Through Khaki Tinted Lenses: An Analysis of New Zealanders' Impressions of the Pacific During World War II

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS
IN
PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES
MAY 1995

By
Jennifer L. Pethig

Thesis Committee:
Terence Wesley-Smith, Chairperson
David Chappell
Geoffrey M. White
Copyright 1995

by

Jennifer Pethig
We certify that we have read this thesis and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Pacific Islands Studies.

THESIS COMMITTEE

[Signatures]
Acknowledgments

I would like to thank and acknowledge the generosity of seven Pacific war veterans who were interviewed for this thesis: Mr Alan Head, Mr Laurie Sutton, Mr Lionel Donnelly, Mr Eric Heath, Mr Fred Pethig, Mr George Gudsell and Mr Sid Moses. I am also grateful for the assistance from seven Returned Services Associations in the Wellington region, namely the branches of Tawa, Wellington South, Eastbourne, Johnsonville, Titahi Bay, Karori, and Wellington.

I would also like to thank the librarians and staff at the various institutions where I conducted my research: the Alexander Turnbull Library, the Oral History Centre and the Pictorial Reference Service at the National Library of New Zealand; the National Archives; the New Zealand Defence Library; the Ohakea Wing RNZAF Museum; the Queen Elizabeth II Army Memorial Museum; the New Zealand Television Archive; and the Pacific Collection of the University of Hawaii.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the support of my Thesis Committee: Terence Wesley-Smith, David Chappell, and Geoffrey White and also the wonderful support of friends and family.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgments .................................................. iv
List of Figures ...................................................... vii
Introduction: The Frames ......................................... 1

Chapter One: The Tinting of the Lenses ...................... 15
  New Zealand's Relationship to the Pacific .................. 15
  The Pacific War ................................................ 18
  The Portrayal of the Pacific War .............................. 21

Chapter Two: Allies and Enemies .............................. 40
  The War Context ............................................... 40
  The "Yanks" .................................................. 41
  The "Japs" .................................................... 48

Chapter Three: The Panoramic View ......................... 58
  The Pacific Environment ..................................... 58
  First Impressions ........................................... 66
  The Landscape ............................................... 69
  Malaria, Mud, Mosquitoes and Mold ....................... 68
  The Battle for Health ...................................... 75
  Native Health ................................................ 82

Chapter Four: Seeing in Black and White or Color? ...... 86
  The Portrayal of Pacific Islanders .......................... 86
  Natives on Natives .......................................... 105
  Food, Trade and Gifts ....................................... 106
  The Portrayal of Gender Relations in the Pacific ....... 110
## List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>New Guinea Pigs!</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Peaceful, Yes! But we never know...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Admiral Halsey says...</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dead Japanese soldiers...</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>After the landing on Mono Island</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Keep Him Out!</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Lure of the Islands</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>In the Islands There Were No Sights Worth Seeing</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Malaria Control</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>A Day in the Life of a Mosquito</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Target For To-night</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pity we didn't have these Yankee clothes...</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Latest Creations on the Native Fashion Front...</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>This Reconnaissance Work Ain't Half So Bad</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Blackout</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>An introductory illustration...</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Who's Got the Right Idea!</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Remember Back Home?</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Away From It All!</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Hurry Up, You Chaps...</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>NZ Governor General...</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>A Fijian Unit</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>New Zealanders use a native canoe...</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Captured Japanese Motorcycle, Bougainville</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Major WW Hallwright treating natives on Pinipel</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Training in New Caledonia...</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>A painting by the official war artist, Russell Clark...</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Native Guides</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Behind Jap Lines...</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Native Chief</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>A Native guide with a captured Jap rifle</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Sick and wounded New Zealanders...</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>This Fijian is making sure of his target</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>A wounded Fijian is carried out through the Jungle</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Capt. O.A. Gillespie, M.B.E., M.M. (Div. Historian)</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Fijian Patrol, Bougainville</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>A group of Fijian soldiers...</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Solomon Islands, 41642 1/2...</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Solomon Islands, 41643 1/2...</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Capt. LW Suckling NZMC</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>New Zealanders and Fijians socializing in Fiji</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Map of the Pacific Theater</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Map of the Solomon Islands</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction
The Frames

Between the years 1939 and 1945, over 40,000 New Zealanders entered Pacific Islands (Brooking 1988). For many it was their first experience "over seas," their first time out of New Zealand. It was also for most their first time in a war zone. There they saw, heard of and participated in the act of war. They were exposed to a frenzied mix of emotions—terror, fear, excitement, boredom, loneliness, death and violence. For many it could be considered a time of initiation with actions, sights, smells, sounds and people which were new, exotic, emotive, familiar and unfamiliar. It was also a time of "first contact" with aspects of themselves. All this occurred under and because of circumstances which evoked extreme mental stress, constant anticipation, trepidation, frustration, racism and bureaucracy. This thesis examines the racial experiences and attitudes of some of these New Zealanders as they encountered Pacific Islanders and other peoples they met or heard of in the Pacific war.

New Zealanders were sent to many different islands in and out of the combat zone in the Pacific. In Fiji, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, Tonga and Norfolk Island they trained, fought and socialized with many Islanders and Allies. They went voluntarily or conscripted as soldiers, sailors, nurses, airmen, pilots, gunners, engineers, signalers, doctors and medical personnel. They went as brigades, regiments, a division. Within the bounds of regimented military units there was a certain security and purpose
to their travel despite the displacement caused by the unfamiliar environment and conditions. They "had a job to do" and an enemy to stop. Bitterly or passionately they put to use skills and lessons taught in training and made use of their own intuition. The lifestyle was most often limiting; controlled by rank and command it allowed for little extravagance in its structured routine. But there was also time for the New Zealanders to observe, react to and experience the Islands under war. They were able to form opinions, attitudes and impressions that often went against what they earlier perceived.

As part of the Allied forces New Zealanders were officially along side Americans, Australians, Englishmen and many Pacific Islanders- their common "enemy" was Japan. The social interaction which occurred between these peoples has not been recorded from a New Zealand perspective. Racial encounters have usually been limited to a brief acknowledgment of military comradeship and the description of combined maneuvers. In the context of war, races were defined in their position as allies or enemies, and the description of others has usually been acknowledged within the bounds of preconceived racial stereotypes.

Until recently New Zealand's war historiography was surprisingly uniform in its treatment of the Pacific war and the "others" involved in it. Following the traditions of military history one official interpretation of the war has been paramount. It has not acknowledged the social and cultural impact of the Pacific on its veterans. It has not implicated race as a factor in New

\[1\]See Appendix A for photographs and illustrations of the Pacific war.
Zealand's involvement in war.\textsuperscript{2} There has also been little analysis of race and racism as being issues within New Zealand forces or within the Allies in the Pacific. The segregation of Maori and Pakeha\textsuperscript{3} troops was felt to be natural. The hatred towards Japanese was thought to be a natural dimension of war and racial conditioning. The failure to recognize the contribution and involvement of Pacific Islanders in the war has also occurred without comment. War history and war itself are areas dominated by men and male stereotypes, there is usually almost no acknowledgment of indigenous people, women, children, domestication, nor the contemplation of why the war was being fought. New Zealand's historical war record was no exception.

The nature of New Zealand war history and popular literature is nationalistic and eurocentric. The purpose is most often to tell a story, to highlight successes and explain away losses. It is most sexist, racist and its audience predominantly male. The interests represent colonial interests- politics, martial power and economics. Events become legends and heroism and bravery are mythologized. Decisions made by commanders were always correct in the long run, mistakes censored. Discomfort, death and violence are played down, or added only to show the great courage of New Zealand men or their aptitude to soldiering.

The New Zealand public knows surprisingly little of soldiers experiences (McLeod 1986, 10). War history and literature have maintained wartime

\textsuperscript{2}Works which have rebelled against many of these preconceived notions are James Belich, (1986) The New Zealand Wars, and John McLeod, (1986), Myth and Reality: The New Zealand Soldier in World War II.

\textsuperscript{3}"Pakeha" is a term used to denote white or European New Zealanders.
propaganda which at the time "shielded the New Zealand public from the reality of war" (Mc Leod 1986, 10) and now continues to allow for racism and eurocentrism and the dismissal of human encounter.

