him it will be greatly appreciated by me.³¹⁹

The son's efforts did not succeed. The recruiting process made it impossible for Samoans and 'half-caste' Samoans to be recruited in Samoa. This meant that the Samoans recruited in New Zealand were not entitled to a return air fare to Samoa. Thus they had been double penalized in a sense that they paid their own fares from recruiting centers.

Don revealed that all that his father wanted to do after the war was to go back home to Samoa. However, this was not possible because, being outside of New Zealand made the scheme inaccessible for him. '[As veterans], they were offered land and state housing schemes, which he didn't really want. He just wanted to come home! And being in Samoa was all the rehabilitation that I think he needed. He didn't have access to [all] that. I know he was offered land but he didn't want it. Although he was living in New Zealand his heart was always Samoa.'³²⁰

Conclusion

Efforts were made by the New Zealand government to help soldiers to readjust to civilian life through the rehabilitation loan schemes to create

³¹⁹ IT-1ex 69/144/Part 1, "Department of Island Territories Papers."(ANZ-W)

³²⁰ Mataia, "Don O'Dwyer."

employment and other profitable ventures for the returned soldiers. This was a large undertaking by the government. However, much help was needed by the returned soldiers to deal with the psychological effects of their wartime experiences. This became a shared experience for soldiers throughout the world.

Coming home to the family was always considered to be the remedy, to put the soldiers' minds at ease. However, this was not the case for some of the men. While some individuals benefited socially in the post-war arrangement, the ordinary private soldier went home either to his parents or to the arms of eager wives and families to unpack, not just the suitcases, but the trauma of the frontline. The army life was brought home to most of the families and when they slowly unwound, it was a hard life for the family, the wife and especially the children who later grew up with a father, often damaged mentally by the war.

Mental rehabilitation became a real challenge for individuals who were affected by the traumatic effects of the war. It was the family, wives and children who had to bear the agony and the hardships of men, damaged by war. Evidence of Pacific Islanders who suffered such problems was derived from the interviews with the daughters and close relatives. In each case, there was an inter-mingling of romantic and loving memories with the terrors of war.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis has shown that there were Pacific Islanders in the 28 (Maori) Battalion. Approximately 252 Pacific Island men went with the Maori in the two world wars. About half of this number joined the 28 (Maori) Battalion in World War II. These men fought with their fellow Polynesian warriors in various battles in the North African, Crete, Greece and the Italian Campaigns, from 1939 to May 1945. By participating in this celebrated unit, they become part of New Zealand's intricately woven and rich military heritage.

Archival documents and oral histories revealed a lot of unpublished evidence and other historical facts about the participation of Pacific Island men in the 28 (Maori) Battalion. Yet, there is rarely any secondary history literature about the participation of the Pacific Islanders in the 28 (Maori) Battalion. The lack of reference to these men in the secondary material does not necessarily mean that they have been forgotten. Indeed, veterans of the Maori Battalion remember their comrades fondly in a range of sources, especially oral histories. Oral histories in this research have brought to light previously hidden information which was almost lost or rendered insignificant. The importance of oral histories enlightens us about the different textures of the experience of the Island soldiers in the Maori Battalion. It is evident in this research that soldier's bled in World War II for the same God, King but not the same country.

The recruitment of the Pacific Islanders into the 28 (Maori) Battalion, as Chapter Two illustrated, was intricately tied up with definitions of ethnic identity that were wrapped within colonial and political interests. The enlistment criteria based on racial and blood quantum restricted non-Europeans from joining the New Zealand army. The 'Euronians',

especially those from Samoa, overwhelmingly rejected the criteria, which caused the New Zealand government to reconsider the enlistment criteria for the Pacific Islands. Recruitment in the Cook Islands and Niue was made easy because of their clear cut relationship with New Zealand. Pacific Islanders in New Zealand enlisted without any problems. Samoa's political status as a mandate of the League of Nations restricted Samoans from participating in the World War II. Despite all these complications, it did not stop the Samoans from participating in the war. Enloe's discussions on about the relationship between governments' security maps, internal colonialism and the expendable nature of ethnic soldiers put into perspective the attitudes of administrators, and colonial recruitment patterns in the Pacific did not affect those Pacific Islanders who were proactive in their recruitment. In comparing the recruitment between the Islanders and the Maori, I find similar attitudes were displayed by the New Zealand Government. Their solidarity enabled them to withstand the attitudes of the administration, as did the emphasis Maori and 'Euronesians' placed on loyalty to the Crown.

Chapter Three explored through oral histories the war-time experiences of three Pacific Islanders in the 28th (Maori) Battalion. It highlighted the nature of these men's encounter with the harsh realities of the battle fronts. The accounts by the veterans and family members revealed the personal versions of events which had never been told before. In this chapter we discovered how these soldiers honoured their comradeship and their loyalty to each other. The Pacific Island soldiers asserted themselves as a distinctive group in the 28 (Maori) Battalion, but their closeness with the Maori was like 'uso', brother or teina/tuakana. Regardless of casualties and injuries, the soldiers enjoyed some humorous moments, which deflected their fear and feelings of anxiety. The soldiers were exposed to the brutal and ugly scenes of the battlefield, which had a great impact on their memories and recollections. The oral histories taken specifically for this research has revealed much more than battle fields and guns. They open up military

battles to social history and the individual experience. They also give nuance and meaning to recruitment, by indicating that these men joined up for personal reasons and out of friendship.

Finally, Chapter four centered on the Pacific Islander soldier's return home. It looked at the initiatives by the government and the army to ease the transition from the battlefields back to civilian life. These attempts to rehabilitate the soldier focused more on economic welfare but left the psychological rehabilitation too late. Many soldiers, including Pacific Islanders, suffered silently and their war demons affected their families. It was the family, the wives and children who were forced to cater for the veterans' disturbances the best way they knew how. The camaraderie and their connectedness as Polynesians, 'tuakana' and 'teina', became the bond that kept these men together. As members of the Maori Battalion, they had the chance of joining the 28 (Maori) Battalion Association - an attempt to help ex-servicemen with the same shared experience. Those who went back to the islands found that assistance from the New Zealand Government became more inaccessible. Nevertheless, the families were there. This as some of the participants related, it was the best medication for a returned servicemen. Samoa's political status during and after the war has affected not only the recruitment processes but the benefits gained after the war. All these complexities of definitions of identities were played out during this controversial time. No wonder it was almost impossible for the Administrators to cater for needs of such a complex popular group. The government of New Zealand was concerned at a very early stage of war about getting the soldiers back to civilian life. For some, the rehabilitation came too late.

In this research, I have encountered many elements of serendipities. One of these was the realization that my role changed from a researcher who at first was embarrassed by my ignorance of my distant kin-folk and their role in World War II. In the middle of the research my role

changed to a rescuer of the remnant of this very important history and the experiences of these little known men. This research's humble contribution to historical scholarship is to reveal the intrinsic experience of those who were left out in the shadows by orthodox histories of the Battalion and to shed light on the complexities of identities and individuals who made up the Maori Battalion. I am hopeful that through this research the history of these brave men is kept alive. It is important for them to have a say in the histories of the war unit for which they gave their all.

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**APPENDIX ONE: CONSENT LETTERS FOR ORAL
HISTORIES**

The following attachments are the copies of the Consent Forms signed by the Research Participants. They follow the order in which the interviews were scheduled:

Consent Form One: Mere Montgomery.

Consent Form Two: Lesieli Meanata (Signed in the presence of daughter, Elizabeth Meanata)

Consent Form Three: Rosita O'Dwyer and Josephine O'Dwyer (questions were directed to both participants)

Consent Form Four: Eric Akakoa Henry (Signed in the presence of daughter Arohanui Henry)

Consent Form Five: Don O'Dwyer (Apia, Samoa)



**PACIFIC ISLANDERS INVOLVEMENT IN THE 28TH MAORI BATTALION
DURING WORLD WAR II, 1939 – 1945.**

CONSENT FORM

FOR

[PARTICIPANTS or PARENTS / GUARDIANS ETC]

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. my participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
1. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
2. the data [*photographs, interview transcripts, video-tapes / audio-tapes*] will be destroyed in a manner of my choosing, at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.
3. should I feel any discomfort about sensitive issues that arise during the project, I have the right to withdraw from project.
5. the results of the project may be published and available in the library but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.
6. I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed.

I agree to take part in this project.

.....
MaMontgomery
(Signature of participant)

.....
23/8/06
(Date)



**PACIFIC ISLANDERS INVOLVEMENT IN THE 28TH MAORI BATTALION
DURING WORLD WAR II, 1939 – 1945.**

CONSENT FORM

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6. I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed.

I agree to take part in this project.

Lesieli Moanaka

(Signature of participant)



18/1/2006
(Date)



**PACIFIC ISLANDERS INVOLVEMENT IN THE 28TH MAORI BATTALION
DURING WORLD WAR II, 1939 – 1945.**

CONSENT FORM

FOR

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6. I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed.

I agree to take part in this project.

Rozita O'Dwyer
(Signature of participant)

19/11/2006
(Date)



**PACIFIC ISLANDERS INVOLVEMENT IN THE 28TH MAORI BATTALION
DURING WORLD WAR II, 1939 – 1945.**

CONSENT FORM

FOR

[PARTICIPANTS or PARENTS / GUARDIANS ETC]

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5. the results of the project may be published and available in the library but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.
6. I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed.

I agree to take part in this project.

ERIC AKAKOA WAERUARANGI HENRY 21/11/2006
(Signature of participant) *EA Henry* (Date) *[Signature]*

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee



PACIFIC ISLANDERS INVOLVEMENT IN THE 28TH MAORI BATTALION
DURING WORLD WAR II, 1939 – 1945.

CONSENT FORM

FOR


[PARTICIPANTS or PARENTS / GUARDIANS ETC]


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6. I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed.

I agree to take part in this project.


.....
(Signature of participant)


.....
(Date)

*no. 310
22.5.2015*

**APPENDIX TWO: NOMINAL ROLLS FOR THE 28 (MAORI)
BATTALION.**

Note: Names of Pacific Islanders whom this research has found were in the 28(Maori) have been high lighted.

NOMINAL ROLL

ROLL OF OFFICERS AND OTHER RANKS WHO EMBARKED FROM NEW ZEALAND WITH THE 28TH (MAORI) BATTALION AND REINFORCEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used:

k/a	..	..	<i>killed in action</i>
d/w	..	..	<i>died of wounds</i>
d/sickness	..	..	<i>died of sickness</i>
d/accident	..	..	<i>death due to accident</i>
m	..	..	<i>missing</i>
p.o.w.	..	..	<i>prisoner of war</i>
w	..	..	<i>wounded</i>
M/D	..	..	<i>mentioned in despatches</i>

NOTE. Where a soldier has been wounded more than once the number of times wounded is indicated thus:—w/2, etc.

PRESENT LOCATION

M.E.	..	..	<i>still serving in the Middle East</i>
N.Z. furlough	..	..	<i>in New Zealand at present on furlough leave</i>
N.Z. duty	..	..	<i>returned to New Zealand on duty</i>
N.Z. invalided	..	..	<i>returned to New Zealand medically unfit</i>
N.Z.	..	..	<i>returned to New Zealand for other reasons</i>

* Means last war decoration.

BAKER, Frederick, Lieut Col, D.S.O., M/D/2, w/2. N.Z. invalided
 BENNETT, Charles Moihi, Lieut Col, D.S.O., w. N.Z. invalided
 DITTMER, George, Brigadier, *M.C., *M.B.E., D.S.O., M/D, w. N.Z. duty
 DYER, Humphrey Coring, Lieut Col, M/D, N.Z. duty
 FISHER, William Beaumont, Lieut Col, M.E.
 BERTRAND, George Frederick, T. Lieut Col, O.B.E., N.Z. duty
 KEIHA, Kingi Areta, T Lieut Col, M.C., M.E.
 LOVE, Edward Te Whiti, T Lieut Col, M/D, d/w
 HARVEY, Henri Douglas, Major, w. N.Z. duty
 ORMOND, Andrew Gordon, Major, w. M.E.
 PORTER (Poata), William, Major, M.C. and Bar, w. N.Z. invalided
 ROYAL, Rangi, Major, M.C. and Bar, w. N.Z.
 SORENSEN, Christopher, Major, w. M.E.
 WEIR, Gerald Harcourt, Major, N.Z. duty
 SCOTT, Alfred Thomas McLew, T Major, N.Z. duty.
 TE PUNGA, Hamuera Paul, T Major, M/D, N.Z. duty

AWARAU, Waipaina Matehe, Capt, w/2, M.E.
 AWATERE, Arapeta, Capt, M.C., w/2, M.E.
 BELL, Lawrence John, Capt, k/a
 BENNETT, Frederick Tiwha, Capt, w, N.Z. duty
 BENNETT, George Ranginohora, Capt, p.o.w.
 GILROY, Joseph Terence, Capt, N.Z. furlough
 HARAWIRA, Kahi, Chaplain Capt, N.Z. duty
 HENARE, James Clendon, Capt, w, M.E.
 HEREWINI, William, Capt, p.o.w.
 HOKIANGA, Henry, Capt, p.o.w.
 JACKSON, Sydney Freyberg, Capt, w, M.E.
 LEAF, Harding Waipuke, Capt, k/a
 LOGAN, Rangi France, Capt, M/D, w, M.E.
 McDONALD, Henry Mellor, Capt, p.o.w.
 MATEHAERE, James, Capt, M/D, w/2, M.E.
 MITCHELL, Ariariterangi, Capt, w, p.o.w.
 MITCHELL, Hamahona Mervyn, Capt, w, N.Z. furlough
 NGATA, Henare Kohere, Capt, p.o.w.
 PENE, Manu Rubi, Capt, N.Z. furlough
 REEDY, Hanara Te Ohaki, Capt, p.o.w.
 REEDY, John College, Capt, M/D, w/2, M.E.
 SANTON, Thos Goderey, Capt, w, M.E.
 TE PUNI, Atanatiu, Capt, p.o.w.
 TUREIA, Parekura, Capt, k/a
 URLICH, Daniel, Capt, w, N.Z. invalided
 WIREMU, Himi, Capt, p.o.w.
 WIREPA, Tutu, Capt, w, M.E.
 HAYWARD, Edward Vere, T Capt, M.E.
 MANAHI, Tuhawaiki, T Capt, N.Z. duty.
 NGATA, William, T Capt, w, N.Z. duty
 ORNBERG, Peter Fredrick Te Heu Heu, T Capt, M.E.
 TAIAPA, Pinc, T Capt, w, N.Z. duty.
 TUHIWAI, James, T Capt, M/D, k/a
 WEROHIA, Whetu, T Capt, N.Z. duty
 WORDLEY, Walter Downs P., T Capt, w/2, M.E.
 APERAHAMA, James Gerard Pera, Lieut, w, M.E.
 BARRETT, John Piuraki Tikao, Lieut, M.C., w. N.Z. invalided
 FRANCIS, Mita, Lieut, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 GREEN, Hone Te Kauru, Lieut, k/a
 HAIG, Wananga Te Arika, Lieut, N.Z. furlough
 HALL, Leslie Tuteranganini, Lieut, N.Z. furlough
 HAMIORA, Hupa, Lieut, d/w
 KARAITIANA, Te Kauru Te Huki, Lieut, N.Z. invalided
 KURU, George Arapata, Lieut, k/a
 LAMBERT, Henry Colton Arundel, Lieut, M.E.
 MCKAY, Wattie Horton, Lieut, d/p.o.w.
 McRAE, Alfred Edward, Lieut, N.Z. furlough
 MALONEY, Horace Thos, Lieut, d/w
 MARIU, Kereti Pau, Lieut, M.E.
 MARSDEN, George Tuoro, Lieut, w, M.E.
 MORGAN, Edward, Lieut, w/2, N.Z. furlough