In the "official" and "semi official" Pacific war historiography, Islanders, when mentioned were usually included under the general term "natives," devoid of names, titles, cultures, rights and homes. They were disconnected from the New Zealanders, as if they were inhuman and unequal. There are few mentions of friendships or any relationships be they sexual, economic, political or platonic. If and when acknowledged Islanders are usually valued for their loyalty, bravery and sterling but ignorant "happy-go-lucky" natures. They are not seen as having any importance, significance or prestige in their lands, in the war, or as equally colonial subjects. Many times they are just not included at all, ignored, discredited and considered invisible.

"Popular" histories and personal accounts, those "unofficially" collated, are dramatically different in tone. They were written with differing agendas,

---

4Examples of "official" war histories referred to later in the text are: Gillespie O.A., (1952), The Pacific; (1945), Guadalcanal to Nissan: With the Third Division Through the Solomons; (1945), Pacific Story::A Survey of the Early History of the Third New Zealand Division; and (1947), Pacific Saga; [Cooper, Harold], (1946) Among Those Present; Crawford, John, (1992) New Zealand's Pacific Frontline: Guadalcanal - Solomon Islands Campaign; Hancock, Kenneth R, (1946), New Zealand At War; Stout, T. Duncan M., (1958), Medical Services in New Zealand and the Pacific.

5I use the term "semi-official" to refer to a thirteen volume set of Third Division unit histories, published by the Third Division Historical Committee. The reason that this series is neither "official" nor "popular" is that although they were written by members of the forces they were all edited by Oliver Gillespie, the "official war historian," and they retain much of his style, and are often used as "official historical sources."

usually directed towards mates in the forces. They intend to tell the "truth" of their experiences using less diplomatic language and visual material. Many of these books were written by Pacific war veterans or commentators. Texts from this genre include greater insights into racial and social interaction. They are sometimes more racist and other times more tolerant and understanding as they attempt to alter a false picture with their own accounts. As there were usually less historical and political dimensions to their publication they contain a freer range of subject and refer more to personal opinions and experiences without accounting for "New Zealand." Perhaps more personal and controversial they were still often narrow in focus and purpose. Despite their humanitarian objectives they also continued to describe Islanders through stereotypes, and like the "official" histories still incorporated assumptions of European superiority.

The portrayal of Islanders in New Zealand's war literature provides interesting insights into the racial attitudes of the New Zealand soldiers and airmen as well as the New Zealand public during the war years. The picture these works portray is usually racist and whether intentional or unintentional it is deceptive. In the Pacific, these military newcomers had to come to terms with their own ideas about race and racial interaction. They individually interpreted what they were seeing and what they thought they should be seeing. With different filters on their "lenses" New Zealanders in the Pacific saw with altered senses of racial and cultural awareness as they experienced different forms of human encounters.
This thesis is a reinterpretation of New Zealand's written, visual and oral war history. These sources have been re-examined for their treatment of racial content. It is a cultural analysis of racial prejudice, stereotyping and a chance for experiences of racial interaction to emerge through the war experiences. It is a montage of voices and representations of racial images collected from a variety of sources; cartoons, personal recollections, public and private documents, newspapers, film, official and unofficial histories. All of these sources have differing agendas and expected audiences. Within this thesis they have been collated and placed next to each other, sometimes with over fifty years difference between when they were created. All have been analyzed for their treatment of race, and especially for their portrayal of Pacific Islanders.

In order to portray a more social history of the experiences in the Pacific. I interviewed seven veterans during the month of August 1994. These interviews were a very sensitizing process. Through them I became much more aware of the impact war has had on these men's lives, the sort of people they were, and what they thought they were in the 1940s. I found their memories of racial encounters still very vivid and informative. Their quiet modesty and generosity in agreeing to be questioned impressed me, and left me with a new responsibility.

During the interviews I asked these veterans questions relating to their enlistment, military experiences, and impressions of the Pacific landscape and geography. I also asked them to tell of their racial experiences, both formal

7See Appendix B for an introduction to the informants.
and informal encounters, with different Pacific Islanders, Japanese, Americans, Australians and other New Zealanders. The information I requested was willingly given in most cases, although they had their own editorial limits.

I had only met one of the veterans before, three of them I contacted through Returned Service Associations in Wellington, and the final three were contacted through friends and family. Five of the veterans interviewed were in the Air Force (Mr Frederick Pethig, Mr Alan Head, Mr George Gudsell, Mr Lionel Donnelly, and Mr Eric Heath) and two in the Army (Mr Sid Moses and Mr Laurie Sutton). All traveled to the Solomon Islands and New Caledonia, during the war and some were sent to other islands in the Pacific. There was also a variety of military rank represented in the sample.

The information from voices of those who were in the Pacific war, challenges many of the conclusions found in war literature. The perceptions of those at the scene were usually refreshingly objective and less laden with propaganda. The interviews were an enlightening experience. I found the men most receptive, and enjoyed their delight, doubt and curiosity about why a young woman was so interested in them and this war. One was initially more dubious as to my purpose. Sid Moses opened his interview asking why I wished to interview him, "why me?...I'm only one of a whole lot of people" (interview, Sid Moses) he questioned. This statement shows exactly the reason why I wished to interview people who were there as a part of "a whole lot of people." These were people who were exposed to racial experiences in the Pacific. Their impressions were formed as a part of New Zealand's forces,
but in interviews they are individuals who could show their own opinions, not necessarily those of the military or those written or censored by editors other than themselves. World War II was a time when large groups of foreign people entered the area, but few have asked "what did they think?" "what did they see?" or "what did they do?"

Through the interview process I was highly conscious of the impact I was having on these interviews. I was often a stranger, a young Pakeha woman, who at times was asking questions of a very sensitive nature. I appreciated the veterans' hospitality and friendliness, but am also aware of their own biases in how they remembered things. I was asking them of events that occurred over fifty years ago, in a very different time. These were encounters which happened during a war, which sets up its own conditions. Several statements from interviews showed that the "war context" was extremely important and influencing for those involved. It was the reason they were there. Both George Gudsell and Eric Heath comment on how the war shaped their awareness and consciousness of their position in the Pacific. For some it was all around them, for others it was worlds (or theaters) away.

I seem to believe that you don't tend to think about the wider experience of things, you're in your own little world, and I don't think that many of us realised just how important Guadalcanal was at the time, (interview, George Gudsell)

The war was still a long way away for most- a lot of New Zealanders, although we were up there, it didn't kind of register, we didn't get papers or things to see what was actually happening. Pilots would come in and land and say, oh there was something happening you know in Germany or things like that, we did get radio, scratchy radio, but oh we got tired of
listening to it, couldn't be bothered, we would rather be fishing or swimming or drinking in the canteen. (interview, Eric Heath).

Under war conditions different types of information carry different value. During war, conflict experiences are intense and life threatening, and these situations are well described in history. But due to the traditions of military history, social and racial encounters have been erased from the official works. Personal opinions and ideas are denied prominence by the monolithic military approach. Yet racial interaction did exist in the Pacific and there are hints of encounters and attitudes through the sources.

Visual sources, which I examined, were useful for showing a sense of place and the environment in which the war occurred. Films, photographs and artwork, all contribute to attaining a visual image of the war. Most of the films I examined were from the "Weekly Review" series. This series was the first work made by the New Zealand National Film Unit which produced weekly documentaries from both theaters of war and the home front (War Years, 197-). As pioneer New Zealand film making it is racist and filled with mythologized parallels to New Zealand's own pioneering and warrior history. Its purpose was to spread propaganda and raise support from the home front for the war effort, as this quote from one film shows,

These grim pictures were taken under fire by New Zealand National Film Unit Cameramen, we show them to remind you that the troops sweating and dying in the jungle will not easily understand or forgive any slacking on the home front (Easter Action, 1944).
Islanders are seen in these films, in the foreground (sometimes) in the background (often) and in the commentaries. Their portrayal is mixed. At differing instances they are used to show humor, contrived situations, irony and ethnological information. In general, they reinforce stereotypes, especially those of the loyal or primitive native. Collections of war art have also been useful, if only to show the little interest New Zealand artists had in indigenous people. 8

Other sources referred to, such as letters from soldiers, were illuminating but frustrating. The censorship of mail sent from the islands was a large hindrance to discovering personal opinions written at the time of the war. As Stanhope Andrews describes, the troops were not allowed to write of the island group they were on, or had been on, nor could they say anything that may allow Japanese knowledge of Allied movements.

Then I was told that I could not mention the island group we were in, or say anything about flies, mosquitoes, dysentery, flora, fauna or landscape. (ANDREWS, Papers 1942-1992).

There are many filters to war literature. Another veteran from a radar unit, wrote an informal account of some of his experiences to add to a collection. He writes of the nature of security and secrecy that surrounds so much of war literature. His writing was prefaced in this manner:

It is a very long time since I gave much thought to the wartime experiences of over fifty years ago but reading of what others did makes me try to revive some memories. We realised the need for extreme secrecy at the time and so we conditioned ourselves to forget all the details of the job and, unfortunately, also

8In World War II there were three official war artists, two of whom worked in the Pacific, namely Russell Clark and A.B. Barnes Graham.
many of the people we knew at the time. That is the sad thing about it all when we try to recall details again and plan to attend a reunion. (Keith G. Duncanson, in Sexton, 1994, 325).

There was certainly information that was excluded because of censorship and security and much has been eliminated because of pain and regret. Letters at the Alexander Turnbull Library which I read, seemed to be more concerned with the soldiers and airmen reliving "home;" asking questions about the life they left, requesting food items, making sure that they were not forgotten, asking to be remembered to others, thanking family and friends for their letters, and telling plots of American movies. In a few letters some parts were actually cut out of the letters, and through most of the letters comments on inter-racial contact were sparse.

Many parts to the war and the Pacific experience are truly hard to understand and describe; the noises, smells and emotional impact of the time. The experiences of seeing large numbers of dead people, or killing large numbers of alive people, the violence of the missions and the loss of individuality. Many of the quotations which follow in this thesis bring out more personal sentiments and insights into what sort of people the New Zealanders were and what contact or impressions they had of other races.

Through the chapters, this thesis is an analysis of race, gender and the Pacific war environment as portrayed by New Zealanders. Chapter One is an examination of New Zealand's relationship to the Pacific prior to the war and an analysis of the position of the Pacific war in New Zealand's historiography. It was a theater which has received little public attention and understanding. In retrospect it is easy to see that over time war has been romanticized,
triumphs magnified and failures forgotten, (Mc Leod 1986) but some wars have been given more attention and praise than others. The consequences of fighting in the two vastly different theaters of the war is very telling of how World War II was perceived and understood in New Zealand. This chapter highlights the prejudice with which the Pacific war was received, and reflects on the implications of this for the New Zealanders involved and how this prejudice affected their experiences.

Chapter Two considers the war context, and how this influenced New Zealander's impressions of other peoples within the frames of allies and enemies in the war. It is an analysis of the portrayal of American and Japanese people encountered in the Pacific. Chapter Three examines the environment of the Pacific as seen by New Zealanders. From this the environment can be seen as a crucial and influential factor in the way the Pacific war was acted out and how the war and the region has been understood by the New Zealand public prior to the war and during it. New Zealand troops in the Pacific were well aware of the irony of their position, and gained a certain wisdom from this. Many discovered that their expectations of the Pacific were not met and usually found a sad humor in their bad luck, living through hell in a supposed paradise.

Chapters Four and Five examine the portrayal of Pacific Islanders in the war, through an analysis of the many different roles Islanders and New Zealanders played. Again irony is one of the strongest sentiments expressed in text and in the interviews. There was a great deal of social contact between New Zealanders and Islanders which has been denied prominence in film and text.
These chapters contrast the racial stereotypes of Islanders described in official literature with those from interviews and more popular sources. These chapters were written to redress the imbalance of race and gender in official documentation and to "socialize" the history of a war in the Pacific. It is a study of the shift in the stereotypes of Islanders as the New Zealanders experienced more human encounters with them. It is also a representation of New Zealanders attitudes towards Pacific Island women and a critique of the sexist nature of soldiering in World War II.

This thesis concludes with reflective comments from texts and interviews considering the war, now over fifty years on. The juxtaposition of sources and attitudes within this thesis allows for a more diverse and balanced account of social experiences in the Pacific war.

There are many things which this thesis could not address, such as the portrayal of Maori (also Pacific Islanders) within the New Zealand forces, (which would be a relevant and interesting comparison). Nor does it offer a comparison of an analysis of the portrayal of indigenous people in Europe and North Africa. It also does not focus on Pakeha women and their contribution to the Pacific war as nurses in New Caledonia, or their involvement within New Zealand's war effort. There were very few female voices in any of the literature and I did not interview any women, unfortunately, and this gap continues to add to the maleness of war history. There are also no interviews with any Naval personnel who fought in the Pacific. The Naval history of the Pacific war seems quite separate from the histories of the Air Force and the Army.
Finally, this interpretation and collection of impressions ultimately tells more of what New Zealanders were like than what it says of Islanders. It explores the experiences and feelings of forced travelers in a war zone, and their attitudes to and experiences with Pacific Islanders. It is a consideration of the racial conditioning and experiences of the Pakeha population at a crucial time in New Zealand history when New Zealand was discovering and formulating its own nationalism and international identity. Through this analysis of Pacific war literature and memorabilia a sense of what New Zealanders think of themselves and their relationships to others shows through.
Chapter One
The Tinting of the Lenses

New Zealand's Relationship to the Pacific:

In the 1940s, New Zealand was still economically, culturally and politically "Western" in heritage and orientation "only her geography disturbs the equation" wrote an observer commenting on New Zealand's ability to pass as an European country (Gordon 1960, 1). H. Belshaw, who attended and spoke at the Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Quebec, Canada, in December 1942, on behalf of the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, described New Zealand's international position to the world as this,

New Zealand is a Pacific country, but it was not until faced with direct danger of Japanese aggression that New Zealand people became Pacific conscious. This is not to be wondered at. Our trade with Pacific countries is not large. Our island dependencies are not great. Our cultural interests in the Pacific have been mainly ethnological, casually stimulated by museum specimens. (New Zealand Institute of International Affairs (NZIIA) 1942, 3).

we have been strongly bound to Great Britain by economic, financial and cultural ties... Our people are predominantly of British stock and our cultural heritage is British. We are a European nation. (NZIIA 1942, 3).

These statements reflect the predominant attitude toward the Pacific of those Pakeha in power. It was a space which was hindering New Zealand's ability to stand among other "European nations" where it desired to belong. It was a huge void of water which divided New Zealand from more "important places" such as America and more importantly "home," Britain. The Pacific was viewed as a place with little political or economic activity or promise. An
undeveloped, unproductive area which was making little contribution to New Zealand by any means. The "casual stimulation" of the Pacific as a sphere of ethnographic interest allowed and continues to allow for further intrepid European discovery, explanation and exploration. It was a perfect laboratory for observation, description and the collection of natural science and primitive art for private and public museum display. The childish and backward cultures were perceived as in need of guidance and control. This dependence justified colonialism.

Belshaw's statements summarize many of New Zealand's historical attitudes towards the Pacific. The British "cultural heritage" that both Belshaw (1942) and Gordon (1968) write of included British racism which helped create Social Darwinism, and in turn supported colonialism. Prior to the Pacific war, New Zealand's knowledge of and connection to the Pacific was limited to popular fiction, ethnographic accounts and political whims. In spite of New Zealand's geographic location and in disregard of the indigenous people of New Zealand, the Maori, there was an enormous lack of awareness, interest and understanding of the Pacific Islands. New Zealand Pakeha knew of the Pacific what they were conditioned to know from colonial, imperial and travel propaganda permeating from the nineteenth century. Most of this information was retold, defined and filtered by "European" authors and academics. The messages were inherently racist and eurocentric.