ORMSBY, John Richmond, Lieut. M.E.
 POHIO, Edward Clayton, Lieut, M.E.
 RANGIUA, Hapi Pakaroa, Lieut, w. N.Z. invalided
 STEWART, Donald Oliphant, Lieut, w. N.Z. duty
 STEWART, Horton Oliphant, Lieut, k/a
 SWAINSON, Matia Parkes, Lieut, M.E.
 TE AHO, Walker Kingi, Lieut, w. N.Z. invalided
 TE PUNGA, Roy Carl, Lieut, w. N.Z. invalided
 TOKA, Paikea Henare, Lieut, N.Z. duty
 TUTAKI, Rangi, Lt, Rangi, w/2, M.E.
 VERCOE, Henry Te Rupe, Lieut, presumed dead
 VERCOE, William, Lieut, w. N.Z. invalided
 WAAKA, Kuru, Lieut, N.Z. invalided
 WEST, Paki Coupar, Lieut, k/a
 BALZER, Clarence Juna, T Lieut, M.E.
 PILE, John Hall, T Lieut, M.E.
 WARBRICK, Patiti Alfred, T Lieut, w. N.Z. invalided
 ANARU, Wi Patene, 2/Lieut, w, M.E.
 ASHER, George, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 BAKER, John Sonny, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 BENNETT, Albert Te Auhcke, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 CARR, Joseph, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 CHRISTY, Benjamin Goddard, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 DAVIS, Rihimona (Richmond), 2/Lieut, D.C.M. w. M.E.
 DUFF, Wituroa, 2/Lieut, N.Z. invalided
 HETET, Kingi Tuheka, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 JACKSON, Everard Stanley, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 JONES, Walter Edward, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 KATENE, George, 2/Lieut, M.M., w. M.E.
 KEELAN, Thomas, 2/Lieut, w. N.Z. invalided
 LAWRENCE, Thos Wm, 2/Lieut, N.Z. duty
 LEWIS, Waki, 2/Lieut, N.Z. duty
 McDONALD, George, 2/Lieut, w. M.E.
 MAHUKA, Nepia, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 MARSDEN, Herbert, 2/Lieut, N.Z. invalided
 MITCHELL, Don, 2/Lieut, d/w
 MOHI, Heremia, 2/Lieut, w. N.Z. duty
 MUNRO, Pango Stirling, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 NEARIMU, Moana-nui-a-kiwa, V.C., k/a
 NGATA, George, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 NORTHGROFT, Henry William, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 PAIPA, Hapi, 2/Lieut, w. N.Z. duty
 PAUL, Lu, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 RANGI, Tenga, 2/Lieut, p.o.w.
 RAURETI, Moana, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 REEDY, Wi, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 RIKA, Karamea, 2/Lieut, w. N.Z. invalided
 ROGERS, Te Whareriri, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 ROPATA, Ehae John, 2/Lieut, d/w
 ROTA, Aubrey, 2/Lieut, k/a
 SADLIER, Tautuhi, 2/Lieut, w. N.Z. invalided

SEARANCKE, Monty, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 SMITH, Jerry, 2/Lieut, w/2, M.E.
 SMITH, Riki, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 STEPHENS, Andrew Joseph, 2/Lieut, d/w
 TAKURUA, George, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 TAWHAI, Honi Ngapera, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 TE KAWA, Noble, 2/Lieut, N.Z. duty
 URLICH, Stephen Henry, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 WAJITTI, John, 2/Lieut, M.E.
 WANOAO, Ngatai Tunoa, 2/Lieut, w, M.E.
 WOOD, Allan Campbell, 2/Lieut, D.C.M., w. N.Z. duty
 YATES, Tai, 2/Lieut, N.Z. duty
 WIKIRIWHI, Matarehua, 2/Lieut, D.S.O., w. M.E.
 BERGHAN, Joseph Andrew, T 2/Lieut, M.E.
 SMITH, Cleo Ronald, T 2/Lieut, M.E.
 TAMAHORI, George, T 2/Lieut, M.E.

ABRAHAM, Simon Robert, Pte, w, M.E.
 ADAMSON, Waru, Pte, M.E.
 AHOMIRO, John, Pte, M.E.
 AHOMIRO, Sonny Ronald, Pte, M.E.
 AKUHATA, Hiko, Pte, M.E.
 AKUHATA, Pura, Pte, M.E.
 AKUHATA, Tamihana Wetini, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 AKURANGI, John, Pte, M.E.
 AKURANGI, Tamure, Pte, M.E.
 ALBERT, Haunui, Pte, w, M.E.
 ALBERT, Jack, T Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 ALBERT, Motu, Cpl, M.E.
 ALEX, Dick, Pte, M.E.
 ALLEN, Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 ALLEN, King, T Sgt, M.E.
 ALLEN, Robin, Cpl, presumed dead
 ALLEN, William Naihi, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 ALLISON, Mahuika, L Cpl, M.E.
 ALLISON, Pua, Pte, w and p.o.w.
 AMOHAU, Anania, W.O./2, N.Z. invalided
 AMOTAWA, Kereti, Pte, M.E.
 AMOTAWA, Thomas, Pte, M.E.
 ANANIA, John William, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 ANARU, Paratene, Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 ANDERSON, Arthur, Cpl, M.E.
 ANDERSON, Arthur Tukiri, Pte, M.E.
 ANDERSON, Charles Katene, Pte, M.E.
 ANDERSON, Frederick, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 ANDERSON, Henry Toki, Pte, k/a
 ANDERSON, Jack, Pte, k/a
 ANDERSON, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 ANDERSON, Joseph Tuteri, Pte, M.E.
 ANDERSON, Morris, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 ANDERSON, Sinclair Valentine, Pte, M.E.

ANDERSON, William, Pte, M.E.
 ANDREW, Hiko, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 ANDREWS, Henry, Pte, w, M.E.
 ANGLEM, John Toby, Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 ANGELL, Joseph Tai, T L/Cpl, p.o.w.
 APANUI, Christie, Pte, M.E.
 APANUI, Karangawai, Pte, w, M.E.
 APANUI, Manu, Pte, w, M.E.
 APATU, Nirai Nepe, Pte, k/a
 APERAHAMA, Toka, Pte, p.o.w.
 APERAHAMA, John, Pte, M.E.
 APES, Harry Navau, Pte, M.E.
 APIATA, Alfred, Pte, M.E.
 APIATA, Leonard, Pte, M.E.
 APIATA, Mack, Pte, M.E.
 APIATA, Tau, Pte, M.E.
 APIATA, Wessie, Pte, M.E.
 APIHAI, Chas Titirahi, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 APIHAI, Wm. Titirahi, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 APUWAI, Sonny, Pte, w and p.o.w.
 ARAMAKUTU, Haretea Tuniuarangi, Pte, k/a
 ARANO, Heremaia, Pte, w, M.E.
 ARANUI, Kamira, Pte, M.E.
 ARATEMA, David Kohuru, Pte, w, M.E.
 ARENA, Skinner, Pte, M.E.
 ARENA, Te Rangi, Cpl, w, M.E.
 ARONA, White, Pte, M.E.
 ASHBY, Arthur Walter, Pte, M.E.
 ASHBY, George, L Cpl, d/acc.
 ASHBY, Kimete, Pte, M.E.
 ASHER, John David, Pte, M.E.
 ASPINALL, Louis, Pte, M.E.
 ATA, Joe Naka, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 ATAMA, Manuera, Pte, p.o.w.
 ATARAU, John, Pte, M.E.
 ATARAU, Maia, Pte, M.E.
 ATKINS, Bill, Pte, M.E.
 ATKINS, Joe, Pte, k/a
 ATKINS, Rakepa, Pte, M.E.
 ATUTAHU, Davis George Ngaro, Pte, w, M.E.
 AUGUST, John, Sgt, M.M., k/a
 AUGUST, Tipuna, w, M.E.
 AUPOURI, Hemi Hemara, Pte, d/w
 AWATERE, Tamati, Pte, k/a

 BABBINGTON, Dave, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 BABBINGTON, Tuhaka, Pte, M.E.
 BAILEY, Matthew Matiu Papatu, Pte, k/a
 BAKER, Hubert George, T Sgt, w/2, M.E.
 BAKER, John Lionel, Sgt, N.Z. invalided
 BALZER, Aubrey, T Sgt, M.E.

BARBARICH, James, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 BARLOW, Tiri, Pte, M.E.
 BARNEY, George Allan, L Cpl, k/a
 BARRETT, Henry Kokoro, Pte, w, M.E.
 BARLETT, Robert, Pte, p.o.w.
 BEATTIE, Brown, Sgt, M.E.
 BEATTIE, Moana, Pte, d/w
 BEATTIE, Whare, Pte, w
 BEASLEY, Daniel, T Sgt, w/2, M.E.
 BEAZLEY, Bob, T Cpl, M.E.
 BEAZLEY, Selwyn, Pte, M.E.
 BELL, Benjamin Raniera, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 BELL, Charles, Sgt, M.E.
 BELL, John Pani, L Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 BELL, Richard Nikora, Pte, k/a
 BERGHAN, Henery, Pte, w, N.Z. invalid
 BERGHAN, Joseph, Pte, w and p.o.w.
 BERRYMAN, Edward, Pte, w, N.Z. invalid
 BIDDLE, Robert William, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 BIDOIS, Maurice, Pte, M.E.
 BIDOIS, Robert Harvey, Pte, M.E.
 BIRD, George Gabriel, L Cpl, k/a
 BIRD, Maurice Douglas Tukuha, Pte, M.E.
 BIRD, Sydney Joseph, Pte, k/a
 BIRD, Tahawai Henry, L Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 BISHOP, Albert Sonnie, Pte, M.E.
 BISHOP, Jim, Pte, M.E.
 BLACK, John, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 BLACKBURN, Matthew, Pte, M.E.
 BLOMFIELD, Cecil James, Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 BLUETT, Charles, L Cpl, M.E.
 BLUETT, Fred, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 BLUETT, Raymond, Pte, M.E.
 BLUETT, Samuel, Cpl, k/a
 BOBBETTE, Murray William, Pte, M.E.
 BOWMAN, Harry Robert, Pte, p.o.w.
 BRASS, Barney, Pte, M.E.
 BRASS, Logan David, Pte, M.E.
 BRIAN, Warry, Pte, M.E.
 BROOKING, Arthur, Pte, p.o.w.
 BROOKING, Frank Rodney, Pte, k/a
 BROOKING, Owen Kani, Pte, M.E.
 BROOKING, Henry, Pte, M.E.
 BROOKING, Ned Everard, Pte, M.E.
 BROOKING, Iwa, Pte, M.E.
 BROOKING, Stephen Tute, Pte, w and p.o.w.
 BROUGH, John Michael, Pte, M.E.
 BROUGHTON, Kenneth Renata, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 BROWN, Brown, Cpl, k/a
 BROWN, Buffalo, Pte, M.E.
 BROWN, Charles Smith, p.o.w.

BROWN, David, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 BROWN, Harry, Pte, k/a
 BROWN, Harvey, Pte, d/w
 BROWN, Hauraki Aruhata, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 BROWN, Ivan, Pte, M.E.
 BROWN, Jack, Pte, w, M.E.
 BROWN, James, Pte, p.o.w.
 BROWN, John Rawhiti, Pte, m
 BROWN, Kawiti, Pte, k/a
 BROWN, Rangī, Pte, M.E.
 BROWN, Robert, L Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 BROWN, Tamihana, Pte, M.E.
 BROWN, Teri, Pte, p.o.w.
 BROWN, Thomas, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 BROWN, Tiweka, Pte, M.E.
 BROWN, William, Pte, M.E.
 BROWN, Wuru Edward, Pte, M.E.
 BRYERS, Tom Peter Waiata, Cpl, k/a
 BUNKER, Rangī Peni, Pte, w and p.o.w.
 BURKE, Garrett Leslie, W.O./2, w and m
 BUSBY, Henry, Pte, d/w
 BUSBY, Ponaute, Pte, p.o.w.
 BUSBY, Selwyn, Pte, p.o.w.
 BUSH, Whiu, Pte, M.E.
 BUTLER, Kehu, Pte, w, M.E.
 BUTLER, Rere, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided

CAIRNS, Fred John, Pte, M.E.
 CALLAGHAN, James, Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 CALLAGHAN, John, T Cpl, M.E.
 CALLAGHAN, Te-Moana, Pte, M.E.
 CAMERON, John, Pte, M.E.
 CAMPBELL, Hikurangi, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 CAMPBELL, John Sidney, L Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 CAMPBELL, Joseph Hemotu, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 CAMPBELL, Pani, Pte, w, M.E.
 CAMPBELL, Rutene, Pte, M.E.
 CAMPBELL, Tahaa, Pte, M.E.
 CARLSON, William, Pte, M.E.
 CARR, Dick, Pte, M.E.
 CARROLL, Alfred Nelson, Pte, p.o.w.
 CARROLL, Joseph Francis, Pte, p.o.w.
 CARROLL, Richard John, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 CARSON, Henry, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 CASSIDY, Henry, Cpl, w, M.E.
 CASSIDY, Tom, Pte, w, M.E.
 CASSIDY, William Diamond, Pte, k/a
 CASTLETON, Robert Scott, Pte, M.E.
 CHAMBERS, Charles, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 CHASE, Rangī, Pte, w, M.E.
 CHRISTIAN, William, Pte, M.E.

CLARK, Richard, Pte, w, M.E.
 CLARK, Roy, Pte, M.E.
 CLARK, Thomas, Pte, M.E.
 CLARK, William, Pte, M.E.
 CLARK, William Mathew, Pte, w/3, M.E.
 CLARKE, Edward, Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 CLARKE, Herbert, Pte, w, M.E.
 CLARKE, Murdock Spencer, T Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 CLARKE, Peter, Cpl, w, M.E.
 COATES, Mickey Arama Karaka, Pte, w, M.E.
 COCKERY, James, Pte, M.E.
 COLEMAN, John Thomas, L Cpl, M.E.
 COLEMAN, Simon, Pte, k/a
 COLLIER, James Patrick, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 CONNOR, Lance William, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 CONROY, Francis Patrick, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 COOK, Edmund, Pte, M.E.
 COOK (Kuka), George (Huri), Cpl, w, M.E.
 COOK, Hohipuha Kareanui, Pte, M.E.
 COOK, Neville Bennett, L Sgt, M.M., w, N.Z. invalided
 COOPER, Stanley, Sgt, w/2, M.E.
 COOPER, Walter James, Sgt, p.o.w.
 COOPER, William Hohepa, Pte, w, M.E.
 COPE, Henare, Pte, p.o.w.
 COPE, Mathew Iti, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 CORCORAN, John, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 COTTER, Robert Kingi, Pte, M.E.
 COULSTON, Reuben Edward, Pte, M.E.
 COURTNEY, Walter Mark, Pte, presumed dead
 COWELL, Robert, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 COWELL, William, Pte, k/a
 CRAPP, Lawson Tunoa, Sgt, M.E.
 CRAWFORD, Jury, Pte, M.E.
 CRAWFORD, Karu, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 CRAWFORD, Ahaopo Hoia Terau Hiriwa, Pte, M.E.
 CRAWFORD, Tui, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 CREWTHER, Edward James, Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 CRIBB, Kiwi, Pte, M.E.
 CROWN, Toi, Pte, p.o.w.
 CULLEN, Ralph, T Cpl, M.E.
 GUNNINGHAM, John, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 GURRAN, Frank Kitchener, T Cpl, M.E.
 CURRY, John, Pte, p/d
 CURTIS, James Hurinuku, Pte, N.Z. invalided

DANIELS, Andrew, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 DANIELS, Moses, L Cpl, k/a
 DANIELS, Peter, Pte, w, M.E.
 DANIELS, Puhu Thomas, L Cpl, M.E.
 DANSEY, Roger Tahere, Pte, N.Z. furlough

DAVIS, Arapeta, Pte, M.E.
 DAVIS, Arthur, Pte, M.E.
 DAVIS, Bengiman Tanui, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 DAVIS, Benjimen, L Cpl, M.E.
 DAVIS, Charles William Lewis, Pte, M.E.
 DAVIS, Edward Tanui, Pte, w, M.E.
 DAVIS, Eric, Pte, p.o.w.
 DAVIS, Harry Wixon, Pte, w, M.E.
 DAVIS, Jack, Pte, k/a
 DAVIS, John, Cpl, w/2, ME.
 DAVIS, Ngaro Moses, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 DAVIS, Perry, Pte, w, M.E.
 DAVIS, Thompson Moses, T L/Cpl, p.o.w.
 DAVIS, William, Pte, M.E.
 DAVIS, William, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 DAVIS, William, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 DAVIS, William Henry, Pte, w/2 M.E.
 DAYMOND, Tiri Taua, Pte, M.E.
 DE LA CROIX, Harry Tuhoi, Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 DELAMERE, Edward Kobi, A L/Cpl, d/w
 DELAMERE, Monita, T Cpl, M.E.
 DELAMERE, Maui Bennett, Cpl, k/a
 DELAMERE, Philip, Pte, M.E.
 DELAMERE, Takamoana, L Cpl, M.E.
 DELAMERE, Thomas, Pte, k/a
 DETHIERRY, Percival Thomas, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 DEWES, Henry, Pte, p.o.w.
 DIAMOND, Daniel, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 DIAMOND, Hemara, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 DICK, Joe, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 DICKEY, Henry, Pte, k/a
 DINSDALE, John, T Cpl, M.E.
 DIXON, Marshall Edward, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 DIXON, Robert John, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 DIXON, Wallace, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 DOUGLAS, Edward, Pte, k/a
 DOUGLAS, Joseph, Pte, k/a
 DOWNS, Hoani Tehoka, Pte, M.E.
 DOWNES, Timothy, Dvr, M.E.
 DUDLEY, Henry, Pte, M.E.
 DUFF, Hone, Pte, k/a
 DUFF, Mangu, Pte, M.E.
 DUFF, William Takiwa, Pte, M.E.
 DUNCAN, Paul Sonny, Pte, M.E.
 DUNCAN, Thomas England, Cpl, w, m
 DUNN, Harry, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 DUNN, Manucl, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 DUNN, Wati, Pte, N.Z. furlough

 EDMONDS, David, Pte, M.E.
 EDMONDS, James Ngaro, Pte, k/a

EDMONDS, Hira, T Cpl, M.E.
 EDWARDS, Kura, Pte, M.M., w/2, M.E.
 EDWARDS, Dets, Pte, M.E.
 EDWARDS, Felix Joseph, L Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 EDWARDS, Gilbert, Pte, M.E.
 EDWARDS, Heta, Pte, w/3, N.Z. invalided
 EDWARDS, James, Pte, N.Z. Invalided
 EDWARDS, Patira, Pte, M.E.
 EDWARDS, Richard, Cpl, M/D, w, N.Z. invalided
 EDWARDS, Thomas, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 EHAU, Claude, Pte, k/a
 EHAU, James, Pte, d/w
 EHAU, Tangi Haere, Cpl, M.E.
 ELKINGTON, Herbert, L Cpl, k/a
 ELKINGTON, John Arthur, Cpl, k/a
 ELLISON, George, Cpl, M.E.
 ELLISON, John Rangī, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 ELLISON, Record William, Pte, p.o.w.
 ELLISON, Thomas Mutu, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 ELLISON, Vincent Geo Tehau, L Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 EMERY, Edward Erihe, Pte, M.E.
 EPARAIMA, Pua, Pte, m
 EPARAIMA, Rangawhenua, L Sgt, m
 EPIHA, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 EPIHA, Paihana, T Cpl, M.E.
 EPU, Edward, Pte, M.E.
 EREATARA, Whetu, L Cpl, w/2, M.E.
 ERUERA, Tom, Pte, M.E.
 ERUETI, Witute Witute, Pte, M.E.
 EREMANA, Henare, L Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 EREPETA, Jack, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 ERIA, Hacata, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 ERIHA, Pakira Walters, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 ERUERA, Pae, Pte, p.o.w.
 ERUERA, Pera, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 ERUETI, Wiremu, Pte, k/a
 EVANS, Henry, Pte, M.E.