---

9During that period the Pacific was seen as an area where New Zealand could fulfill her glorious destiny as "the Britain of the South Seas," an expansionist Pacific power on behalf of the Empire. Some of the most distinctive people who promoted these ideas were Sir George Grey, Sir Julius Vogel and Bishop Selwyn.
New Zealand's relationship to the Pacific was political, cultural, economical and social. It was proud of its fine record as a colonizer in Western Samoa, Niue, the Cook and Tokelau Islands. Its "wonderful achievements" of turning the Maori into brown skinned Englishmen was used to justify its colonial experiments in the Pacific (Ross, 1964). Here it was supported by the arrogant assumption that the British and hence New Zealanders, with their long history of administering native peoples, "knew best what was good for these backward children of nature who had unfortunately retained their independence" (Ross 1969, 7). This attitude was reiterated by some politicians who grouped all Polynesians together and argued that all of Polynesia should 'belong' to New Zealand, because the "New Zealanders' experience in the administration of one Polynesian people justified their claims to rule other branches of the same race." (Ross, 1964, 1). These ideas remained in the political thought, colonial actions and public attitude of Pakeha society during World War II. One war commentator wrote,

New Zealanders have a flair for getting the best out of Polynesian races, for they know that, as with their own Maoris, the blood of warriors and gentlemen flows in their native veins (Priday, 1945, 27).

To some, New Zealand's contribution to the Pacific war was politically worthy and expedient. In the introduction to a unit history, the author recalled these older expansionist sentiments about the Pacific. To him, the war was useful as an opportunity for another chance at colonialism and political control of the Pacific, as well as encompassing the new tone of New Zealand's foundling nationalism. A film from the period also plays on these sentiments,
For the first time in her history this country is, we may believe, now truly conscious of her vital relationship with and her possible influence upon the Pacific groups. At no other time since Bishop Selwyn's vision of a greater New Zealand has this nation's destiny been more clearly evidenced.

Is it too much to suggest that engineers and others of the Third New Zealand Division have helped to pave this path to future greatness? ("C.B.S." in Gillespie 1945a, foreword).

When the time comes for a settlement in the Pacific, a proud part New Zealand's claim to influence will be the work of the men of the fighter wing, both in the air and on the ground. (Army and Airforce, 1944).

New Zealand's involvement in the Pacific war was to change some of these attitudes. The Pacific was no longer a "backwater" but contained a far greater strategic and cultural importance. World War II has been considered a watershed or a "turning point in the history of race relations and the development of island nations." (Lindstrom and White, 1990). It was thought to have permanently changed racial relationships in the Pacific. It certainly offered opportunities and challenges for indigenous islanders, and allowed for the education of new skills to deal socially, linguistically and mechanically with the Allied Forces. For New Zealanders it was a time of maturing, developing and increasing its own self reliance. Through this war, New Zealand reconsidered its place and role in the Pacific both at the public and private level. The Pacific became both closer and more foreign as sons, brothers, husbands, sisters, friends and cousins were being sent off to oceans, islands, battles and tropical malarial zones.

The Pacific War:

For the first time the defence of New Zealand relied on the security of many Pacific Islands (Munro 1993, iv). Politically and internationally New Zealand's concerns were shown at several conferences, the Imperial Conference of 1937
and the Pacific Defence Conference held in Wellington, April 14-26, 1939. At this later conference New Zealand designed the agenda to discuss Pacific (i.e., New Zealand) security. The naivété and lack of realistic understanding of the Pacific is illustrated well by an anecdote that at the time of the 1939 conference, despite an official search throughout the city of Wellington, "it was almost impossible at that time to find a medium-scale map of the Pacific area" (Gordon 1960, 98).

From this conference it was agreed that New Zealand's primary responsibility in the Pacific was the Crown Colony of Fiji, for it had strategic, colonial and communicative importance (Gordon 1960, 100). New Zealand and Australia then split the Pacific into areas of responsibility. New Zealand's obligations were in the New Hebrides, Fiji and Tonga while Australia maintained their interests in New Guinea and the Solomons (Gordon 1960, 101).

Attention on the Pacific was short lived. For at 9:30 pm on Sunday evening the 3rd of September 1939, the Dominion of New Zealand declared war on Germany. New Zealand acted within less than three minutes after learning that Great Britain had just declared war.

---

10 At this time New Zealand felt extremely vulnerable and wished for greater security through stronger co-operation with Australia and slanted the conference agenda towards a discussion of plans for emergency. Especially towards what New Zealand was to do if an enemy attacked until Britain could come in and save them.

11 See Appendix C for Maps of the Pacific Theater.

12 This was considered a natural reaction, Belshaw wrote that because of New Zealand's 'imperial Connections,' "we have known that if Great Britain went to war, so also would New Zealand" (NZIA 1942, 3).
The dutiful Dominion acted promptly as New Zealand organized its own war effort. On the 12 September 1939, in one day, 5,419 volunteers had enrolled for service in the Army (Mc Leod 1986, 18). However, after this start, voluntary enlistment was considered slow and disappointing. By the first 11 months of war, 59,644 volunteers had enlisted, yet this was not enough of a contribution and on 23 July 1940, conscription was introduced (Mc Leod 1986, 18). Propaganda portrayed World War II as a chance for many to experience the "Great Adventure" and survive through the most important test of manhood, just like their fathers had with the Anzacs. Yet enlistment in the war reflected many pressures other than tradition it was also a way of getting out of poverty and improving one’s station. It was also noticeably different from World War I, as expressions of national identity were more obvious. Michael King observed that in the recruitment posters for the second New Zealand Expeditionary Force there was more stress on patriotic and Anzac

13Because of Maori protest towards conscription in World War I, Maori were excluded from conscription during World War II. Despite this, through voluntary enlistment the Maori people did maintain one battalion of approximately 800 men consistently throughout the war. The support for the Maori Battalion was predominantly from three North Island tribes, Ngapuhi, Arawa, and Ngati Porou. The lack of support from Waikato and Taranaki tribes is traced back by one historian to land confiscation in the 1860s and 1870s, as well as resentment over conscription in World War I, and opposition to social security payment issues (Mc Leod 1986, 24-25).

14Mc Leod offers several reasons for the slow response for volunteering. The 1930s he argues were years of pacifism and opposition to militarism because the effects of the First World War were still felt by veterans and their families. The rise of pacifism had also led to severe retrenchment of Defence spending and the Military Services were short on equipment, uniforms and supplies. Poor health meant that 25 percent of volunteers were considered medically unfit, although he adds that the real number should have been 35-40 percent, but in desperation the Army were allowed to use their own grading. (Mc Leod 1986, 18-20)

15The Anzacs were the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps who fought together in World War I. These troops were worshipped for their bravery and valour, and the association still lingers in New Zealand ideology.

16In 1939, there were 32,000 men who were either unemployed or involved in special works schemes.
associations than those of World War One which emphasized obligations and responsibilities to King and Empire (King 1981, 173).

New Zealand military personnel slowly and quietly made their way into the Pacific in the late 1930s. Before war broke out in Europe the first New Zealand expeditionary force left for Fanning Island, on the 30 August 1939, their role was to guard a cable station from German raiders. (Government Printer, 1946 and Barber 1989, 43). On the recommendation of the Pacific Defence Conference several New Zealand battalions were sent to Fiji for garrison duty and to dig holes and build a three run-way aerodrome at Nadi. Following the news of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, New Zealand declared war on Japan at 11:00 am, December 8, 1941. (Barber 1989, 112). A fact which New Zealanders like to repeat, is that when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, the troops of the 8 Brigade Group, in Fiji, were the only ones occupying defensive positions in the Pacific when war was declared with Japan (Munro 1993, 10).

The Portrayal of the Pacific War:
The sensationalist press and war historians portray that the war in the Pacific had a frightening effect on much of the New Zealand public. The Japanese advance has been described as the "most serious military threat New Zealand has ever faced" (Crawford, 1992, 5), although I would argue that in fact the New Zealand Wars were. The bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and the collapse of Singapore in February 1942, highlighted New Zealand's vulnerability. To make New Zealand more insecure was the fact that nearly all of the country's able bodied men were far away in Europe and Britain was also preoccupied with its own safety (King, 1981, 232).
Despite the heating up of the Japanese drive, for most New Zealanders the "Great Adventure" lay in Europe. To the New Zealand public that was where the real war was, the place where imperial connections remained. When Japan entered World War II New Zealand was put in a position which pulled at different ideals. Mixed up were xenophobic fear, imperial loyalty and obligation. The major question asked was should New Zealand's fighting contribution be made in Europe or the Pacific? At stake was not only the security of the country from Japanese threat, and obligations to Britain but also the prestige of New Zealand at international levels. Socially there were enormous differences in how the two regions were perceived, based almost entirely on race and a sense of historic value.