 FACOOREY, Herbert George, Pte, M.E.
 FALWASSER, Dallas Landell, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 FALWASSER, Henry, Sgt, M.E.
 FARR, Thomas, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 FARRELL, Robert John, A Cpl, k/a
 FENTON, Roy Kerry Turata Rona, T Sgt, M.E.
 FERRIS, Donald Hari Pohatu, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 FERRIS, Parekura, Pte, w, M.E.
 FISHER, Colin, Pte, k/a
 FISHER, Harry, Pte, d/w
 FISHER, Robert, Pte, w, M.E.
 FORRESTER, Hector Joseph, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough

FOSTER, Jacob, Pte, M.E.
 FOWLER, Robert Fry, Pte, d/w
 FOX, Ben, Pte, M.E.
 FOX, Charles, Pte, k/a
 FOX, William, Pte, d/w
 FRASER, Arnold, T Sgt, M.E.
 FRANCIS, Percival, S Sgt, w, M.E.
 FRASER, Tanira Gladding, Pte, M.E.
 FROST, Michael, Pte, M.E.

 GILBERT, Kingi, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 GILLIES, Ewan Troutbeck, Pte, w, M.E.
 GILLIES, Robert, Pte, M.E.
 GOLDSMITH, John, Pte, M.E.
 GOLDSMITH, Matekino Charles, Pte, w, M.E.
 GOLDSMITH, Percy, Pte, k/a
 GOLDSMITH, Samuel Edward, T Sgt, M.E.
 GOODNIGHT, Fraser, Pte, w, M.E.
 GOODWILLIE, Arthur Bernard, Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 GOODWILLIE, George, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 GOODWILLIE, Raymond Tuahariri McMillan, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 GORDON, Albert, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 GOTTY, Duncan Turoa, Pte, k/a
 COURLAY, Robert L Cpl N.Z. invalided
 GRACE, James, Pte, M.E.
 GRAHAM, George, Pte, k/a
 GRAHAM, Jack, Pte, w/3, N.Z. invalided
 GRAHAM, John, T S/Sgt, w, M.E.
 GRAHAM, Tumata, Pte, M.E.
 GRANT, Hinga, T L/Cpl, M.M., M.E.
 GRANT, Koro, Pte, w/3, M.E.
 GRANT, Rapata, Pte, M.E.
 GREAVES, Timothy, Pte, w, M.E.
 GREEN, Buick, Pte, M.E.
 GREEN, Robert, Pte, M.E.
 GREY, Kelly, Pte, M.E.
 GUDGEON, Sonny, Pte, M.E.
 GAGE, Herewini, T Sgt, k/a
 GAGE, Nehu, Pte, M.E.
 GAGE, Tama, Pte, M.E.
 GARDINER, Joseph, Pte, w, M.E.
 GEMMELL, Peter James, Pte, M.E.
 GEORGE, Messinec, Cpl, M.E.
 GEORGE, Milton, L Cpl, M.E.
 GEORGE, Sonny, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 GEORGE, Thomas, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 GERRARD, Hone Paranihi, Pte, M.E.
 GERRARD, John, Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 GERRARD, Mitchell, Pte, p.o.w.
 GERRARD, Richmond Dix, Pte, d/s while p.o.w.
 GOFFE, Dudu, L Cpl, k/a

HAAMI, Hctana, Pte, d/w
 HAAMI, Paul, Pte, M.E.
 HAAPU, Darkie, Pte, d/s
 HAAPU, George, Pte, w, m
 HABBIE, Hurbert, Pte, p.o.w.
 HADDON, Rukutai, Cpl, w/2, M.E.
 HADFIELD, Mathew, Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 HAENGA, Jerry, Pte, p.o.w.
 HAENGA, Mick, Pte, M.E.
 HAENGA, Roger Julu, Pte, w, M.E.
 HAEREWAI, Robert, Pte, w, M.E.
 HAIG, Watene Katea, Pte, w, M.E.
 HAIMONA, Pire, Pte, M.E.
 HAIMONA, Rihari, Pte, M.E.
 HAIMONA, Rongomai, Pte, M.E.
 HAIRA, Kapu, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 HAKARAIA, Ata, Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 HAKARAIA, Dick, L Cpl, m
 HAKARAIA, Francis, Pte, w/3, M.E.
 HAKARAIA, Henare, Pte, M.E.
 HAKARAIA, Horore, Pte, M.E.
 HAKARAIA, Kima John, Pte, M.E.
 HAKARAIA, Rakaherea, Pte, d/w
 HAKARAIA, Rewiri, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 HAKE, Ben, Pte, M.E.
 HAKOPA, Hori, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 HALE, Frank Lewis, Pte, M.E.
 HALE, Richard Morris, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 HALL, Charles, L Cpl, k/a
 HALL, Charles James, Pte, M.E.
 HALL, George Te Awaiti, Pte, k/a
 HAMI, Tuhura, Pte, m
 HAMMOND, Robert, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HAMON, Eruera Dennis, Pte, d/w
 HANSARD, Epa, Pte, d/w
 HAPAKUKU, Sydney, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HAPE, Mita, Pte, M.E.
 HAPE, Tururu, Pte, M.E.
 HAPETA, Charles, Pte, M.E.
 HAPETA, John, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 HAPETA, Wi, Pte, M.E.
 HAPI, Albert, L Cpl, M.E.
 HAPIMANA, Hutuha, Pte, w, M.E.
 HARAKI, Pani, Pte, M.E.
 HARAKI, Te Mangai, T Cpl, M.E.
 HARAWENE, Hone, Sgt, k/a
 HARAWENE, Ru, Pte, M.E.
 HARAWIRA, Hori, Pte, k/a
 HARAWIRA, Te Kapunga, W.O./2, w/2, M.E.
 HARDIMAN, Andrew, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HARDIMAN, Bernard, Cpl, M.M., N.Z. furlough

HARDING, Ben, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HARDING, Hepi, Sgt, M.E.
 HARDING, Stewart, Pte, M.E.
 HARDING, William Peter, Pte, d/w
 HARE, John, Pte, d/w
 HARE, Naru, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HARE, Wiremu Rahiri, Sgt, d/w
 HAREMA, David, Pte, p.o.w.
 HARONGA, Donald Harawira, Sgt, N.Z. duty
 HARONGA, Joseph, T Cpl, M.E.
 HARRIS, Albert, Pte, M.E.
 HARRIS, Albert Fred, Pte, w, M.E.
 HARRIS, Christopher, T L/Cpl, m believed p.o.w.
 HARRIS, Francis, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HARRIS, Frank, Pte, M.E.
 HARRIS, Isaiah, Pte, M.E.
 HARRIS, Ivon Graham, W.O./2, w, M.E.
 HARRIS, Joe Titipa, Pte, w, M.E.
 HARRIS, Patrick, Pte, M.E.
 HARRISON, Miki, Pte, p.o.w.
 HARTLEY, Te Maramtanga, Cpl, M.E.
 HATARAKA, Laurie, Pte, p.o.w.
 HATARAKA, Raymond, Pte, M.E.
 HAU, George Graham, Pte, M.E.
 HAU, Hongi, Sgt, M.E.
 HAU, Mac, Pte, p.o.w.
 HAU, Sidney Papa, Pte, M.E.
 HAU, Sydney Ranga, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 HAU, Wi Tekouha, Sgt, k/a
 HAUMATE, Eric, Pte, M.E.
 HAUMATE, Wi, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HAUPAPA, Hirai, T Cpl, M.E.
 HAURAKI, Friday, Pte, M.E.
 HAURAKI, Jim, Pte, d/w
 HAUWAI, Whareharakeke, Pte, p.o.w.
 HAWEA, Tame, L Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 HAWERA, Hemi Kupai, L Cpl, M.E.
 HAWIRA, Kelly, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 HAWKINS, Billie, Pte, M.E.
 HAWKINS, Bunny, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 HAWKINS, Friday Patrick, Sgt, N.Z. duty
 HAWKINS, Hira, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 HAWKINS, Meihana, Pte, w, M.E.
 HAWKINS, Moses, Pte, M.E.
 HAWKINS, Piko, Pte, M.E.
 HAYWARD, Charlie, Pte, M.E.
 HAYWARD, Jack, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HEI, Graham, Pte, k/a
 HEIUEI, John, Pte, M.E.
 HEKA, Adam, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 HEKA, Dan, Pte, M.E.

HEKA, Ranga Jack, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HEKA, Ranga Pako, Pte, m
 HEKA, Tepene, Pte, D.C.M., w, M.E.
 HEKE, Albert, Pte, M.E.
 HEKE, Albert, Pte, M.E.
 HEKE, Anaru (Andrew), Pte, d/w
 HEKE, Henry, Pte, w, M.E.
 HEKE, Hirini, L Cpl, k/a
 HEKE, James, Pte, k/a
 HEKE, James, Cpl, M.E.
 HEKE, Jock, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 HEKE, Maru, Pte, M.E.
 HELLESOE, Christian, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HELMBRIGHT, Leonard, Pte, M.E.
 HEMA, Harry, Pte, k/a
 HEMA, Henry, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HEMA, Jack Wiremu, Pte, M.E.
 HEMA, Kingi, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HEMAHEMA, Harry, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HEMARA, Hemara, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 HEMARA, Hone, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HEMARA, Taylor, Pte, M.E.
 HEMI, Jack Henry, W.O./2, M/D, w, M.E.
 HEMI, Rapana, Pte, M.E.
 HEMI, Rawiri, L Cpl, M.E.
 HEMI, Sydney, Pte, p.o.w.
 HEMOPO, Joseph, Pte, d/w
 HENARE, George, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 HENARE, Hone Hamiora, Pte, d/w
 HENARE, Jerry, Pte, M.E.
 HENARE, Kabu Kiwi, Pte, M.E.
 HENARE, Ngapua, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HENARE, Ruki, Pte, M.E.
 HENARE, Tamati, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HENARE, Tame, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HENARE, Tom, Pte, k/a
 HENARE, Wiremu, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HENDERSON, Frank, Pte, M.E.
 HENDERSON, John Hannam, Pte, d/w
 HENDERSON, Rangī, L Cpl, k/a
 HENDERSON, William Koro, Cpl, M.E.
 HENRY, Arthur, Pte, M.E.
 HENRY, Eric, Pte, w, M.E.
 HENRY, Eruana, Pte, M.E.
 HENRY, James, Pte, M.E.
 HENRY, Toka, Pte, w, M.E.
 HEPERI, William, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 HEPI, James, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HEPI, Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 HEPI, Kipa (Skipper), Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HEPI, Panapa, Pte, M.E.

HEPI, Sam, L Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 HERANGI, Darkey, Pte, M.E.
 HERANGI, Hui, Pte, w, M.E.
 HEREKIUHA, James, Pte, M.E.
 HEREMIA, Kahupu Lionel, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 HEREMAIA, William, Pte, p.o.w.
 HEREMITA, John, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HEREPETE, Afaani Peri, Pte, M.E.
 HEREPETE, Pirika, Pte, M.E.
 HERETAUNGA, Witariana, Pte, k/a
 HERETINI, Matina, T Sgt, M.E.
 HERETINI, Waata, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HEREWINI, Abraham, Pte, M.E.
 HEREWINI, Edward, Pte, M.E.
 HEREWINI, Hatu, Pte, M.E.
 HEREWINI, Rau, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 HEREWINI, Rongo, Pte, M.E.
 HEREWINI, Sydney, Pte, M.E.
 HEREWINI, Waikuta, Pte, w, M.E.
 HEREWINI, Watene, Pte, M.E.
 HETA, Dave, Pte, M.E.
 HETA, Tame, Pte, p.o.w.
 HETA, Tom, Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 HIINI, Manahi, Pte, M.E.
 HIKITAPUA, Hohepa, L Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 HIKITENE, Bunny, Pte, M.E.
 HIKITENE, John Carroll, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HIKUWAI, Moses, Pte, M.E.
 HINAKI, Nuku, Pte, M.E.
 HINAKI, Pera, Cpl, w, M.E.
 HINGA, Rangi, Pte, w, M.E.
 HINGSTON, Ben, Pte, d/w while p.o.w.
 HINGSTON, Cyrus Conrad, Sgt, w, p.o.w.
 HINI, Matau, Pte, M.E.
 HIPPOLITE, Hohapata, Pte, p.o.w.
 HIRAMA, Thomas Moananui, Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 HIRAWANI, Scotty, Pte, k/a
 HIRI, Tame, Pte, M.E.
 HIROKI, Wiremu Hunia, Pte, M.E.
 HIROTI, Joseph, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 HIROTI, Jack, Cpl, M.E.
 HIROTI, Kapene Teo, Pte, p.o.w.
 HOANI, David, Pte, d/acc
 HOANI, John Joseph, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HOANI, Ranginui, Pte, M.E.
 HOANI, Sydney Joseph, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 HOANI, William, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 HOBSON, Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 HOBSON, Sydney, Pte, M.E.
 HODGE, Charles Malcolm, Pte, M.E.
 HODGE, Martin William, Pte, k/a

HODGE, Peter, Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 HODGE, Samuel, S Sgt, d/w
 HOERAKA, Ihaia, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HOHAIA, Charles, Sgt, M.E.
 HOHEPA, Haua, Cpl, M.E.
 HOHEPARIKI, Patariki, Pte, M.E.
 HOHUA, Hori, Pte, M.E.
 HOHUA, Rameka (Raymond), Pte, M.E.
 HOHUA, Wenerci, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 HOI, Rawiri, Pte, w, M.E.
 HOKO, Wiremu, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 HONA, Clark Kira, Pte, k/a
 HONA, Paul, L Cpl, p.o.w.
 HONA, Rongo, Pte, M.E.
 HONA, Shepherd, Pte, p.o.w.
 HONA, Wikiriwhi, Sgt, M.E.
 HONANA, Mahuta, Pte, w, M.E.
 HONANA, Maioha, Pte, M.E.
 HONE, Longbeach, Pte, M.E.
 HONE, Tepana Papa, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HONETANA, Wiramu, Pte, N.Z. Invalided
 HONGARA, Karipori, Pte, k/a
 HOOK, Stewart, L Cpl, M.E.
 HOONE, Petara, Pte, M.E.
 HOOPER, George, Pte, k/a
 HOOPER, Stanley Charles, Pte, k/a
 HOOPER, Sydney, Pte, M.E.
 HOORO, Himi, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 HORNE, Clarence Charles, Pte, m.
 HORNE, Edward, Cpl, M.E.
 HOROPAPERA, Teumuariki, T Sgt, w, p.o.w.
 HORSFALL, John Pomare, Pte, M.E.
 HOTENE, Mohi Kereopa, Pte, w, M.E.
 HOTENE, Tu Lawson, Pte, M.E.
 HOTENE, William, Pte, w, M.E.
 HOTERE, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 HOTERENE, Joe, Pte, p/d
 HOTERENE, Ru, Pte, M.E.
 HOTERENI, Robert, Pte, d/s
 HOUGH, John, Pte, k/a
 HOUIA, Arahura, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HOUIA, Duncan, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HOUIA, Hiki, L Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 HOUIA, Rere, Pte, M.E.
 HOUIA, Tumehe, Pte, w/3, M.E.
 HOUKAMAU, Heremia, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HOUKAMAU, Wharau Tipuna, Pte, w/3, M.E.
 HOUKAMOU, Wiremu, Pte, p.o.w.
 HOVELL, Hubert Kinnard, Pte, M.E.
 HOVELL, Stanley Ivan Strangeways, Pte, M.E.
 HOWARD, William Farum, Pte, w, M.E.

HOWERATA, Walter Joseph, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HOWELL, Edward Ngatata, Sgt, d/acc
 HUATA, Aussie, T Sgt, M.E.
 HUATA, Dick, Pte, w/3, M.E.
 HUDSON, Jack, L Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 HUDSON, John, Pte, M.E.
 HUIA, Douglas, Pte, M.E.
 HUIHUI, Taha, Pte, M.E.
 HUIHUI, Tu, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 HUKA, Te Hei Mauroa, Pte, M.E.
 HUME, Jack, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HUNIA, Moana Kawana, Pte, M.E.
 HUNIA, Pekama, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 HUNIA, Johnny, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 HUNIA, Manawarere, Pte, d/w
 HUNIA, Te Oraiti, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 HUNIA, William, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 HUNIA, Witana, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 HUNT, Hami Jellicoe, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 HUNTER, Iriwhata Matene, T S/Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 HUNUHUNU, Te Waata, Pte, M.E.
 HURA, Kiwa Pomare, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 HURIHANGANUI, Hare, Pte, w, M.E.
 HURIHANGANUI, Kapu, Pte, d/w
 HURITU, Pita Parekura, Pte, M.E.
 HURIWAI, Matehaere, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 HURIWAI, Tawhai, Pte, p.o.w.
 HURIWAI, Wallace, Pte, M.E.
 HURIWAKA, Hector, Pte, M.E.
 HUTANA, Hori, Pte, M.E.

IHAIA, Harry, T Cpl, w/3, N.Z. furlough
 IHAIA, Joseph Anthony, Cpl, M.E.
 IHAKA, Clarence William, Pte, M.E.
 IHAKA, Rawhiti, T Sgt, p.o.w.
 IHAKA, Reweti, T L/Cpl, k/a
 IHAKA, Riki Reihana, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 IHAKA, Wati, Pte, p.o.w.
 IHAKA, Wairemu, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 IHIMAERA, Waata Thomas, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 INGRAM, John Hamilton, Pte, k/a
 IOPATA, Frederick, Pte, M.E.
 IPO, Maipi, Pte, M.E.
 IRAIA, Buster, Pte, M.E.
 IRAIA, Maru, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 IRAIA, Ted, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 IRAIA, Te Whata, Pte, k/a
 IRWIN, Harry Douglas, Pte, M.E.
 ISAAC, Bill, T Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 ISAAC, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 ISAACS, Kiri, Pte, M.E.

ISAACS, Thomas Wiremu, Pte, M.E.
 IWIHORA, Bill, Pte, k/a
 IWIHORA, Howe, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 JACOBS, Bunny, Sgt, w, N.Z. invalided
 JAMES, Stanley, Pte, p.o.w.
 JENKINS, Joe (Huta), Pte, k/a
 JENSEN, John Sydney, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 JOB, Benjamin, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 JOHNSON, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 JOHNSON, James Samuel, L. Cpl, d/w
 JOHNSON, Paki, Pte, w, M.E.
 JOHNSON, Ramiha, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 JOHNSON, William, Pte, w, M.E.
 JOHNSON, Willie, Pte, w, M.E.
 JOHNSTON, Herbert, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 JONES, Francis, T Cpl, M.M. w/2, M.E.
 JONES, Macky, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 JONES, Motu, Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 JONES, Nepia, Pte, k/a
 JONES, Pakira Hami, L Cpl, p.o.w.
 JONES, Parateni, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 JONES, Rawiri Tamanui, Pte, d/w while p.o.w.
 JONES, Richard Benjamin, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 JONES, Wilkie Te Hurinui, Pte, M.E.
 JOSEPH, Ihaia, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 JUDAH, Henry, T Sgt, k/a

KAA, Henry, Pte, M.E.
 KAA, Hoani, Pte, M.E.
 KAA, Hone Te Kaura, T Cpl, w/2, M.E.
 KAA, Kawa, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 KAA, Petera, Pte, M.E.
 KAHAKI, Herewini, Pte, M.E.
 KAHAKI, Urikore, Pte, M.E.
 KAHI, Robert, Sgt, M.E.
 KAHOTEA, Barney, Pte, M.E.
 KAHU, Kura, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 KAHUKIWI, Monu, Pte, M.E.
 KAHUKURA, Pani, Pte, M.E.
 KAHURA, Tomo, Pte, M.E.
 KAHUROA, Manaroa, Pte, M.E.
 KIAWHA, William Heke, Pte, N.Z. duty
 KAIHAU, Stewart, Pte, w, M.E.
 KAIKA, Rua John, T Sgt, M.E.
 KAIMOANA, Charlie, Pte, k/a
 KAIPUKE, Wiremu, Pte, M.E.
 KAIRE, Komene, Pte, M.E.
 KAIRE, Michael, Pte, M.E.
 KAIRE, Pomare King, Sgt, k/a

KAIWAI, Henry Maru, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KAIWAI, Hira, Pte, M.E.
 KAIWAI, Reweti Moana, Pte, w, M.E.
 KAIWAI, Robert, Pte, M.E.
 KAKE, Benjamin, Pte, M.E.
 KAKE, Charles, Pte, M.E.
 KAKE, Whare, Pte, M.E.
 KAMIRA, Ken, Pte, k/a
 KAMO, Rangihaeata P, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KANI, Albert Ottley, Pte,d/w
 KANI, Heu Heu Te Matuahori, Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 KANI, Tukakori, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KAPA, Fisher Joseph, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KAPA, Waata Muta, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KAPOHE, Tihī, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KAPUARO, Barney Ihaia Te Maera, Pte, M.E.
 KARA, Rangi, Pte, w/3, M.E.
 KARA, Tuahae Hemi P., Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 KARAKA, Kereopa, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KARAKA, Maru, Pte, M.E.
 KARAKA, Paki, Pte, M.E.
 KARAKA, Waka Potae, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KARANGA, Dan, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 KARANGA, Massey, Pte, k/a
 KARAU, Panga Rangi, L Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 KARAWA, Tautini Moana, Pte, M.E.
 KAREKO, Jack Titore, Pte, k/a
 KARENA, Moses Thomas, Sgt, w, N.Z. invalided
 KARENA, Tena Henry, Pte, w, M.E.
 KARENA, William Huia, Pte, M.E.
 KAREPA, John Ruawai, T Cpl, M.E.
 KARETU, Bunny, Pte, M.E.
 KARETU, Taake, Pte, k/a
 KARIATIANA, Rangi W., Pte, N.Z. duty
 KARINI, Hana, Pte, M.E.
 KARIPA, Wiri, Pte, k/a
 KARORA, Jacob, Pte, w, M.E.
 KARORA, Tereā, Pte, k/a
 KARU, Peter, Pte, M.E.
 KATANE, Henry Pte, w, p.o.w.
 KATAE, Te Moana, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 KATENE, Hopa, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 KATENE, Katene, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KATENE, Okiha, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KATENE, Taka, Pte, p/d
 KATENE, Thos. Kuta, L Cpl, k/a
 KATENE, Waki, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KAUA, Hone Tamati, Pte, M.E.
 KAUA, Tame Tekakino, Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 KAUI, Fred, Pte, M.E.
 KAUI, Te Whanau Kangaro Kitepo, Pte, M.E.

KAUKAU, Tommy Grey, Pte, M.E.
 KAWE, Fred, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KAWEKA, Motu, Pte, w, M.E.
 KEEFE, George Tau Ta, Pte, M.E.
 KEEFE, James, Pte, M.E.
 KEEFE, John, Pte, M.E.
 KEEFE, Peter Runic Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 KEEFE, Wi, Pte, M.E.
 KEELAN, Hohepa George, Pte, M.E.
 KEELAN, Joseph, Pte, k/a
 KEELAN, Noema Rapoi, Pte, M.E.
 KEELAN, Rangiora, Pte, k/a
 KEEPA, Jock, Pte, w, M.E.
 KELLY, Marshall, Pte, d as p.o.w.
 KELLY, Philip, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KELLY, Thomas, Pte, d/w
 KEMARA, Romeo, Pte, M.E.
 KEMARA, Umuariki, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KEMP, Pera Te Kaura, Pte, k/a
 KENNY, Aylmer Courtenay, Sgt, M.E.
 KEPA, Mahu, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 KEPA, Robert, Cpl, M.E.
 KEPPE, Edward, Pte, k/a
 KEREHOMA, Tawa, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KERETI, Niao Torere, Pte, k/a
 KERETI, Wi, Pte, M.E.
 KEREOPA, Hamiora, Pte, k/a
 KEREOPA, Hitini, W.O./2, d/w
 KERETENE, Hori, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 KERETI, Herewini, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KERETI, Patrick, Pte, M.E.
 KEWENE, Charles, Pte, M.E.
 KIDWELL, Lance, Pte, w, M.E.
 KIEL, Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 KIEL, Kohi, Pte, w, M.E.
 KIHĪ, Jimmy Pouwhare, L Sgt, N.Z. invalided
 KIHĪ, Jonnie, Pte, w, M.E.
 KIHĪ, Whakahi Rangi, Pte, p.o.w.
 KIHĪ, William Coleman, Pte, M.E.
 KIMA, Tupene, L Cpl, M.E.
 KIMURA, William, Pte, M.E.
 KING, Arthur, Pte, w, M.E.
 KING, Dolphas, Pte, M.E.
 KING, George David, Pte, M.E.
 KING, Harry G., Pte, M.E.
 KING, Henry, Pte, M.E.
 KING, Isaac, L Cpl, M.E.
 KING, Louis, Pte, M.E.
 KING, Marsh, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 KING, Mita, Pte, M.E.
 KING, William Albert, Pte, M.E.

KINGI, Alfred Edwin, Sgt, w, M.E.
 KINGI, Barney Raureti, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KINGI, Ben, Pte, M.E.
 KINGI, George, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KINGI, Hanuere, Pte, w, M.E.
 KINGI, Ike (Jack), Pte, d/s
 KINGI, James Robert P., Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KINGI, Kani, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KINGI, Mangu Herbert, Cpl, w, M.E.
 KINGI, Noel, L Cpl, d/w
 KINGI, Rangī, Pte, M.E.
 KINGI, Robert, Pte, M.E.
 KINGI, Robert, Pte, M.E.
 KINGI, Tango, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 KINGI, Te Mohi Te Hutu, Pte, M.E.
 KINGI, Te Raina, Pte, d/w
 KINGI, Thomas Mix, Pte, M.E.
 KINGI, Tukino, T W.O./2, N.Z. furlough
 KINGI, Waka, Pte, M.E.
 KINGI, Wi, Sgt, d/w
 KINGI, Wiremu Te Kohakitu, Pte, w, M.E.
 KINITA, Rewi, Pte, M.E.
 KINITA, Tutanekei, Pte, M.E.
 KINO, Charlie, Pte, M.E.
 KINO, Daniel, Pte, M.E.
 KIO, Harold Wi, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 KIRIKIRI, Mutu, Pte, M.E.
 KIRK, Barney, Pte, M.E.
 KIRK, Harold, Pte, w, M.E.
 KIRK, Jack Brooks, Pte, M.E.
 KIRK, Thomas, Pte, w, M.E.
 KIRKWOOD, Tokorua, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KIWARA, Henry, Pte, M.E.
 KIWARA, Rere, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 KIWAHA, Kerepori, Pte, M.E.
 KNOX, Alfred, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 KOHA, Leonard, Pte, M.E.
 KOHA, Tom, Pte, M.E.
 KOHERE, Hone Hiki, S Sgt, w, M.E.
 KOHERE, Ian Tawhai Kura, Pte, w, M.E.
 KOHERE, Paratani Warahi, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KOHUNI, Wharepapa, Pte, M.E.
 KOHUNUI, Nathan, Pte, M.E.
 KOIA, David Rawiri, w, p.o.w.
 KOIA, Eruera, L Cpl, M.E.
 KOIA, Rerepo, Pte, M.E.
 KOINAKI, Ronnic, Cpl, w, M.E.
 KOMENE, Abraham, L Cpl, M.E.
 KOMENE, Edward, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 KOMENE, Ngaro, Pte, p.o.w.
 KOMENE, Patari, Pte, N.Z. duty

KOMENE, Phillips, Pte, k/a
 KOMENE, Samuel, L Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 KOMENE, William, L Cpl, M.E.
 KONI, Wiremu, Pte, M.E.
 KONIA, David, Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 KOOPU, Rapata, Pte, M.E.
 KOOPU, Toka, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 KOPAE, Walter, T Sgt, M.E.
 KOPU, Reuben, Cpt, M.D., N.Z. invalided
 KOPUA, Hira, Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 KORA, Iri, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KORA, Monty, Pte, w, M.E.
 KORAU, Mohi, T L/Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 KORAU, Tapore, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 KOREWHIA, Tapiku, T Cpl, M.E.
 KOTI, James, Pte, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 KUITI, Bertram Patrick, Pte, d while p.o.w.
 KUKUTAI, Tira Kerei, Cpl, M.E.
 KUMEROA, George, Pte, M.E.
 KUPA, Mahini, T L/Cpl, w, M.E.
 KURU, Rangī, Pte, M.E.
 KURUPO, Paora, Sgt, w, M.E.
 KURUPO, Tareha, L Cpl, w, N.Z. Invalided
 KUITI, Tihi, L Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 KURURANGI, Hohua, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 KUTIA, Haare C, L Cpl, M.E.
 KUTIA, Pomare, Cpl, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 KUTIA, Victor, Pte, k/a

 LAMBERT, Ihipa, Pte, M.E.
 LAMBERT, John, Pte, w, M.E.
 LAMBERT, Wiremu, W.O./2, N.Z. furlough
 LAMBLY, Percy Overton, L Sgt, w, M.E.
 LARKINS, Davy, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 LARKINS, Ford, Pte, M.E.
 LARKINS, Joseph, T L/Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 LARKINS, Reuben Patrick, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 LARKINS, Robert James, Pte, M.E.
 LARKINS, Samuco Robert, T Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 LATIMER, Frank, Pte, M.E.
 LATIMER, Paul King, Pte, w, M.E.
 LAWSON, George, Pte, w, M.E.
 LAWSON, Hoani, Sgt, M.E.
 LAWSON, Tukorehu John, Pte, M.E.
 LAZARUS, Dick, Pte, M.E.
 LEACH, Darkie, Pte, k/a
 LEAF, Davis, Pte, M.E.
 LEAF, William Henry, Pte, M.E.
 LEE, Walton Raymond, Sgt, M.E.
 LEEF, Arthur, Pte, M.E.
 LEEF, Edward Selwyn, Pte, w, M.E.

LEEF, Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 LEEF, Rarora, Pte, M.E.
 LEGER, Alexander, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 LEGER, Victor Emanuel, S Sgt, N.Z. invalided
 LENNARD, William Henry, Pte, M.E.
 LE NOEL, Fraser, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 LEONARD, Edward, T Cpl, k/a
 LEONARD, Hiwi, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 LEWIS, Clarke Manuel, Pte, M.E.
 LINGMAM, Joe, Pte, M.E.
 LINGMAM, Knute Charles, L Cpl, M.E.
 LLOYD, John Andrew, Pte, k/a
 WAITIRA-LLOYD, Robert Agrippa, T S/Sgt, w, N.Z. duty
 LOCKETT, Moana, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 LOFFLEY, James, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 LOVE, Mathew, L Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 LOVETT, Puhikura Richard, Pte, M.E.
 LOWRIE, William, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 LUKE, William, Pte, N.Z. furlough

McCABE, John Newton, Pte, M.E.
 MCCARROL, Paul, Pte, w, M.E.
 MCCASKILL, Arch, Pte, p.o.w.
 MCCASKILL, David, T Cpl, M.E.
 McCAULEY, Peeti, Pte, M.E.
 McCAOSLAND, Edward Herbert, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 McClUTCHIE, Bill, Pte, M.E.
 McClUTCHIE, Dave, Pte, M.E.
 McClUTCHIE, David, T Sgt, M.E.
 McClUTCHIE, Huna, L Cpl, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 McClUTCHIE, Keepa, Pte, M.E.
 McClUTCHIE, Piniha Ben Maru, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 McDONALD, Frank Katene, Pte, M.E.
 McDONALD, Harry, L Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 McDONALD, John, Pte, M.E.
 McDONALD, Manuel, Pte, p.o.w.
 McDONALD, Rangī Paewai, Pte, M.E.
 McDONALD, Rewi Maniapoto, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 McGREGOR, Andrew Tartai, Pte, M.E.
 McGREGOR, Daniel Andrew, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 McGREGOR, Moetu, Pte, p.o.w.
 McLROY, Hirini, Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 McLROY, John Frederick, Pte, M.E.
 MACKEN, William, T Sgt, M.E.
 MACKAY, Harry, Sgt, M.M., M/D, M.E.
 MACKAY, Henry, Pte, M.E.
 MACKAY, Jack, T Cpl, M.E.
 MACKAY, Mark, Pte, w, M.E.
 MACKAY, Noia, Pte, d/w
 MACKAY, Renata Mangatekapua, Sgt, M.E.