The European war was a war which affected innocent white people. People like the New Zealanders' ancestors, in a region rich with "history." Contrasting this was the Pacific war which was seen as a harsh savage war with yellow, black and brown people in an area not conceived to be at all promising or glamorous (Gillespie 1952, v, and Dower 1986). Official War historian Oliver Gillespie writes about the contrasts of the two theaters. In the following quote he writes with a racial bias suggesting the raw brutality of jungle warfare, compared to the "ingenuity" of the European war. He also shows the irony that New Zealanders were more willing to fight in Europe than in an area closer to home.

---

17Politically and pragmatically New Zealand wanted a loud voice in European and International affairs once the war was over (Gordon 1960, 144-145).
Although comparatively close at hand, the islands of the Pacific, particularly those on which the actual fighting took place, were much less familiar than the historic and more romantic regions of the Old World, and the war on those islands was never fought in terms of European violence and ingenuity. But, whatever the circumstances, the death of young men is just as distressing whether it occurs in the jungle or the desert or in a cypress-studded landscape. (Gillespie 1952, v).

M. Zelenitz, who has examined the American portrayal of the Pacific war and Pacific Islanders, has described the basic racial attitude simply, "the Pacific had 'natives,' while Europe had 'civilians'" (Zelenitz 1991, 197). The Pacific was represented as a place where the landscape and the people were considered primitive and savage and this "stood a world apart from the cathedrals and civilians of Europe." (Zelenitz 1991, 197). The environment and history of the Pacific was less valuable and there was less at stake in this war.

The difference in the style of war, the landscape, and the people involved, gave the Pacific theater a very bad reputation, both among the troops and within the New Zealand public. The Pacific war was secondary and backwards. Resentment formed from many who wished to be in Europe, as Laurie Sutton states, "It was an interesting experience up there, you see nobody wanted to go there but you've got to go where you're told" (interview, Laurie Sutton). This next quote also highlights the contrast between the perception of the two theaters, and the powerless nature of individuals in the Armed forces who have to follow orders.

The East, we thought, Egypt and the pyramids by moonlight, and a "Beau Geste" experience of brandy, bint, and bawdy ballad; that's what we're going to, we thought with relish. Everyone had a brother or cousin or friend in the Middle East whose lot was filled with envy. But then you must remember your own apologetic, credulous debut in the Army. WE were the greenist of new recruits, mightily awed and expectant.
They sent us to Fiji.

It was a grey morning and the first knolls and humps of islands in the Fiji group had slid past to starboard when I came up on deck. Straight ahead stretched a low shoreline, and the white scatter of buildings that was Suva was just emerging from the flimsy miasma of the surrounding mangrove swamps. Grey clouds wrapped the hills behind the town. A cold wind blew across the ship.

Crash went my illusions. Where were the glamorous South Seas of tradition? (de Maunay, E., June 22, 1942, p.13).

Oliver Gillespie reiterates these sentiments. He also describes the lack of public recognition of New Zealand's fighting record in the Pacific. In an attempt to improve its consideration he represents the Pacific war in terms of male myths of what war means—heroics, bravery and conflict. He also tries to account for the struggle against the Melanesian climate and conditions to show even more courage and account for discomfort not laziness and whining.

Now that this record of New Zealand's contribution to the war in the Pacific is finished, I feel that it does, in a modest way, reveal achievements which have not yet been adequately been appreciated by the great majority of the public. It is a tribute, also, to the men who fought in a campaign which was singularly lacking in spectacle and heroics, but nevertheless required high courage because of the fighting conditions and strong powers of endurance to withstand a climate as exhausting by day as it was by night. (Gillespie 1952, v).

To add to the prejudice, the Pacific war has been largely downplayed in public portrayals. War historian Laurie Barber wrote in his book War Memorial, that this was because of the competition put out by the Second Division in Europe.

3 NZ Division has never been given its due. Its story has, for nearly 50 years, been unjustifiably eclipsed by the greater history of 2 NZ Division's achievements in the Middle East and Italy (Barber, 1989, 196).
A rather uncommon and enlightened journalist wrote an article in an Auckland newspaper during the war reprimanding New Zealand for its ignorance of and lack of interest in the Pacific and the Pacific campaign. This journalist also shows the general public apathy and indifference towards the war, and the narrow focus of New Zealand society. More importantly it criticizes the use of British media, and its perspectives and argues for greater nationalism within New Zealand.

In New Zealand we are continually tempted, because of the sources of our news and overseas comment, to regard the Pacific war in a detached manner which takes little account of the Dominion’s direct and immediate interests. Nine times a day we may hear the war news as reported by the B.B.C. from which the Pacific is far distant, and which... tries to convey a picture, in perspective of the war as a whole... Stalingrad... the Middle East, and ... British Ministers inevitably take the first places... and only exceptional events in the Pacific gain prominence. But even more important than the news reports is the outlook of those who compile them, an outlook which listeners in the Pacific tend to share. It is an outlook evident also in the comments of some Americans, usually on the Atlantic seaboard, who stand mentally with their backs to the Pacific. For all to whom this situation is common the war in the Pacific is important mainly in the degree that it affects or does not affect the war against Germany (Editorial in the Auckland Star, Quoted in Gordon 1960, 185).

In Les Cleveland’s book *The Iron Hand: NZ Soldiers’ poems from WWII*, published in 1979, he explains in the Introduction of why he chose not to include Pacific expressions in this book:

no material from the Pacific front has been reproduced here. This is because the Pacific Division of 2NZEF was essentially a garrison force which was used only briefly at the end of its tour of duty in a series of minor, mopping up operations on islands in the Solomons at the comparatively trifling cost of 82 killed and 198 wounded (Cleveland 1979).

The way the Pacific was seen by the New Zealand public affected the way the soldiers and airmen saw the islands and their people. The Pacific war, full of contradictions was on the one hand seen as a serious threat with terrifying
jungle war where you couldn't see or hear a thing, and on the other hand it was seen as lazy, wasteful and misplaced and an unimportant "trifling" waste of time. A poem from the time boldly criticizes the army for its lack of recognition of the Pacific war and its soldiers and the resentment that few from the Pacific got promotions or respect from the New Zealand military, press, government or public.

_This is My Story_
(Tune: a variation of Bless 'Em All)
-verse 1&2

Oh they say there's a troopship just leaving Fiji,
Bound for New Zealand's shore.
Heavily laden with time-expired men,
Bound for the land they adore.
There's many a soldier just finishing his time,
There's many a mug signing on,
You'll get no promotion this side of the ocean,
So cheer up, my lads, — them all.

— them all, — them all,
The long and the short and the tall,
— all the sergeants and the W.O.1's
— all the corporals and their —ing sons,
For we're saying goodbye to them all,
As up the cook's backside they crawl,
You'll get no promotion this side of the ocean,
So cheer up, my lads, — them all.

(Cleveland, 1959,92).

There were many aspects to the discrimination against the Armed Forces in the Pacific. Perhaps more so than the people, climate or landscape, New Zealanders also resented the Pacific war for its lack of action. Boredom was a fierce enemy, and morale was reported to be low when troops were not in action ("Life in the Pacific," 1945). Because of manpower shortages New Zealanders were not on the front line for a majority of the campaigns. The
"dreary lifestyle" was said to be only broken by mail and leave. Although there was also a certain amount of island fever amongst some, for even if leave was available "where could one go?" ("Life in the Pacific," 1945). In such boring circumstances the climate and conditions became all the more repressive.

One of the most vivid ways these feelings have been shown is through artwork, songs, and poetry. There was a deep sense of bitterness at being in a place when there seemed no need for them to be there. Many wanted to go home or better yet "go the other way" (interview, Laurie Sutton), to another war zone, that in Europe. Strong opposition and cynicism arose among some of the New Zealand troops at their lack of power and frustration with command. A satirical poem, written about New Zealand's role in the Pacific, criticizes this position as one which was solely defending colonial interests, especially economic interests on behalf of Britain. The Colonial Sugar Refinery (C.S.R) was one such British company in Fiji¹⁸. This poem "Defending the C.S.R." is interesting for its criticism of the decision to place New Zealand soldiers in the Pacific, the motive for which is suggested to be economic. It mocks English colonialism, but also suggests that the soldiers are at least lucky to not be under the threat of combat with certain safety in Fiji.