MACKAY, Roha, Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 MACKIE, Patrick, Pte, M.E.
 MACKIE, Puhī, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 MACKIE, Whare, Pte, M.E.
 MCLEAN, Ben, Pte, p.o.w.
 MCLEAN, Parekura, Pte, k/a
 MCLEAN, Peter, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 McMANUS, Richard Stephen, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 MACPHERSON, Basil, Sgt, w, N.Z. invalided
 MACPHERSON, James, Pte, M.E.
 MCPHERSON, Marino, Pte, k/a
 MACPHERSON, Turi Albert, Pte, M.E.
 McRAE, Martin Te Takahi, W.O./2, M.E.
 McRAE, William Sutherland Laurence, T S/Sgt, M.E.
 McROBERTS, Hiroki, Pte, M.E.
 MAAKA, Ephram, Pte, M.E.
 MAANGI, Pita, Pte, M.E.
 MAEHE, Hairama, Pte, M.E.
 MAHA, William, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 MAHAKI, Tuho, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MAHANGA, Joe, Pte, M.E.
 MAHANGA, Lemuel, Pte, k/a
 MAHANGA, Pikau, Pte, w, M.E.
 MAHIA, Tui, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MAHIMA, Nikora (Nicholas), Pte, w, p.o.w.
 MAHIMA, Pitiera K., T L/Cpl, w, M.E.
 MAHUKA, Michael, Pte, d/s
 MAHUKA, Wallace, Pte, w, M.E.
 MAHUKI, Rangī, Pte, M.E.
 MAIHI, Hemi, Pte, N.Z.
 MAIHI, Marino, Pte, M.E.
 MAIKA, Aporo, L Cpl, M.E.
 MAIKA, Komene, Cpl, d/w
 MAIKA, Roki, T Sgt, M.E.
 MAIOHA, Harvey Martin, Pte, M.E.
 MAJUREY, Thomas James, Pte, w/3, M.E.
 MAKI, Perenara, Pte, w, M.E.
 MAKIHA, Hami, Pte, w, M.E.
 MAKIRI, Haupuru, Pte, M.E.
 MAKOARE, James, Pte, w, N.Z.
 MAKOARE, Moses, Pte, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 MAKOARE, Wikaipuke, Pte, M.E.
 MANAENA, Hohepa, T L/Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 MANAHI, Haane, T Sgt, D.C.M., w, N.Z. furlough
 MANAWAROA, Tuhimareikura, A L/Cpl, w, M.E.
 MANAWATU, Pani, Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 MANE, Henry, Pte, M.E.
 MANE, Whiti, T Sgt, w, p.o.w.
 MANGERE, Hone Rautahi, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MANGU, Reginald, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 MANIHERA, Haki Ngakete, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided

MANIHERA, Hector, Pte, w, M.E.
 MANO, Hii, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MANUEL, Johnny, Pte, k/a
 MANUERA, Koro, Pte, M.E.
 MANUERA, Whioparae, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MANUKONGA, Jimmy, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MANUKONGA, Taki, L Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 MANUWAA, Morgan, Pte, k/a
 MARAKI, Ngahiwi, Pte, M.E.
 MARAKI, Watene, Pte, M.E.
 MARE, Piripi, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MARINO, James, T Sgt, M.E.
 MARINO, Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 MARIU, Jerry, Pte, M.E.
 MARIU, Kerchi Hone Te Pau, Pte, M.E.
 MARSDEN, Huraa, Pte, M.E.
 MARSDEN, Toi, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 MARSDEN, Toko, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MARSH, Charles, Pte, p.o.w.
 MARSH, John Edward, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MARSH, Robin, Pte, M.E.
 MARSH, Samuel Noble, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MARSH, Tutca, Pte, w, M.E.
 MARTIN, George, Pte, k/a
 MARTIN, George, Pte, M.E.
 MARTIN, Jackson, C.S.M., w, p.o.w.
 MARTIN, James, Pte, M.E.
 MARTIN, Oki, Pte, w, M.E.
 MARTIN, Peter, T Cpl, p.o.w.
 MARTIN, Rangi, Cpl, M.E.
 MARTIN, Stanley Rangi, S Sgt, p.o.w.
 MARTIN, William, Pte, M.E.
 MARU, Robert, Pte, M.E.
 MARU, Thomas, L Cpl, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 MARUNUI, Grant, Pte, M.E.
 MASON, Andrew, Cpl, M.E.
 MASON, Richard T. K., Pte, k/a
 MATA, Wiki, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MATAHIKI, Eraihia, Cpl, p.o.w.
 MATAHIKI, Tapara A., Pte, w, p.o.w.
 MATAIRA, Joseph Whakekura, T Sgt, M.E.
 MATE, George Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 MATEHAERE, Petera, Pte, M.E.
 MATEHE, Harry, Pte, M.E.
 MATENE, Hikoi, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 MATENE, Horima Warana, k/a
 MATENGA, Jerry, Pte, M.E.
 MATENGA, Tawake, W.O./2, M/M, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 MATENGA, Wananga, L Cpl, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 MATHEWS, Martin, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 MATHEWS, Retetai, Pte, k/a

MATI, James, Pte, M.E.
 MATIU, Hori, Pte, M.E.
 MATIU, Pat, Pte, w, M.E.
 MATOE, Ripine Wirene, Cpl, w, M.E.
 MATTHEW, Joseph, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MATTHEWS, David, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 MATTHEWS, Gerald, Pte, M.E.
 MATTHEWS, George, Pte, M.E.
 MATTHEWS, Governor, L Cpl, M.M., k/a
 MATTHEWS, Henry, L Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 MATTHEWS, Richard, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 MATTHEWS, Richard, Pte, M.E.
 MAU Hone Pine, Pte, p.o.w.
 MAUHANA, Keni, Pte, k/a
 MAUHANI, Etera Tu Manako, Pte, p.o.w.
 MAUHANI, Potene, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 MAUHANI, Taurangi, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MAUI, Tupaca, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MAUI, William, Pte, M.E.
 MAUKAU, Teua, Pte, w, M.E.
 MAUNSELL, Johnson, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MAUNSELL, Solomon, Pte, k/a
 MAURICE, Edward, Cpl, M.E.
 MAURIRERE, Erana Te Okore, Pte, M.E.
 MAURIRERE, Paora Tutu, Pte, p.o.w.
 MAURIRERE, Wiremu Mahu, Pte, k/a
 MAXWELL, David, Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 MAXWELL, Ngatui, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 MAXWELL, Rapoto Wharehaua, Sgt, M.E.
 MAXWELL, Wiramate, Pte, M.E.
 MAXWELL, Wiremu, L Sgt, N.Z. invalided
 MAY, Johnny, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MEA, Tom, Pte, M.E.
 MEHA, Te Whiwhi, Pte, M.E.
 MEHANA, Tame Rupene, Pte, p.o.w.
 MEIHANA, Hemi, Pte, w, M.E.
 MEIHANA, Rewi, Pte, M.E.
 MENDES, Joseph, Pte, w, M.E.
 MENDES, Samuel, Pte, M.E.
 MENEHIRA, Henry, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 MERITO, Te Kuaha, Pte, w, M.E.
 MERRIMAN, Leroy, Pte, k/a
 MERRIMAN, Waimanuku, Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 MESSENT, Peter, Pte, d/w
 META, Wally Meta, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 METE, Hohepa, Pte, M.E.
 METE, Waru, Pte, M.E.
 MIDWOOD, Arthur, Pte, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 MIHAERE, Koro, Pte, M.E.
 MIHAKA, William, Pte, M.E.
 MIKERE, Jack, Pte, k/a

MIKAERE, Pere, Pte, w, M.E.
 MILL, William Bremner, Pte, M.E.
 MILLER, George, Pte, m, M.E.
 MILNER, Joseph, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 MILNER, Richard David Baker, T Sgt, k/a
 MILNER, Te Waera, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 MILNER, Wallace, Pte, d/w
 MINARAPA, Mikare, Pte, p.o.w.
 MINARAPA, Rakau, L Cpl, w/3, N.Z. furlough
 MINARAPA, Te Kira, Pte, d/w
 Mio, Wetini, Pte, M.E.
 MITA, Charles, Pte, M.E.
 MITA, Whitiara, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 MITAI, Harry, Pte, w, M.E.
 MITAI, Joseph Benjamin, Pte, w, M.E.
 MITAI, Reginald, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 MITAI, William Ishmael, Pte, M.E.
 MITCHELL, Charlie Tai, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 MITCHELL, Gerald, T Cpl, M.E.
 MITCHELL, Jules McKenzie, Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 MITCHELL, Tewhaiata, Pte, M.E.
 MOA, Koroneihana, Pte, k/a
 MOANANUI, Wira, Pte, w, N.Z.
 MOEKE, Charles, Pte, d/w
 MOEKE, Mutu, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 MOEKE, Sam, Pte, k/a
 MOEKE, Samuel, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 MOHI, Alfred, Pte, M.E.
 MOHI, Charles Tohara, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 MOHI, Hoani Raupara, Pte, m
 MOHI, James, Pte, M.E.
 MOHI, Karekare, Pte, M.E.
 MOHI, Whareupoko, Sgt, M.E.
 MOKAI, Stephen, Pte, M.E.
 MOKE, Robert, Pte, d/w
 MOKENA, Keepa, Pte, M.E.
 MOKOMOKO, Fred, Pte, M.E.
 MOKOMOKO, Popo, Pte, M.E.
 MOKOMOKO, Wiki, Pte, w, M.E.
 MOORE, Clarence Stewart, Pte, M.E.
 MOORE, Sonny, Pte, k/a
 MOORE, Wilson, Pte, k/a
 MOREHU, Jack (Waa), Pte, N.Z. furlough
 MORETE, Albert, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 MORETE, Eruera, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MORGAN, Benjamin Te Rauokewa, Pte, d/w
 MORGAN, Walter John, Pte, M.E.
 MORGAN, William, L Cpl, M.E.
 MORRIS, Charles Rawiri Pere, Sgt, M.E.
 MORRIS, Jim, Pte, p.o.w.
 MORRISON, Alexander Nara, Pte, M.E.
 MORRISON, Allan Moses, Pte, w, M.E.

MORRISON, James, Pte, M.E.
 MORUNGA, John, Pte, M.E.
 MORUNGA, Tamihana, Pte, M.E.
 MOSES, Paul, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 MOURANGA, Wi, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 MUIR, Archibald John Charles, Pte, M.E.
 MULLIGAN, Albert P., L Cpl, k/a
 MULLIGAN, Allies Anzac, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 MULLIGAN, William Joseph, Pte, w, M.E.
 MUMU, Tane, Pte, M.E.
 MUNN, George, Sgt, M.E.
 MUNN, Larry Digger, Pte, k/a
 MUNRO, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 MUNRO, Marsh, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 MUNRO, Tuku, Pte, M.E.
 MURPHY, Jack, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MURPHY, James Joseph, T Cpl, M.E.
 MURPHY, Martin, Pte, w, M.E.
 MURPHY, Percival George, Pte, M.E.
 MURRAY, Darcy, Pte, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 MURRAY, Miti, Pte, M.E.
 MURRAY, Richard, A L/Cpl, M.E.
 MURRAY, William, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 MURU, Mathew Munro, Pte, w, M.E.
 MUTU, Paurini, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided

 NAERA, Claude Hakopa, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 NAERA, Kcpa, Pte, M.E.
 NAERA, Paul, Pte, M.E.
 NAPIA, Walter Henry, Pte, w, M.E.
 NATHAN, Edward N. D., T Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 NATHAN, James, T Cpl, p.o.w.
 NATHAN, Michael, Pte, w, M.E.
 NATHAN, Ngatihinga Wi, Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 NATHAN, Tai, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 NATHAN, Taoni Tom, Pte, M.E.
 NAU, Ngaoka, Pte, M.E.
 NAU, Hepi, Pte, M.E.
 NEHUA, Leonard Renata, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 NEILSON, Sydney, Pte, M.E.
 NELSON, Patrick, Pte, k/a
 NEPATA, Joseph, Pte, k/a
 NEPE, Edwin Jellicoe, T Sgt, w/2, N.Z. Furlough
 NEPE, Harry, Pte, M.E.
 NEPE, Hingarua, Pte, w, M.E.
 NEPE, Tere, Pte, M.E.
 NEPIA, Abe, Pte, w, M.E.
 NEPIA, Muka, Pte, d/w
 NEWTON, Hautapu, Cpl, k/a
 NGAHEKE, Hamuera, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 NGAHURUHURU, Rangi Rehu, Pte, M.E.

NGAIRA, John Edward, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 NGAMOKI, Apanui, Pte, d/s
 NGAMOKI, Herewini, Sgmn, w, M.E.
 NGAMOKI, Kiwa, Pte, M.E.
 NGAMOTU, Stan Waihaki, Pte, M.E.
 NGAPO, James Maaka, Pte, w, M.E.
 NGAPO, Lloyd Bishop, Pte, p.o.w.
 NGAPO, Tuhaka Joseph, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 NGAPUHI, Eddie, Pte, k/a
 NGARANGIHONE, Ihaka, Pte, M.E.
 NGARIMU, Henare Te Owai, L Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 NGARONGO, Jack Tapa, Pte, M.E.
 NGAROTATA, Edward, Pte, M.E.
 NGAROTATA, Percy, Pte, M.E.
 NGATA, Brownie, Pte, M.E.
 NGATA, Te Hohepa, Pte, M.E.
 NGATAI, George, Pte, M.E.
 NGATAI, Jacob, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 NGATAI, John, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 NGATAI, Maungarongo, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 NGATAI, Walter, Pte, w, M.E.
 NGATORO, Dave (Rawiri), Pte, N.Z. invalided
 NGATORO, Raukura, Pte, d/acc
 NGATORO, Reihana, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 NGAWHIKA, Joe, Pte, d/w while p.o.w.
 NGERENGERE, Herewini, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 NGOU NGOU, Dick, Pte, M.E.
 NIANIA, Rongo, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 NIAO, Harry, Pte, k/a
 NICHOLLS, Vivian Tametehura, T Sgt, M.E.
 NICHOLSON, Karauria Claude, Pte, M.E.
 NIHONIHONO, Pourainua, Pte, p.o.w.
 NIKORA, Rangi Hikoia, Pte, k/a
 NIKORA, Tuakana, Sgt, w, N.Z. invalided
 NOBLE, Max Ehu, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 NOBLE, Patrick, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 NOBLE, Sonny, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 NOBLE, Thomas, T S/Sgt, M.E.
 NOHI NOHI, Wheti Kireka, Pte, M.E.
 NOHOKAU, James, Pte, M.E.
 NORTHOVER, Tautuhi, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 NOWLAND, Ani Hohepa, L Cpl, M.E.
 NUKU, Himiona, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 NUKU, James, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 NUKU NUKU, Piuta, Pte, M.E.
 NUKU NUKU, Wi, Pte, M.E.

 OAKES, Samuel, Pte, M.E.
 OAKES, William, Cpl, w, M.E.
 O'BRIEN, Cornelius, T Cpl, M.E.
 O'BRIEN, Daniel Wilfred, Pte, M.E.

O'BRIEN, Hato, Pte, p.o.w.
 O'BRIEN, Rongomate, Pte, M.E.
 ORMOND, Thos Carroll, L Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 ORMSBY, Hano, Pte, M.E.
 ORMSBY, James Watson, L Cpl, M.E.
 OSBORNE, Harry, Pte, M.E.
 O'SHAY, MacNickolson, Cpl, w/2, M.E.
 OTIMI, Moetu Taihiaha, Pte, M.E.