_Defending the C.S.R._

*(tune: Just a Wee Doch and Doris)*

_We're Peter Fraser's soldiers,_
_New Zealand's infantry._
_We'd fight for King and Country,_
_But they sent us to Fiji._

---

¹⁸The CSR and the Emperor Gold Mines in Fiji helped finance the Army there to assure the safety of these companies (Lal 1992, 110).
There's fighting on in Egypt,
But it's safer here by far,
So to hell with King and country-
We'll defend the C.S.R.

So while the war's raging
We'll sit here safe and sound,
So the mill wheels of Lautoka
Can keep on turning round,
And when this war is over,
In every hotel bar
You'll hear us tell the story
How we saved the C.S.R.

(Cleveland, 1959, 91, verses 1 and 4).

Another rather long poem The Great New Zealand Bum highlights some other sentiments. With a both bitter and humorous tone it cynically refers to the apparent lack of purpose of the New Zealand Army troops in the islands. It describes the sense of vagrancy, floating around like a bum to and in many islands. Hopping through the Pacific to find a war. The New Zealanders did not enjoy the sense of laziness that was given to them.

The Great New Zealand Bum

Now listen all you soldiers,
Now listen while we hum,
A story I'll relate to you
Of the great New Zealand bum.

From Oamaru, Timaru, Waipukurau,
From North and South they come,
And now they're in the army,
And the army's on the bum.

NZEFIP.
NZAPO 150
Take atebrin,
Instead of gin,
We're the pineapple Anzacs,
Quite used to jeers,
At the Coconut Fusiliers.
Oh I beat my way from Momi Bay,
To Suva by the sea.
Sambula and Namaka,
Were familiar sights to me.

I've been to Ba where the C.S.R.
Grow sugar cane and rum,
And then I left for Necal,
And once more I'm on the bum.

NZEFIP, etc.

Oh I beat my way from Noumea Bay,
To Houailou by the sea,
From Tomo stream to Koumac
Where a lady used to be;

Seen Kanakas and American WAAC's
As tough as they can be,
And I've spent the night when good and tight
In a French gendarmerie.

NZEFIP, etc.

We put to sea from Nepoui,
A fair wind followed free.
We followed up the islands
Till we found New Hebrides.

We took a chance off Esperance,
With Savo on the lee;
I heard my pal say Guadalcanal-
Just wait and you will see.

NZEFIP, etc.

We stayed some days, perhaps a month,
It's slipped my memory;
I gazed across at Florida
And it gazed back at me.

The general called the brigadier,
The colonels and their staff.
He said to them: "It's action, boys,
But if you please don't laugh!"

NZEFIP, etc.

"We've waited here for near a year,
But now at last it's come,
So go to your battalions
And once more you're on the bum."

In Vella Lavella we all grew yellow,
On atebrin, spam and sun,
The A.S.C. had all the tea,
But we had all the fun.

_NZEFIP, etc._

We went to squeeze the Nipponese
And push them off the map,
Then one day in Marquana Bay
We finished off the scrap.

And here we go to Wataro
To think about the past,
And wonder what the future brings
And what will come to pass.

_NZEFIP, etc._

Then George Fallon from Kurow town
With insight true and keen,
One Sunday night preached a sermon
That the far off field looked GREEN!

From Juno Bay we sailed away
And headed Northward Ho!
And cut off twenty thousand Japs
From reaching Tokio.

_NZEFIP, etc._

Oh the guns go bang and the tank trucks clang,
And the mortars blaze away.
There is no sweeter music than
The singing ricochet.

The banzai Nips cashed in their chips
Beneath the Banyan tree,
And left the world to darkness
And the NZEFIP

_NZEFIP, etc._

(Cleveland, 1959, 88-90).
This poem is also interesting for its language. Some of which demonstrates the discrimination of Army troops in the Pacific. It uses the terms "pineapple Anzacs" and "Coconut fusiliers" which were considered by many involved to be most insulting. Other common terms used were "Coconut Bombers" and "Playboys of the Pacific." All of these terms show the false impressions given of the Pacific war to the New Zealand public. Sid Moses reflected on this incorrect judgment.

One of the, suppose you could call it, unfortunate, certainly illogical backlash features of being up there was that, the army anyway, I and I don’t think it applied to the navy, airforce so much, labeled us, when we got back, they used to call us ‘Coconut bombers’ well you know this was a fairly derogatory sort of term, and we didn’t appreciate being called Coconut bombers, and I at one stage, I was in command of a battalion, and 25 chaps got killed, and I used to say to some of these people, when they used to say to some of these people who were talking about what a marvelous job our Division did in the Middle East, and they did, but I had to say to them, ’look I lost about 20 blokes and they are just as dead as anyone who got killed in the Desert, and people didn’t seem to realise that, and percentage wise our casualties were pretty low, which was partly because the period of our being in action, was a good bit less than those in the Desert. But while it was going it was pretty fierce, the Japanese were no mean exponents of jungle fighting they were very good, they’d been training for it and we hadn’t, and you know, as far as we were concerned it was on the job training, you find that it didn’t take you long to get the message of what was necessary.(interview, Sid Moses).

Prejudice towards New Zealand men who were in the Pacific was shown in many ways. For in the army especially to be "a proper man, to be a genuine soldier, you had to be at the front." (Phillips 1987, 203-204, footnote omitted). New Zealand’s pride in its martial capabilities was often illustrated through the nationalistic belief that New Zealand’s soldiers were among the best in the world, due to its rugged but egalitarian pioneering traditions (Mc Leod
To those at home and at the front the Pacific did not seem to live up to this criteria.

The slowness of the Pacific conflict was perhaps one of the redeeming features for those soldiers involved in the Pacific war, as their own troops were less exposed to death and violence. Fewer died than in the European conflict, which should be congratulated, but instead the low casualty rates were used against the soldiers as a reason for dismissing the threat and hardship.

In most of the war history there is an amazing lack of discussion about the reality of combat and war, or of the ethics involved. Mc Leod, an Army Officer, who has written a book examining the use of myth in New Zealand soldiering, *Myth and Reality: The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*, (1986), comments that "in spite of any misgivings that the people had towards active involvement there had been little criticism of the decision to go to war." (Mc Leod 1986, 20). New Zealanders accepted that violence was the only solution.

In the war literature the documentation of the stress of war, the battles of morale and mental feelings are also neglected. The tiredness, cold, heat, hunger, thirst, noise, heavy casualties, impact of losing friends, poor leadership, lack of privacy, the lack of tangible recognition as an individual, loneliness, and importance of religion in sustaining morale, which is what Mc Leod illuminates, are not often mentioned in contemporary accounts. Mc Leod believes the greatest irony is that "New Zealand society has tended to forget that it was the soldier's task to kill and that of the Army to teach and
encourage him to do so. " (Mc Leod 1986, 82). War history and propaganda reinforce this.

Inflicting casualties is an integral part of war, the soldier's task being "to act aggressively to exterminate the enemy." This was in direct conflict with all recognised values in civilian society, where killing human beings was unacceptable and most men had an aversion to it. During the war, however, it was not only sanctioned but encouraged, and attitudes towards death and the dead became "pretty unemotional and blasé." Such a transition inevitably caused its share of mental anguish." (Mc Leod 1986, 82).

The toll on physical and emotional states Stanhope Andrew observed the New Zealand troops in this way,

...but heat, too much flying and constant danger had glazed these young men all the same outward emotional colour. By long association in common hardships they had even grown to look alike, like man and wife (Andrews 1944, 11).

New Zealand's involvement in the Pacific war was strengthened when a further Infantry brigade group was sent to Fiji in October 1940. They were extremely short of equipment and man power, but not surprisingly were quickly reinforced in November 1940 and in December 1941, after Japan entered the war. The New Zealand army had camps in Samambula (near Suva) with an airstrip at Nausori and also at Namaka, on the west coast, which had an airfield at Nadi and port at Lautoka. Coastwatchers and radar personnel could also be found in the Gilbert and Ellice, Phoenix, Tokelau, Samoa, Line, Cook and Tongan Islands, as well as the Kermadecs and Chathams (Gillespie 1952, 43).

---

19 This was the 8 Brigade Group, which consisted of 949 officers and men. It was the first time in the history of the British Empire that a Crown Colony was to be garrisoned by troops from one of the self-governing Dominions (Munro 1993, 4).
These early ground forces on Fiji became known as the Third New Zealand Division, Second Expeditionary Force in Pacific (2NZEFIP) and in December 1942, the first troops were dispatched to New Caledonia to train for jungle warfare and amphibious operations. The newly formed division had many problems caused by manpower shortages, which resulted in the Division being cut down to two brigades rather than three. This formation "was plagued by delay, confusion and indecision concerning the uses to which it should be put and the strength in which it should be organised." (Gordon 1960, 181) As the New Zealand division could not take the place of American divisions "this limited the kind of operations it could undertake." (Crawford 1992, 31). New Zealand then had primarily a garrison role in the islands of New Caledonia, Tonga and Norfolk (Munro 1993, v). A role which was seen to be of less importance.

The Royal New Zealand Navy was involved in the Pacific war from late 1942. The HMNZS Leander and Achilles were involved in escorting supplies and reinforcements between New Hebrides and Guadalcanal in late 1942 and later throughout the war this and other boats carried out convoy and escort work (Crawford 1992, 9-11). The 25th Minesweeping Flotilla also participated in the war in the Solomons between December 1942- July 1945.

---

20A Brigade is the rough equivalent of American regiments, says Gordon, 1960, 181.
21This flotilla originally consisted of the HMNZ Ships Kiwi, Moa, Matai, and Tui. They were based at Tulagi, in the Solomon Islands and were involved in convoy escort, anti-submarine operations, and shore bombardment. During the war the flotilla was joined by the HMNZ Gale, Breeze and Arabis. In 1944 12 Fairmile motor launches were also sent to the Solomons to carry out escort duties, among other things. (Crawford 1992, 9-13).
The Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) was responsible for flying units and support units such as maintenance, construction and radar units. The RNZAF entered the Pacific war when it began operating a bomber reconnaissance unit from Henderson Field, Guadalcanal, on the 24 November 1942. These planes were greatly appreciated by the Americans "as they lacked good reconnaissance aircraft." (Crawford 1992, 20). George Gudsell, a pilot in the RNZAF, saw the gap as a useful way for New Zealand to join the war in Guadalcanal and a source of pride.

_They were glad to have us there because we were reconnaissance and they had been using, hadn't been using the right bombers for reconnaissance work, quite a waste of aircraft...so we were able to do a job for them so they were grateful so we just soldered in_ (interview, George Gudsell).

The RNZAF moved around several times and some of its airmen were to see a great deal of the Pacific, whether they wanted to or not. Later in the war No. 15 Squadron RNZAF moved to Guadalcanal from Tonga and in June 1943 No. 14 Squadron started fighting from Guadalcanal also. The RNZAF had their No 1 (Islands) Group Headquarters on Espiritu Santo from March 1943. Despite this operational control of RNZAF units remained with American commanders.

In early February 1943, efforts were made to increase the strength of the Third Division so that it could be of more use in American maneuvers. A reshuffling of manpower between Fiji and the Solomon Islands was intended to relieve some and bolster strength where it was needed. However, a third

---

22This was a section of No 3 Squadron RNZAF, flying Lockheed Hudsons, they were the first Commonwealth unit to operate from Guadalcanal. They were to see a considerable amount of action in the war (Crawford 1992, 20).
battalion still had to be found. For a while there was the distinct chance that Maori soldiers would enter the Pacific. The possibility of using the 2 Maori Battalion was put forward and General Barrowclough welcomed the idea, but was hesitant and "warned that some difficulty might arise through working Maori troops alongside American units which might suffer them some indignity" (Gillespie, 1952, 104).

The Americans, apparently, liked the idea, and rejected any suggestion of discrimination. But the idea was reneged by Colonel J.H. Nankiwell, who was the United States Military Attaché in Wellington. He thought that it would be unwise, with no further explanation given in this reference (Gillespie 1952, 104). Apparently also the Maori War Effort Parliamentary Committee did not support this proposal, as they wished their people to go to the Middle East. In a letter to the Prime Minister they concluded it by saying,

'The Maori people of New Zealand are averse to their boys being sent to any other theatre of war where they could not be directly supporting their kinsmen. This feeling is paramount in the minds of the men of the 2 Maori Battalion' (Gillespie 1952, 104-105).

Despite this further attempts were made to send the 3 Maori Battalion into the Pacific, but this was interrupted by the return of many men from the Middle East on furlough who then refused to return. The result was that both the 2 and 3 Maori Battalions were sent to the support the 1 Maori Battalion. "It was obvious," writes Gillespie, "that the Maoris did not wish their men to serve in the Pacific" (Gillespie 1952, 104-105). It would have been fascinating to observe their attitudes and experiences had they been sent there. It was following these discussions that the Fijian troops were soon allowed to enter the war.
Shortly after this it was decided that the Third Division could be used in the combat area. This pleased the New Zealand government and the troops as they wished to play a greater role in the war. After reorganization, to complete brigades and allow for reinforcements, the first units of the Division set out for Guadalcanal in August 1943. Their first task was to clear the Japanese from Vella Lavella, in the northern group of the Solomons. The 14th Brigade cleared Vella Lavella and the 8th Brigade seized Mono, in the Treasuries Group, with air support from New Zealand planes. The landing on Mono island is considered important as "this was the first time since Gallipoli that New Zealanders had landed on a shore under enemy fire." (Filer 1989, 76). The final action of the Third Division was the assault on the Green Islands Group, north-west of Bougainville, in February 1944.

In February 1944 the RNZAF had over 5000 men in the islands (Crawford 1992, 24). They were involved in action over Bougainville from a RNZAF station at Ondonga, New Georgia. And then once parts of Bougainville were secured they operated from Torokina in January 1944. They proudly claimed their last and 99th enemy aircraft on 13 February 1944 (Crawford 1992, 25).

Soon after Rabaul and Kavieng were neutralized and the South West Pacific campaign came to a successful end. New Zealand troops were promptly taken out of the Solomons and returned to New Caledonia and New Zealand.

\[\text{Note:} \text{ The RNZAF was to reach its manpower peak in February 1945, when it had 7929 men in the Pacific Islands (Crawford 1992, 24).}\]
The Pacific war involved difficult jungle warfare. New Zealanders in the army needed to learn a whole new perspective and way of combat. Learning to fight a World War in a jungle was testing, but the soldiers were up to it according to one film,

To hop from island to island, to clean up the Jap, and flatten the jungle into an air base. It is a strategy that calls for a new technique of warfare. With a resource typical of New Zealand these men have mastered the method, they know all the tricks from moving in on transports, gunboats and barges to fighting it out on the beaches and jungle. (Invasion of Nissan, 1944).

Racism was ever present in the arguments for the savage nature of jungle warfare. New Zealanders, when they label the war as savage, do so with images of black or yellow savagery but not white.

Knowing that the Japanese fight to the limit of human endurance, the New Zealanders trained themselves to a physical standard previously thought impossible for white men in the humid climate of Fiji (Larsen 1946, 9). 

Not only were the Armed forces in the Pacific fighting the Japanese they were struggling with their own ideas of war and what their role should be.

Soldiering and war have played an important part in New Zealand's history and heritage, both Maori and Pakeha. From the New Zealand Wars in the nineteenth century, the Boer War, and World War I, war has been a crucial, although fading part of New Zealand male and female character and identity. 24 The New Zealanders in the Pacific were portrayed by supporters as adding a new dimension to New Zealand's great aptitude for soldiering and

---

24I included both male and female identity, despite the fact that Pakeha women have not been actors in combat often, as I agree with Jock Phillips that the male stereotype and experience has been extremely influential on the lives, thoughts and attitudes of women. He argues that the male type "has become identified with the process of national definition" (Phillips 1987, vii).
adaptability to the new forms of warfare, as well as their brilliance as teachers and trainers to Islanders,

The New Zealanders methodically analysed jungle warfare down to the most minute detail, then they developed a skill which later surpassed that of the Japanese in every way. Camouflage and silent movement were practised until technique became habitual. As they required tactical knowledge they passed it on to the Fijian's who, in turn, taught the New Zealanders some finer points in bushcraft. There was no "sixth sense" and nothing mysterious about the ability of the commandos; it was just a matter of taking the job seriously; the rest was common sense and hard work (Larsen 1946, 9-10).