 PAEKAU, Robert, Pte, w, M.E.
 PAENGA, Keepea, Pte, M.E.
 PAENGA, Ra, Pte, M.E.
 PAERAUA, Petera, Pte, M.E.
 PAHAU, George, Pte, w, M.E.
 PAHAU, Hutare, Pte, p.o.w.
 PAHAU, Tinui Horua, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PAHAU, Watene, W.O./2, M/M, w, M.E.
 PAHAU, Whareraima, Pte, M.E.
 PAHURU, Wiremu, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PAIKI, Tiemi James, Pte, m
 PAIPA, Ben, Pte, m, believed p.o.w.
 PAIPA, Koro Moih Paipa, Pte, M.E.
 PAIPA, Tau Dalziel, Pte, M.E.
 PAIPA, Tom, Pte, k/a
 PAIPA, Vincent, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PAIRAMA, John, Pte, M.E.
 PAKAI, Jerry, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PAKI, Percy, Pte, M.E.
 PAKI, Rimi, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PAKI, Stuart, Pte, M.E.
 PAKI, Walter, Pte, w, M.E.
 PAKI, Wilfred, Pte, w, M.E.
 PAKI, Wi Pere, Pte, M.E.
 PAKIHI, Tutu, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 PAKIRA, Sonny Ross, Pte, M.E.
 PAKO, Matiu, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 PAKU, Donald, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PAKU, Ractea, Pte, p.o.w.
 PALMER, Johnny, Pte, p.o.w.
 PANAPA, Mihaka, Pte, k/a
 PANAPA, Samuel Wati, Pte, M.E.
 PANIORA, Hakaraia, Pte, M.E.
 PANIORA, Reihana, Pte, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 PANIORA, Reuben, T Sgt, M.E.
 PANIORA, Samuel, Sgt, M.E.
 PANIORA, Tiopira, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 PAORA, Karena, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 PAORA, Poihipi, Pte, M.E.
 PAORA, Tini, Pte, w, M.E.
 PAORA, Tumoana, Pte, M.E.

PAORA, Waihora, Pte, k/a
 PAPAHOA, Stephen, Pte, w, M.E.
 PAPUNI, Jackie Hale, Pte, M.E.
 PAPUNI, Ngamako, Pte, w, M.E.
 PAPUNI, Rodger, Pte, M.E.
 PAPUNI, Sonny Maako, Pte, w, M.E.
 PAPUNUI, Taylor, Pte, M.E.
 PAPUTENE, Hoeta, Pte, d/w
 PAPUTENE, Te Ohaki, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 PARAHE, Hone, Pte, w, M.E.
 PARAHU, Phillip, T Cpl, M.E.
 PARAKI, Jack, Pte, k/a
 PARAKI, Tai, Pte, M.E.
 PARAONE, James, Cpl, M.E.
 PARAONE, Marama, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PARAONE, Tamati Huirua, Sgt, N.Z. invalided
 PARAONE, Tapihana, L Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 PARAONE, Tutu, Pte, p.o.w.
 PARATA, Freeman, Pte, M.E.
 PARATA, Hape, Pte, M.E.
 PARATA, Heremaia, Pte, M.E.
 PARATA, Hira, T W.O./2, w, M.E.
 PARATA, Hirini, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 PARATA, Hone Heke Teruruku, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 PARATA, Jack, Pte, d/w
 PARATA, Paoni, Pte, k/a
 PARATA, Roslyn Rahui, Pte, M.E.
 PARATA, Tahu Brown, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 PARATA, Te Pehi, Pte, d/acc
 PARATA, Tutu, Pte, M.E.
 PARATA, Wiremu, Pte, k/a
 PARATENE, Himiona, Pte, M.E.
 PARATENE, James, L Cpl, M.E.
 PARATENE, Sidney, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 PARETE, Wiremu, Pte, k/a
 PARINGATAI, Jape, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 PARINGATAI, Manu Hou, Pte, d/w
 PARINGATAI, Mount, Pte, w, M.E.
 PARINGATAI, Te Ara, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PARIOHE, Ta Ringaroa, Pte, w, M.E.
 PARIOHE, Tihore, Pte, w, M.E.
 PARK, Clement Destouteville, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PARKER, John Rex, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PARKER, Stanley, Sgt, p.o.w.
 PARKES, John, Cpl, k/a
 PARKINSON, Jeromi, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PARORE, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 PATERANGI, Taringatai, Pte, M.E.
 PATIRURA, Piripi, Pte, M.E.
 PATRICK, Piri William, Pte, M.E.
 PATUAKA, Richard, Pte, M.E.

PAUL, Alexander Thomas, Cpl, k/a
 PAUL, Arona, Pte, M.E.
 PAUL, David Richard, Pte, M.E.
 PAUL, Maru, T L/Cpl, p.o.w.
 PAUL, Robert, Pte, d/acc
 PAUL, Sam, Pte, M.E.
 PAUL, Tai, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PAUL, Taylor, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PAURINI, Tama, Pte, M.E.
 PAWA, Matiu, Pte, M.E.
 PAWA, Robert, Pte, M.E.
 PEACHEY, Albert Walton, Pte, M.E.
 PEACHEY, Tom, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PEACHEY, Wiremu Peihana, Pte, M.E.
 PEARSON, Albert Timothy, Pte, M.E.
 PEARSON, David William, Tpr, N.Z. furlough
 PEARSON, Maurice, Pte, M.E.
 PEAT, Douglas James, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 PEEPE, Moses, Pte, d/w
 PEHI, Hone, Pte, M.E.
 PENE, Edward, Pte, M.E.
 PENE, James, Pte, M.E.
 PENE, John William, Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 PENE, Michael, T Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 PENE, Pani, Pte, M.E.
 PENE, Reupena, L Cpl, M.E.
 PENEAMENA, Studholme One, Pte, M.E.
 PENETITO, Ken, Pte, m
 PENEWIRIPO, Kupu, Pte, d/acc
 PENFOLD, Francis Cecil, Pte, M.E.
 PENI, Lewis, Pte, M.E.
 PERAWITI, Ransfield, Pte, M.E.
 PEREKI, Bert, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PERENARA, Haami, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 PERENARA, William, Pte, w, M.E.
 PERETINI, Hekenui, Pte, w, M.E.
 PERI, Albert, Pte, w, M.E.
 PERRETT, John Douglas, Pte, k/a
 PETA, Rangaiti, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 PETA, Rongo, Pte, M.E.
 PETA, Rutangi, Pte, M.E.
 PETE, Peter, Pte, M.E.
 PETERA, Rima, Pte, M.E.
 PETERS, Edward, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PETERS, James Wiki, Pte, M.E.
 PETERS, Rongo, Cpl, M.E.
 PETERS, Sam, Pte, w, M.E.
 PETER, William Wiki, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 PETI, Henery, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PETI, Samuel, Pte, k/a
 PETI, Werahiko Hami, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided

PETRICEVICH, Mati, Pte, d/w
 PHILLIPS, Pat, Pte, d/s
 PHILLIPS, Rangī, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PHILLIPS, Raymond, Pte, M.E.
 PHILLIPS, William, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 PIHEMA, Richard Thomas, Pte, k/a
 PIKI, Ross Hikoata, Cpl, k/a
 PIKIA, Parawhau, Pte, M.E.
 PIKIKOTUKU, James Raihania, L Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 PINEAHA, Boss, Pte, p.o.w.
 PINI, Leonard Albert, Pte, M.E.
 PIRI, Jacob, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 PIRIH, Abraham, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PIRIH, Benjamin Maurice, L Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 PIRIH, James, T Cpl, M.M., k/a
 PIRIH, Leslie, L Cpl, k/a
 PIRIH, William Murdoch, Pte, M.E.
 PIRINI, Arapeta, Pte, M.E.
 PIRINI, Waka, Pte, k/a
 PIRINI, Wiwi, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 PIRIPI, Hae Hae, T Cpl, k/a
 PITTA, Oliver Humphrey, Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 PITAMA, Eutahi Tahu Mataa, Sgt, M.M., k/a
 PITAMA, Paora Tuhea Ngawaea, Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 PITIROI, Mohi, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PITMAN, George, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 PITMAN, Leslie James, Cpl, N.Z. Furlough
 PITMAN, Reweti Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 PITMAN, Ted, Pte, N.Z.
 PITMAN, Toko, A/CQMS, N.Z. duty
 PITMAN, William, Pte, M.E.
 PITT, Rodney Dean, Pte, M.E.
 PITTMAN, John Pte, k/a
 PIVAC, Keith Mack, Pte, M.E.
 POA, Benjamin, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 POA, Geoffrey, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 POA, Hana Reihona, Pte, d/w
 POA, Toka Rarangi, Pte, k/a
 POATA, Joe, Pte, M.E.
 POHARAMA, John, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 POHATU, Hurahanga, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 POHATU, Matarata Bartlett, Pte, M.E.
 POHE, Frederick, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 POHE, William Henry, Pte, w, M.E.
 POI, Noema, Pte, w, M.E.
 POKAI, Barney, Pte, M.E.
 POKAI, Kireona, Pte, w, M.E.
 POKAI, Peta Haenga, Pte, k/a
 POKAI, Teira, Pte, d/w
 POKAI, Timi Honi, Pte, k/a
 POKAIHAU, Hira Pera, Pte, k/a

POKAIHAU, Tau Pera, L Sgt, M.E.
 POKI, Tom, Pte, M.E.
 POKI, Wi Patene, Pte, k/a
 POMANA, George, Pte, M.E.
 POMANA, Rongo, Pte, M.E.
 POMARE, Gus Murray, Pte, M.E.
 POMARE, Thomas, Pte, k/a
 POPATA, Puapaki, Pte, p.o.w.
 PORIKAPA, Wiremu, Pte, M.E.
 PORIWHIRA, Tau, Pte, M.E.
 PORTER, George, Cpl, M/D, k/a
 PORTER, Patrick Valentine, Pte, M.E.
 PORTER, Tei, Pte, M.E.
 PORTER, Waka, Pte, k/a
 POTAE, Henare, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 POTAE, Morgan Ratu, Pte, M.M., M.E.
 POTAKA, Henry Riri, Pte, M.E.
 POTAKA, Hori, Pte, M.E.
 POTAKA, Pene Winiata, Pte, M.E.
 POTAKA, Reneti Tapa, Pte, M.E.
 POTAKA, Tini, Pte, M.E.
 POTAKA, William T Sgt, M.E.
 POTATAU, Hemi, L Cpl, M.E.
 POTATU, John, T Sgt, M.E.
 POTIKI, Thomas Ihaia, Pte, w, M.E.
 POU, Adam, Pte, M.E.
 POU, George, L Sgt, k/a
 POU, Henry, Pte, M.E.
 POU, Jacob Akaripa, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 POU, Peter, Pte, M.E.
 POUTAMA, Pat, Pte, w, M.E.
 POUTU, Henara, Cpl, w, M.E.
 POUTU, John, Pte, d while p.o.w.
 POUTU, Putu, Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 POUTU, Raana, Sgt, w/2, M.E.
 POUTU, William, T Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 POUWHARE, Mack, Pte, w, M.E.
 POWER, Henry James, Pte, M.E.
 PRIESTLEY, William Augustine, T Cpl, M.E.
 PRIESTLY, James Patterson, W.O./2, M.E.
 PRIME, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 PUHA, Gerald, Pte, M.E.
 PUHA, Haupai, T Sgt, M.E.
 PUHA, Sergeant, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PUHA, Wiremu, Pte, w, M.E.
 PUHARA, Peter, Pte, w, M.E.
 PUHIPUHI, Poni, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 PUIA, Tamati Karaha, L Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 PUKE, Charlie, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 PUKE, Donald, Pte, M.E.
 PUKETAPU, Iharaira, Pte, k/a

PUMUPI, Barney William, Pte, w, M.E.
 PUOHOTAU, Tawaroa, T L/Cpl, p.o.w.
 PURE, Wiremu, Pte, w, M.E.
 PURU, Rua, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 PURUTANGA, Frederick, L Cpl, M.E.
 PURUTANGA, Tori, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 PUTARANUI, Tere Orikena, Pte, M.E.

RAERENA, Atamira Kihiringi, Pte, w, M.E.
 RAHARAH, Charles, Pte, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 RAHARUHI, Ranga, Pte, k/a
 RAHUI, Hori, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 RAHUI, Thomas, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 RAI, Dan Waha, Pte, k/a
 RAIMONA, Hini, T Cpl, M.E.
 RAIMONA, Tupu, Pte, p.o.w.
 RAIWHARA, Pika, L Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 RAKATAIRI, Matene, Pte, k/a
 RAKAU, Thomas Himona, Pte, M.E.
 RAKENA, Pou, Pte, M.E.
 RAKENA, Harry, Pte, M.E.
 RAKETE, Teani Naena, Pte, M.E.
 RAKO, Abraham, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 RAKO, John, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 RAMEKA, Barko, T Cpl, M.E.
 RAMEKA, Massey, Pte, k/a
 RAMEKA, Reuben, Pte, M.E.
 RAMEKA, Tata, Pte, M.E.
 RAMEKA, Thomas, Pte, M.E.
 RANAPIA, Hata, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 RANAPIA, Hu, Pte, M.E.
 RANAPIA, Patu, Pte, M.E.
 RANDELL, Edward Gilbert, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 RANDELL, James Leslie Arthur, Pte, p.o.w.
 RANGA, Albert, Pte, p.o.w.
 RANGA, Richard, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 RANGATAUA, James, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 RANGI, Francis Harold, S Sgt, M.E.
 RANGI, John, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 RANGI, Keepa, Pte, M.M. w, M.E.
 RANGI, Koro, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 RANGI, Matu, S Sgt, N.Z. invalided
 RANGI, Maurice, Pte, M.E.
 RANGI, Renata Numia, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 RANGI, Tai, Pte, m
 RANGI, Takiwa, Pte, M.E.
 RANGI, Teua Numia, L Cpl, M.E.
 RANGI, Wiremu, Pte, w, M.E.
 RANGIAHO, Toto, Pte, w, M.E.
 RANGIAHO, Tu Pioioi, Pte, k/a
 RANGIHIKA, Hirini, Pte, N.Z. invalided

RANGIPUAWHI, Hirini, Cpl, p.o.w.
 RANGIPUAWHI, Petera, Pte, k/a
 RANGITAUIRA, Kani, Cpl, M.E.
 RANGITAWA, William, Pte, N.Z. duty
 RANGIUIA, Albert, Pte, d/w
 RANGIUIA, Sam, Pte, M.E.
 RANGIUIA, Turi, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 RANSFIELD, Barney, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 RANSFIELD, Henry Tai, Pte, w, m
 RANSFIELD, John, T Sgt, M.E.
 RANSFIELD, Tauhu Kingi, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 RAPANA, Hirini, Pte, k/a
 RAPANA, Koha, A L/Cpl, M.E.
 RAPANA, Len, L Cpl, M.E.
 RAPANA, Rauna, Pte, w, M.E.
 RAPANA, Ripi, Pte, M.E.
 RAPATA, Heemi, Pte, M.E.
 RAPATINI, Joseph Pahi, Pte, M.E.
 RAPIRA, Mathew, Pte, M.E.
 RAPONI, Home, Pte, p.o.w.
 RAPONI, Pahau, Pte, d/w while p.o.w.
 RAROA, Brown, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 RAROA, James, Pte, M.E.
 RAROA, Parekura, Pte, M.E.
 RAROA, Te Rua, Pte, M.E.
 RAROA, William Pat, Pte, M.E.
 RARU, Dick, Pte, M.E.
 RATA, Arthur, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 RATA, Ben, Pte, p.o.w.
 RATA, Francis, Cpl, M.E.
 RATA, George, Pte, M.E.
 RATA, Wi Tamihana, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 RATAHI, Panapa, Pte, M.E.
 RATAHI, Willie Awa, Pte, k/a
 RATANA, Eruera, Pte, M.E.
 RATANA, Harry Nuku, Pte, M.E.
 RATAPU, Epiniha, Pte, w, M.E.
 RATEMA, James, Pte, M.E.
 RATU, Joe, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 RAU, Taukiri, Pte, M.E.
 RAUHINA, Arani Rangi, T L/Cpl, p.o.w.
 RAUKURA, Keepa, Pte, k/a
 RAUTAHI, Reihawa, L Cpl, M.E.
 RAUTAHI, Tu, Pte, M.E.
 RAWHITI, Waioneke, Cpl, M.E.
 RAWIRI, Peka Ben, Pte, w, M.E.
 RAWIRI, Taki, Pte, N.Z. duty.
 REHU, Kaiaho, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 REID, Jim, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 REID, John, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 REID, John Kahaki, Pte, M.E.

REIHANA, Kooti, Pte. w. N.Z. furlough
 REIHANA, Nacra, Sgt. M.E.
 REIHANA, Robert, Pte. p.o.w.
 REIHANA, Tuki, Pte. M.E.
 RENATA, Hanita, Pte. M.E.
 RENDELL, David Tuaha, Pte. M.E.
 RENETH, Harry, L Cpl. w. M.E.
 RETI, Ellis, Pte. M.E.
 RETI, Tehou, Pte. w. M.E.
 REUBEN, Patrick, Pte. M.E.
 REUBEN, Simon, T L/Cpl. p.o.w.
 REWA, Waaka, L Cpl. w. M.E.
 REWETI, Henare, Pte. k/a
 REWETI, James, Pte. M.E.
 REWETI, John, Sgt. M.E.
 REWHA, Hiri Himi, Pte. M.E.
 REWHA, Kawi, Pte. N.Z. invalided
 REWHAREWHA, Tau, Pte. w. M.E.
 REWHAREWHA, Wi Kuki, L Cpl. N.Z. invalided
 REWI, Mehaka, Pte. N.Z. invalided
 REWI, Paki, Pte. w/2, N.Z. invalided
 REWI, Peterera, Pte. w. M.E.
 REWI, Ropata, Pte. w. M.E.
 REWI, Sonny, Pte. k/a
 REWI, William, Pte. k/a
 REWIRI, Paati, Pte. M.E.
 REWIRI, Ted, Pte. w. M.E.
 RIA, Meta, Pte. M.E.
 RICHARDSON, James, T L/Cpl. w. M.E.
 RICHARDSON, Leonard, Pte. w. M.E.
 RICHMOND, John, Pte. k/a
 RICHMOND, Tuahini Te Oke, Pte. M.E.
 RICKARD, Wm Herbert Beresford, Sgt. M.E.
 RICKIT, Kipa, Sgt. N.Z. furlough
 RICKUS, Wiremu, Pte. M.E.
 RIGBY, Rowald Moana, Pte. w. p.o.w.
 RIHIA, George, Pte. d/w
 RIINI, Erueti, L Sgt. w. N.Z. invalided
 RIINI, Heremia, Pte. k/a
 RIINI, Ihaia, W.O./2, d/w
 RIKA, Heke, Pte. M.E.
 RIKA, Kia, T Cpl. M.E.
 RIKI, Atutahi Ngararani, T L/Cpl. M.E.
 RIKI, Puhirera Hohepa, Pte. N.Z. invalided
 RIKI, Reupena Tamihana, Pte. w. p.o.w.
 RIKIHANA, David, Pte. N.Z. invalided
 RIKIRIKI, Roihi, Pte. M.E.
 RIO, Jack, Pte. w. N.Z. invalided
 RIPAKI, Joe, Pte. M.E.
 RIPO, Jack, Pte. M.E.
 RIRI, Joseph Charles, Sgt. w. N.Z. furlough

RIRI, Mio, Pte. w. M.E.
 RIRITAHU, Poi Poi, Pte. p.o.w.
 RITETE, Whakaheke, Pte. w. p.o.w.
 RIVERS, Pompcy, Sgt. M.E.
 RIVERS, Walker, Pte. N.Z. furlough
 ROA, Hori Tauroa, Cpl. N.Z. furlough
 ROA, Ngahina Robert, Dvr. M.E.
 ROA, Tahu, Pte. M.E.
 ROACH, Jim Russell, Pte. k/a
 ROACH, Pahia, Cpl. N.Z. furlough
 ROBERTS, Frank, Pte. k/a
 ROBERTS, Henry Adams, Tpr. M.E.
 ROBERTS, Taupu, L Sgt. M.E.
 ROBERTSON, Kotua, Pte. w. N.Z. invalided
 ROBIN, Jack, Pte. p.o.w.
 ROBINSON, Henry Horoatua, Pte. k/a
 ROBSON, Alexander, Pte. w. N.Z. invalided
 ROBSON, Edward Nikorima, T Sgt. w. N.Z. invalided
 ROBSON, George, Pte. w. N.Z. invalided
 ROBSON, Henry, Pte. w. p.o.w.
 ROBSON, Jack, Cpl. N.Z. furlough
 ROBSON, Maurice, Cpl. w. N.Z. furlough
 ROBSON, Monte, L Cpl. d/w
 ROBSON, Peter, Cpl. M.E.
 ROBSON, Tawhai, Pte. w. M.E.
 RODERICK, William Rima, T Sgt. M.E.
 ROERA, Horima, Cpl. k/a
 ROGERS, Edward, Pte. k/a
 ROGERS, Henry William, W.O., k/a
 ROGERS, John, T Sgt. k/a
 ROGERS, Joseph Pera, Pte. w. p.o.w.
 ROGERS, Niho, Pte. d/w
 ROGERS, Paul, Pte. m
 ROGERS, Ros, Pte. w/2, M.E.
 ROGERS, Ruiwhi, Pte. M.E.
 ROGERS, Winiata, L Cpl. M.E.
 ROIHANA, Tewi Tunoa, Pte. w/2, N.Z. invalided
 ROLLESTON, Christie, Pte. p.o.w.
 ROLLESTON, Pu Pahiriko, Pte. w. M.E.
 ROPATA, Matiu, Pte. k/a
 ROPATA, Peter, Pte. M.E.
 ROPAHA, Alexander Rangiwahia, Pte. w/2, N.Z. invalided
 ROPAHA, Himiona, Pte. d/s
 ROPAHA, Reweti, Pte. p.o.w.
 ROPAHA, Robert, Pte. k/a
 ROPAHA, Tuhoro, Pte. w. N.Z. furlough
 ROPITINI, Peter, Pte. M.E.
 RORE, Akuhata, L Cpl. k/a
 ROTO, Barney, T L/Sgt. w. M.E.
 ROTA, Wi Kingi, Pte. M.E.
 ROTANA, Waka, L Cpl. p.o.w.

ROWLAND, Walter, T Cpl M.E.
 ROWLAND, William, Pte, w, M.E.
 ROYAL, Stewart, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 ROYAL, Tukukina, T Cpl, M.E.
 ROYAL, William, Pte, p.o.w.
 RUA, Paora, Pte, k/a
 RUA, Tahae, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 RUA, Tamahou Hiki, Pte, d/w
 RUA, Temata, Pte, M.E.
 RUAWAI, Te Tuhere, T Cpl, M.E.
 RUBOLPH, John Robert, Pte; M.E.
 RUHA, Harold, L Cpl, M.M., w/2, M.E.
 RUHE, James Keneva, T Sgt, M.E.
 RUHA, Donald, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 RUHI, Edward Ted, Pte, p.o.w.
 RUKA, John, Pte, M.E.
 RUKA, Rapata Robert, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 RUKA, Thomas Pte, p.o.w.
 RUKA, Tui, Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 RUKI, Terepu, Pte, k/a
 RUKUATA, Aperahama, Pte, w, M.E.
 RULE, Thomas Heremoana, Pte, M.E.
 RUPAPERA, Horiara Pte, M.E.
 RUPE, Wiri, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 RUREHE, Jacob, Pte, M.E.
 RURU, Bill, L Cpl, w/2, M.E.
 RURU, John, Pte, w, M.E.
 RURU, Pani Nikora, L Cpl, M.E.
 RURU, Turupa Ngata, Pte, M.E.
 RURU, Wae Wae, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 RURU, Wiremu, Pte k/a
 RUWHIU, Teranui, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 RUWHIU, Thomas, Pte, k/a
 RYLAND, Hapi, Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 RYLAND, Joela Kissring, Pte, M.E.
 SADD, Noel Arthur, T Sgt, M.E.
 SADLIER, Nehe Rihara, Pte, M.E.
 SAMPSON, Stanley James, Pte, M.E.
 SAMSON, William, Pte, p.o.w.
 SAMUEL, Harry Yates, S Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 SANTOS, Manoel, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 SAVAGE, Bunny, Pte, M.E.
 SAVAGE, George, Pte, M.E.
 SCHUSTER, Frank March, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 SCOTT, Keriti, T Sgt, M.E.
 SCOTT, Matiu, Pte, k/a
 SHARP, George David, Pte, N.Z. duty
 SHAW, Harry, Pte, M.E.
 SHELFORD, Chas, Pte, D.C.M., w/2, M.E.
 SHEPHERD, Benjamin R., Pte, k/a
 SHEPHERD, George, Pte, p.o.w.

SHEPHERD, Samuel, T L/Cpl, w, M.E.
 SILBERRY, John, Pte, M.E.
 SILVA, Wiki, L Sgt, d/w
 SIMEON, Rangi T., T Cpl, M.E.
 SIMMONDS, Mitai, Pte, M.E.
 SIMON, George, Pte, M.E.
 SIMON, Peter, Pte, M.E.
 SIMPKINS, Hui, Pte, w, M.E.
 SINCLAIR, Dudley Ian Moffett Pohia, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 SKINNER, L Cpl, Frank, d/w
 SKIPPER, Henry, Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 SKIPPER, William, T Sgt, presumed dead
 SMILER, Tommy, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 SMITH, Barney Hapi, Pte, M.E.
 SMITH, Bonny Naki, Pte, M.E.
 SMITH, Edwards, Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 SMITH, Heber, Pte w, p.o.w.
 SMITH, Johnny, Pte, p.o.w.
 SMITH, Peter, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 SMITH, Roy, Pte, p.o.w.
 SMITH, Stanley, Pte, M.E.
 SMITH, Tommy, Pte, w, M.E.
 SMITH, Wilson Pte, M.E.
 SMYTHE, Graham, T Cpl, M.E.
 SNOOKS, John, Pte, M.E.
 SOLOMON, George, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 SOLOMON, John, Pte, w, M.E.
 SOLOMON, Mate Ngaro, Pte, w, M.E.
 STAPLES, Ned, Pte, M.E.
 STEVENS, Edgar Robert, Pte, k/a
 STEVENS, Kiri, Pte, p.o.w.
 STEWART, Charles Oliphant, Pte M.E.
 STEWART, John Charles, Pte, M.E.
 STEWART, Robert Oliphant, Pte, k/a
 STIRLING, Naera, Pte, M.E.
 STIRLING, Te Harangi Mahora, T L/Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 STRONGMAN, Allan, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 STRONGMAN, Roy Kenneth, L Cpl, M.E.
 SULLIVAN, Johnston, Pte, k/a
 SULLIVAN, Tau, Pte, k/a
 SULLIVAN, Whararangi, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 SUTHERLAND, George Henry Albert, Pte, M.E.
 SUTHERLAND, Te Aorere, Pte, d/w
 SUTHERLAND, Theodore, Pte, M.E.
 SWANN, Sam, Pte, M.E.
 SWINTON, Paul Oliver, Pte, M.E.
 SYLVA, Basil, Pte, M.E.
 SYLVA, Robby, Pte, w

 TAANE, George, Pte, M.E.
 TAARE, John, Pte, M.E.

TAARE, McLean, Pte, M.E.
 TAARE, Riwai, Pte.
 TAEWA, Himiona, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 TAEWA, Peta, Pte, M.E.
 TAHA, James Joseph, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 TAHANA, Joseph, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 TAHANA, Teira, Pte, w, N.Z. duty
 TAHANA, Te Wang, Pte, M.E.
 TAHATA, Desmond, Pte, M.E.
 TAHATA, Mita, T Cpl, m
 TAHATU, Peter, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 TAHAU, James, Cpl, m
 TAHERE, Ngaiterangi, Pte, M.E.
 TAHERE, Ngaone Te Rata, Pte, M.E.
 TAHERE, Teahau, Pte, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 TAHITAHU, Paki, Pte, M.E.
 TAHITAHU, Robert, Pte, k/a
 TAHITAHU, Waho, Pte, M.E.
 TAHU, Mick, Pte, M.E.
 TAHU, Phillip, Cpl, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 TAHURIORANGI, Rahoroi, W.O./2, d/s
 TAHURIORANGI, Thompson Kaiotea, Pte, M.E.
 TAI, Hui Kakahu, Pte, M.E.
 TAI, Reginald, Pte, k/a
 TAI, George, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 TAIAPA, George Karaka, Pte, M.E.
 TAIAPA, Parekoihu, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 TAIAPA, W. Mahunu, Cpl, w, M.E.
 TAIATINI, Atikini, Pte, M.E.
 TAIATINI, George Re Huata, Pte, M.E.
 TAIHUKA, Tamarangi, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 TAINGAHUE, Jim, Pte, d/w
 TAINGAHUE, Rangi Horowai, Pte, M.E.
 TAINGAHUE, Tai, Pte, k/a
 TAINGAHUE, Wi Pako, Pte, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 TAINUI, Denis George, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 TAINUI, John, Sgt, M.M., k/a
 TAIT, Kora, Pte, M.E.
 TAIT, Charles, Cpl, w, M.E.
 TAIT, William, Pte, M.E.
 TAITOKO, George, Pte, M.E.
 TAITUHA, Harry P., Cpl, p.o.w.
 TAIURU, Henry, L Cpl, k/a
 TAKAMORE, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 TAKARANGI, Hakarara K., Pte, m
 TAKARANGI, Henare, Pte, M.E.
 TAKARANGI, Henry Harper, Sgt, M.E.
 TAKARANGI, Te Moore Rukuwai, Pte, M.E.
 TAKARANGI, Wiretu Pari Kereti, Pte, k/a
 TAKI, Adolphus, Pte, M.E.
 TAKINUI, Heta Waenga, Pte, w/2, M.E.

TAKIWA, John, Pte, w, M.E.
 TAKIWA, Michael, Pte, M.E.
 TAKO, Ratimira Te Puni, Pte, M.E.
 TAKO, Were Makarati, L Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 TAKURUA, Wereta, Pte, M.E.
 TALBOT, Raymond, Sgt, w, M.E.
 TAMAHORI, Heta, L Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 TAMAKI, Jack Tengaio, Pte, M.E.
 TAMAKI, Poukowhai, L Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 TAMAKI, Wirihana Stephen, Pte, p.o.w.
 TAMANUI, Heretaunga, Pte, w, M.E.
 TAMATI, Frederick, Pte, k/a
 TAMATI, Tomai, Tpr, M.E.
 TAMEHANA, Hare, Pte, M.E.
 TAMEHANA, Pera, Pte, M.E.
 TAMEHANA, Tamihana, Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 TAMEPO, Apirana Tawhai, Pte, M.E.
 TAMEPO, Hirini, Pte, M.E.
 TAMEPO, Peter, T Sgt, M.E.
 TAMIHANA, Atapere, Pte, p.o.w.
 TAMIHANA, Naera, Pte, M.E.
 TAMIHANA, Tipene Kure, Pte, M.E.
 TAMOU, Tame, Cpl, M.M., w, M.E.
 TANA, William, Pte, w, M.E.
 TANARA, Komara, L Cpl, k/a
 TANE, Ben, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 TANE, Norman, L Cpl, k/a
 TANGAERE, Irimana, Pte, M.E.
 TANGIPO, Koro, Pte, M.E.
 TANGIRA, Tutu Duncan, Pte, M.E.
 TANGIRA, Whakaruku, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 TANGOHAU, Harry Hauwaho, Pte, w, M.E.
 TANGOHAU, Tame, Sgt, w, M.E.
 TANGOIRA, Reihana, Pte, M.E.
 TANIRAU, Pakau, Pte, k/a
 TANOVA, Takirau, Pte, w, M.E.
 TAPA, Reneti Tanginoa, Pte, p.o.w.
 TAPINE, Peter, T Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 TAPIRI, Tiaki, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 TAPSELL, Jack, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 TAPSELL, Robert, Pte, d/w
 TAPSELL, Thompson, Pte, k/a
 TAPUKE, Brownlie, L Cpl, k/a
 TAPUTORA, Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 TARAMOEROA, Puckey Conrad, Pte; w/2, M.E.
 TARAU, Chappy, Pte, k/a
 TARAWHITI, Mohi, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 TARAWHITI, Patara, Pte, k/a
 TARAWHITI, Samuel, A/Cpl, M.E.
 TARI, David, Pte, w, M.E.
 TATANA, Hamuera, Pte, w/3, N.Z. invalided

TE WAO, Manawaroa, Pte, M.E.
 TE WEEHI, Hamiora Tawaho, Pte, p.o.w.
 TE WEEHI, Nche, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 TE WEEHI, Riwai, Pte, w/m
 TE WHAITI, Hemi, Pte, M.E.
 TE WHARE, Joseph Atcha, T L Cpl, M.E.
 TE WHATA, James, Pte, M.E.
 TE WHATA, Matene, Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 TE WHAU, Charles, Pte, M.E.
 TE WHAU, Douglas, Pte, M.E.
 TE WHAU, Massey, Pte, w, M.E.
 TE WHEORO, Patrick Jack, Pte, M.E.
 TE WHEORO, Romeo, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 TE WHITU, Buck, Pte, M.E.
 TE WHITU, Natana, Pte, M.E.
 TE WIATA, Richard Samuel, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 THOCOLICH, Phillip, Pte, M.E.
 THOMAS, John Henry, Pte, M.E.
 THOMAS, Sidney, Pte, M.E.
 THOMPSON, Ben, Pte p.o.w.
 THOMPSON, Harawe Mokaraka, Pte, M.E.
 THOMPSON, John Edwin, Pte, M.E.
 THOMPSON, John Sullivan, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 THOMPSON, Julian Hurari, T Sgt, N.Z. invalided
 THOMPSON, Paku, Pte, d/acc
 THOMPSON, Parata Heta, Pte, k/a
 THOMPSON, Repoma Kehu, Pte M.E.
 THOMPSON, Richard, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 THOMPSON, Robert, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 THOMPSON, Rua, Pte, M.E.
 THOMPSON, Tumanako, Pte, M.E.
 THOMPSON, Victor Douglas, Pte, w, M.E.
 THOMPSON, Whaingā, L Cpl, M.E.
 THOMPSON William Robert, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 THWAITES, John Robert Henry Charles, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 TIBBLE, Frank, T S/Sgt, N.Z.
 TIBBLE, Te Rauwhiro, T/Sgt, M.E.
 TIHEMA, Henry, Cpl, w, M.E.
 TIHI, Te Peti, Pte, M.E.
 TIKITIKI, Hune, Pte, M.E.
 TIMANI, Harold, Pte, M.E.
 TIMIHOU, Pinengaia, Cpl, w/2, N.Z. furlough
 TIMOKO, Isaac, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 TIMOKO, Taaho, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 TIMOTI, Charles J., Pte, M.E.
 TIMOTI, Tamate, Pte, k/a
 TIMU, Ron George, Pte, M.E.
 TIMUTIMU, Taurua, Pte, M.E.
 TINIRAU, Arama, Pte, M.E.
 TIPA, Paki Pte, M.E.
 TIPENE, Horomona, Pte, p.o.w.

TIPENE, Kari Kari, Pte, M.E.
 TIPENE, Ruki, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 TIPIWAI, Haupiri, Pte, d/s
 TI PUNA, Marewa, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 TITI, Toia, Pte, M.E.
 TITIRANGI, Ngaru, Pte, w, M.E.
 TOHARA, Albert, Cpl, k/a
 TOHARA, Thomas, Pte, w, M.E.
 TOHERIRI, Reuben, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 TOHIARIKI, Peter, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 TOHU, Richard, Pte, M.E.
 TOMLINS, Pirika Haumai Waranga, Pte, M.E.
 TOMURI, Hemi Kipi, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 TONIHI, Morgan, Pte, M.E.
 TOOPI, Michael Pte, k/a
 TOPI, Colin Maurice, Pte, M.E.
 TOPIA, Hone Hili Kanara, L Cpl, N.Z. furlough
 TOROA, Hene Te Rito, Pte, M.E.
 TOROA, Wira Anati, Sgt, M.E.
 TOROAI WHITI, Waaka, Pte, w/2 M.E.
 TOTORO, Hans Te Ranga Tuaihu, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 TOTORO, Pini, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 TRAINOR, Tuhae, Sgt, M.M., M.E.
 TRASK, Patio Manu, Pte, M.E.
 TU, Joseph Moses, Pte, M.E.
 TUA, John, Pte, w, M.E.
 TUAU, Hori Te Awarau Karaka, Pte, w, M.E.
 TUCKER, Ben, Pte, w, M.E.
 TUHAKA, Rapata, Pte, M.E.
 TUHAKA, Renata, Pte, p.o.w.
 TUHAKA, Taki Oterangi, Pte, M.E.
 TUHI, Tahere Hemi, Pte, M.E.
 TUHOE, Ray, Pte, M.E.
 TUHORO, Eruera, Pte, M.E.
 TUHORO, Mika, Pte, M.E.
 TUHURA, Paraone, Pte w, p.o.w.
 TUIRI, Pompey, Pte, M.E.
 TUIRI, William, Pte, M.E.
 TUKAKI, Andrew, Pte, M.E.
 TUKAKI, Ngakete, T Sgt D.C.M., M.E.
 TUKIRI, Thomas, Pte, M.E.
 TUKUA, Tainui Awhiro, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 TUKURU, Mcketanare, T Cpl, M.E.
 TUMARAE, Te Whetu, Pte, M.E.
 TUMARU, Walter Ratana, Pte, M.E.
 TAUMATA, Harry, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 TUMATAROA, Ben, Pte, d/acc
 TUMATAROA, John, T L/Cpl, d/w
 TUMATAROA, Ken, Pte, d/w
 TUMATAROA, Okeroa, Pte, w, M.E.
 TUNUA, Rooti Lordy, Pte, w, M.E.

TUPARA, Hoake, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 TUPARA, Tame, Pte, w, M.E.
 TUPE, Tauranga, Pte, k/a
 TUPE, Turanga Morehu, Pte, M.E.
 TUPE, Te Naawa, Pte, k/a
 TUPENE, John, T Sgt, M.M., N.Z. furlough
 TURANGI, Henare, Pte, p.o.w.
 TUREI, Maku, Pte, M.E.
 TUREI Rauaroa Tangaroapeua, T S/Sgt, M.E.
 TURNER, George, Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 TURNER, John Harry, T L Cpl, M.E.
 TURNER, Peter, Pte, M.E.
 TUTAHI, Hughie Ngarimo, Pte, k/a
 TUTEMAHURANGI, Abraham, Pte, w, M.E.
 TUTU, Tairawhiti, Pte, k/a

UATUKU, Claude, T Cpl, w/2, M.E.
 UATUKU, Pene, Pte, M.E.
 UATUKU, Pita, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 UATUKU, Taare, T Cpl, M.E.
 UENUKU, Wi, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 URLICH, Ivan James, Dvt, w, N.Z. invalided
 URLICH, Pomare, Pte, p.o.w.
 URU, Patu, Pte, M.E.
 UTUTAONGA, Parekene (Dan), Pte, N.Z. invalided
 UTUTAONGA, Wally William, T Cpl, M.E.

VAHIMA, Joseph, Pte, M.E.
 VERCAMER, David L., Pte, k/a

WAA, Royal, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 WAAKA, Aperahama, L Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 WAAKA, Rangī, L Cpl, M.M., w, N.Z. furlough
 WAAKA, Te, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 WAAKA, Te Kari, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 WAATA, Kena Tangaroa, Pte, k/a
 WADE, David Horace, Pte, M.E.
 WADE, John Kendrick, L Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 WAENGA, Eddie, Pte, M.E.
 WAENGA, Henare, Pte, M.E.
 WAENGA, Joe Kahaki, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 WAENGA, Paul, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 WAENGA, Sandy, Pte, M.E.
 WAENGA, Tawhai, Pte, M.E.
 WAEREA, Mahuika, Sgt, M.E.
 WAEREA, Robin, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 WAETFORD, Edward, T Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 WAHA, Isaac, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 WAHA, John, L Cpl, w, m
 WAHA, Marcellus, L Cpl, w, p.o.w.

WAHANUI, Albert, Pte, M.E.
 WAHAPANGO, Koro, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 WAHAPANGO, Te Kooti, Cpl, w, M.E.
 WAHARIKI, Eric, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 WAIHAPE, P. A., Pte, M.E.
 WAIHAPE, Puke, Pte, M.E.
 WAIHAPE, Rutene, Cpl, w, M.E.
 WAIHI, Bill, Pte, w, M.E.
 WAIHI, Samuel, Pte, w, M.E.
 WAIKITE, Te Otutu, Pte, M.E.
 WAIOMIO, Harry, Pte, m
 WAIPARA, Kiwa, Pte, M.E.
 WAIPOURI, Manuel, Pte, p.o.w.
 WAIRAU, Tarona, Pte, M.E.
 WAITAI, Isaac, Pte, M.E.
 WAITAI, Tupari, Pte, M.E.
 WAITAIKI, Waiti, L Cpl, w/3, N.Z. invalided
 WAITARA, George, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 WAITERE, Johnny, Cpl, M.E.
 WAITERE, Piripi, Pte, w, M.E.
 WAITI, Pariki, Sgm, N.Z. furlough
 WAITITI, Apanui, Pte, w, M.E.
 WAITITI, Hori Kerei, T Sgt, M.E.
 WAITITI, Joe, Pte, M.E.
 WAITITI, Maaki, Pte, M.E.
 WAITOA, William, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 WAIWAI, John, Pte, M.E.
 WALKER, Andrew, Pte, M.E.
 WALKER, Charlie, L Cpl, M.E.
 WALKER, George, Pte, M.E.
 WALKER, Harry, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 WALKER, James Wi Hakopa, L Cpl, w, M.E.
 WALKER, Joe, Pte, w, M.E.
 WALKER, John, Cpl, M.E.
 WALKER, John Isaac, Sgt, M.M., M.E.
 WALKER, Nupere, Pte, M.E.
 WALKER, Nutoni, Pte, p.o.w.
 WALKER, Pera Puri Puihi, Pte, M.E.
 WALKER, Tuku, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 WALKER, Turi, Pte, M.E.
 WALKER, Wi Broughton, Pte, p.o.w.
 WALSH, Daniel, Pte, w, M.E.
 WALSH, Darkie, Pte, k/a
 WALSH, Matuhara, Pte, p.o.w.
 WALKER, Taa, Pte, M.E.
 WALSH, Reginald, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 WALTERS, Albert, Pte, d/w
 WALTERS, Benjamin Peter, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 WALTERS, Brown, L Cpl, N.Z. invalided
 WALTERS, Charles Frank, Sgt, M.E.
 WALTERS, John Joseph, Pte, M.E.

WALTERS, Paki, Sgt. M.M., w. N.Z. furlough
 WALTERS, Rangī, Pte, M.E.
 WALTERS, Rangī, Pte. w. M.E.
 WANIHU, Neti, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 WANOA, Albert Haenga, L Sgt, w. M.E.
 WANOA, Dudu, Pte, M.E.
 WANOA, Kaihau, Pte, M.E.
 WANOA, Phee, Pte, M.E.
 WANOA, Renata Matengaro, L Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 WANOA, Sam, Pte, w, M.E.
 WANOA, Ted, Pte, w/2, M.E.
 WANOA, Tohe, Pte, k/a
 WARA, Eru, Pte, M.E.
 WARD, Peehi, Pte, k/a
 WARETINI, Julian Heruheru, S Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 WARETINI, Mack, Cpl, M.E.
 WARETINI, Rangī Te Puru, T Sgt, w, M.E.
 WARIHI, James, S Sgt, w, p.o.w.
 WARREN, George, Pte, M.E.
 WARU, Taniwha, T Cpl, M.E.
 WATENE, Bartlett Mahinui, T Cpl, w, p.o.w.
 WATENE, George, L Cpl, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 WATENE, Hani, Pte, M.E.
 WATENE, Oti, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 WATENE, Percy, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 WATENE, Pua, te, N.Z. invalided
 WATENE, Wharetapu, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 WATIKENA, Tiki, Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 WAWATAI, Isaac, Pte, M.E.
 WEBB, Charles John, Pte, M.E.
 WEBBY, Harold, Pte, M.E.
 WEBSTER, Thomas, Pte, M.E.
 WEEPU, Ihaia, Sgt, M.M., w, M.E.
 WEEPU, Tangihaere Morera, Pte, p.o.w.
 WEHI, Matua Petuha, Pte, k/a
 WEHI, Whiro, L Cpl, M.E.
 WEHIPEIHANA, James W., Pte, N.Z. furlough
 WEHIPEIHANA, Kootu, Pte, w, M.E.
 WELLINGTON, Hokia Walton, Cpl, M.E.
 WELLS, Edward, Pte, w, M.E.
 WELLS, Jack, Pte, M.E.
 WELLS, Morgan Andrew, Sgt, M.E.
 WELSH, Colin, Pte, M.E.
 WERETA, Lorimer T., Pte, k/a
 WERETA, Oliver Maketu, Pte, d/s
 WERETA, William, Pte, k/a
 WERETA, William Mahuri, Pte, w, U.K. furlough
 WEST, Thomas Bernard, Cpl, M.E.
 WEST, Thomas Patrick, Pte, M.E.
 WEST, William, Pte, d/w
 WEST, William Henry, L Cpl, w, p.o.w.

WETERE, Hector, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 WETERE, Wiki, Pte, p.o.w.
 WETINI, Glen, Pte, k/a
 WETINI, Tim, T Cpl, M.E.
 WHAANGA, Christianity, Pte, M.E.
 WHAANGA, Norman, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 WHAANGA, Te Ratau, T Sgt, M.E.
 WHAKARAU, Erucra Te Kahu Iver, Pte, k/a
 WHARE, John, Pte, k/a
 WHAREAITU, Rongo, Pte, k/a
 WHAREAITU, Wiremu, T Sgt, M.E.
 WHAREHINGA, George, Pte, M.E.
 WHAREHINGA, Kercama, Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 WHAREKURA, Tani, Pte, M.E.
 WHAREPAPA, Bridger, Pte, M.E.
 WHAREPAPA, Papera, Pte, w, N.Z. furlough
 WHARERAU, Maru, L Cpl, k/a
 WHARERAU, Nick, Pte, d/w
 WHAREWERA, Toihau, T L/Sgt, w, N.Z. furlough
 WHAREWERA, Walter Waratini, Pte, N.Z. furlough
 WHATU-APITI, William, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 WHETU, Tuhi Whetu, Pte, M.E.
 WHITE, Abe, Pte, M.E.
 WHITE, Eru Te Pauhu, Pte, w, M.E.
 WHITE, Mark, Pte, k/a
 WHITE, Mathew, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 WHITE, Rawhira, Pte, M.E.
 WHITE, Thomas, Pte, w/2, N.Z. invalided
 WHITE, Tutu, Pte, w, p.o.w.
 WHITEHEAD, Christian Pakura, Pte, w, M.E.
 WHITI, Matangi, T Cpl, p.o.w.
 WHITU, Paiheke, Pte, M.E.
 WI, Khaki, Pte, M.E.
 WI, Leonard Kie, Pte, M.E.
 WI, Sugar, Pte, M.E.
 WICKLIFE, Ceylon Hironc, Sgt, N.Z. furlough
 WICKLIFE, Richard, L Cpl, M.E.
 WIHONGI, Hemi, Pte, k/a
 WIHONGI, Hone Tangiwai, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 WIHONGI, Mutu, Pte, M.E.
 WIHONGI, Tahī, Pte, k/a
 WIKAIRA, Arthur, Pte, M.E.
 WIKAIRA, Jack, Pte, p.o.w.
 WIKAIRE, Walter, Pte, M.E.
 WI KEIPA, Anania, Pte, k/a
 WIKI, Meinata, Pte, M/D, w, N.Z. invalided
 WIKI, Wiki, Pte, w, M.E.
 WIKINGI, Whetu, Pte, M.E.
 WIKIRIWHI, Rewi, W.O./I, w, N.Z. furlough
 WIKIRIWHI, Tetuaha, Pte, M.E.
 WIKITERA, Tony, Pte, N.Z. furlough

WILCOX, Aramiha, Cpl, p.o.w.
 WILLIAMS, Atu, Pte, M.E.
 WILLIAMS, Bill, Pte, M.E.
 WILLIAMS, Henry Rupi, Pte, M.E.
 WILLIAMS, Hewa, Pte, w, M.E.
 WILLIAMS, Jacob, Pte, M.E.
 WILLIAMS, John, Pte, M.E.
 WILLIAMS, Paddy, L Cpl, w, N.Z. invalided
 WILLIAMS, Patu Andy, Pte, k/a
 WILLIAMS, Peter, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 WILLIAMS, Reginald Iretoro, Pte, w, M.E.
 WILLIAMS, Roy, Pte, M.E.
 WILLIAMS, Sidney, Pte, N.Z. invalided
 WILLIAMS, Walter, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 WILLIAMS, William, Pte, M.E.
 WILSON, Alex, Pte, M.E.
 WILSON, George, Pte, M.E.
 WILSON, Hako, Pte, M.E.
 WILSON, Leonard Hugh, Sgt, k/a
 WILSON, Pat, Pte, M.M., N.Z. furlough
 WILSON, Richard Charles, Pte, M.E.
 WINEERA, Madson, Pte, M.E.
 WINIATA, Dick, Pte, w, M.E.
 WINIATA, Kiri, Pte, d/s while p.o.w.
 WINIATA, Pat, T L/Cpl, M.E.
 WINIATA, Whiwhi Lindsay, Pte, w, M.E.
 WINIKEREI, Bob, Pte, w, M.E.
 WINIKEREI, Rawhiti, Tpr, M.E.
 WINIKI, Max, Pte, w, M.E.
 WIPAKI, Tomati Reweti, Pte, w, N.Z. invalided
 WIPERI, Buck, Pte, p.o.w.
 WIPERI, Rahehi, Pte, M.E.
 WIPITI, Leslie Manurau, Cpl, p.o.w.
 WIREMU, Wipere, Pte, M.E.
 WIRIHAMA, Kapi, Pte, d/w
 WIRINGI, Wirirapata, Pte, M.E.
 WITANGA, Daniel, Pte, M.E.
 WITARIANA, Toby, Pte, M.E.
 WIWARENA, Natanahira, Pte, d/w
 WOLFGRAMM, Sonny, Pte, k/a
 WORRALL, Thomas Wilfred, L Cpl, M.E.
 WRIGHT, Frederick Samuel, Pte, p.o.w.
 WRIGHT, Patrick, L Cpl, w, N.Z. furlough
 WRIGHT, Rawson, T Cpl, M.E.
 WYLLIE, Honihana, Pte, k/a
 YOUNG, Frederick, Pte, p.o.w.