How popular, brave and courageous warriors were was valued in New Zealand society. How a war was viewed by the public was an integral part of the war's success in New Zealand popular history. All too often in its treatment the Pacific war has been "demoted" through prejudice and discrimination by media and text. This prejudice affected the way the New Zealanders saw themselves and others.
Chapter Two
Allies and Enemies

The War Context:
More so than any other context, it is necessary to recognize that the experiences analyzed in this thesis occurred in the context of war. These circumstances were ordered, restrictive but also unpredictable and novel. Few of the New Zealanders who went to the Pacific would have done so if they were not forced to go, few would have entered the military forces either. Ordinary farm boys, office workers and public servants all of a sudden became trained killers in camps in the Pacific. There they met new people, some like and some different from themselves and what they were used to, but nearly all involved in the situation of war. War, because of its nature, established a bi-polar relationship between humans, into allies or enemies. To some degree usual prejudices were swept aside under dangerous conditions and the threat of death, while others were enlarged. Fear and the struggle for survival meant friendships were easy and quick, yet there were still many racially and culturally conditioned layers to what people became real friends and who one could trust or respect.

The only people in the islands who seemed to exist outside of a war context, were the indigenous islanders. To many of the commentators they were only a consequence of the geographical position of this war. Their involvement was of enormous importance to the style and way the war was fought, yet they have usually been overlooked in New Zealand accounts.
The "Yanks":

The involvement of Allied troops, especially the Americans was not overlooked. New Zealand soldiers fought alongside Americans often in American uniforms and carrying their weapons. The New Zealand troops were all under US command, with some amount of independence. Admiral Ghormley and later Vice-Admiral WF Halsey, who succeeded him in the South Pacific Command in October 1942, asked for assistance from New Zealand units whenever they wanted. However, the troops were committed to action through their own commanders (Gillespie 1952, 65).

For the New Zealanders the generosity and friendliness of the American troops made rough circumstances more tolerable and "cultured" for them. The Americans, had amazing supplies, alcohol, and friendliness on their side. The war context allowed for more harmonious relations between soldiers from America, Australia, England, the Pacific Islands and New Zealand. As Allies, they were related, even if some were causing a stir in New Zealand's domestic dating scene,

*We got on fairly well with the Americans, over there, although they...people say they didn't because there was all, back here in NZ there was a lot of animosity, because of the you know, wives left (interview, Eric Heath).*

In the war zone there was a necessary ease of friendship. Stanhope Andrews describes meeting an American Colonel and his story is an example of war humor about socializing,
"You the New Zealanders?" he asked.
Then suddenly smiling, "Why I met you men in a plane somewhere."
Meeting in a plane on a long ocean flight makes for even quicker friendships than those of shipboard." (Andrews 1944, 14)

The Americans in the Pacific war had a profound impact on New Zealand Pacific war veterans. To this day many are still extremely grateful and loyal to the United States. For all it was an exciting time to meet and share genuine camaraderie, "Yanks and New Zealanders, we are all in it- together" wrote Andrews (Andrews 1944, 54). There was the security of purpose and shared allegiances. The Americans were "fine chaps", "good fellows." Alan Head describes his interactions and contacts with the Americans as warm, accepting and secure,

Americans, of course we were with them all the time, and they were very very good, and it was like a big family. They seemed to accept us as just as our own (interview, Alan Head).

Memories of the Americans as generous were not only kept by Islanders (see Lindstrom and White, 1990, and White and Lindstrom 1989). New Zealanders were impressed and amazed at the amount of equipment Americans had, but also their generosity and loose treatment of it. New Zealand soldiers were desperately short of equipment and the following are several stories of "getting" American goods. They were told with smiles and are obviously remembered fondly and with humor.

I must tell you of a little incident actually, it was rather intriguing really at least I thought it was, at the time too. But when we arrived at the Kiwi Camp there you see there was another chappy there and myself, oh he's dead now, but we got our heads together and thought we'd ask the chappy in the orderly room where was our cots, you see, because the Americans, their stretchers, they call them cots, you see, and what are we going to do
for sleeping tonight you know, oh I don't know have a look outside there's some cots there or some stretchers there, and of course they're was no guttering and the water was just pouring onto these cots, and Ernie and I said well we're not going to put up with this you see, so we set off... So we came across a Lieutenant, because of course a lieutenant in those days and we said, you know, do you have any spare cots? you see, Oh yes we've got tons of cots, what are you a Kiwi you've just arrived? Oh well go down so many coconut palms and so forth and turn left and you'll see all you want you know take what you want, you see, and of course we were sort of apprehensive of this you see and I think Ernie looks at me and I looked at him, and "well do you want a jeep? you know, the chap said, well I don't know whether at that time we'd have been happy in a jeep but he said oh well I'll soon get you a jeep, hang on a minute I'll get the quartermaster, you know, he was wanting to give us a jeep....This was the amazing thing, you know, yet we as kiwis had very little... (interview, Fred Pethig)

they were very, had tremendous supplies of equipment of all sorts, and we had almost nothing, and they were very generous as far as that was concerned, they gave us all sorts of things, and even to, they had trailers which were little miniature tankers to carry fresh water and they gave us several of those...It was a very good experience as far as cooperation and generosity of the American forces went, they couldn’t have been better, they realised that we were hopelessly under equipped (interview, Sid Moses).

We went away very poorly equipped, almost not equipped, as a result of political operations over the previous 4-5 years, eventually I was able to get hold of some this equipment, was sent up to us, but this is where the Americans came in, and they could see that we were ill-equipped and almost not equipped, and they gave us all sorts of things including the very clothing we stood up in. We had no jungle uniforms at all, so we wore American, what they call fatigue uniforms (interview, Sid Moses).

As soldiers, there was a difference of opinion. Several of the men I interviewed described the Americans as having very different attitudes to the war. They were more pumped up, more unafraid, eager to kill, trigger happy. These were Laurie Sutton's first impressions when asked what he thought of the Americans and if he had much to do with them,
Well, yes, I had a lot to do with them, um, they’re good fellows when you meet them, but they’re... but they’re... they have a, they have a... it was very apparent that they’re only happy when they’re firing. They’ve got no idea of holding their fire or waiting for things. The Japs used to come over after...they used to come over every moonlight night, The Washing Machine Charlie they used to call them planes because it was such a different thing to many other planes, and they’d go down to, they’d even go right down to New Caledonia at some stage, you know, right through these islands, they’d do it on a thing. And the Yanks, all the money they spent with all that ammunition going out.. (interview, Laurie Sutton).

The thing was the... and it was over in the other side of the world too, that the Yanks were trigger happy, there was no doubt about it. There was a notice in the new Georgia Air Field, here, [points to map], in all the messes there, "Stay away from the Trigger Happy Treasuries" because of these Yanks. And I remember, it was around about Cyprus or somewhere... they shot down 30 or 40 allied plane in one day (interview, Laurie Sutton).

Appreciation was felt for the gifts of war materials, and friendship, but also for saving their lives, and for the co-operation they showed in combat. New Zealanders weren’t very often on the front line, but the Americans were and they suffered huge fatalities in comparison.

and you know, when we took off from NZ and pulled into New Cally, and then got on to this Liberty ship you see, I think it was a Liberty ship, and they took on about two thousand odd marines, you see and I think it was about 3 days or so before we got to Guadalcanal you see, but we stopped at Guadalcanal for about month at the Kiwi Camp and that sort of thing and it was interesting you know to see the tremendous graves of the Americans that were you know, killed there in the battles that took place, and their , what we’ll say, their dumps of tinned fruit, and all that sort of thing, because that was mainly the diet of course, and we stopped there around a month, and then we went over on an APC up to right to the top tip there of Malaita, to set up the you know, the aerials and (?) plotting leads???) for the ships coming up from the Canal and further south too to go North and that was up to Bougainville (interview, Fred Pethig).

We in actual fact, were a, were a, were a bit of a liability for the Yanks in that their equipment was quite different and we had different things altogether, however we did play our part (interview, Laurie Sutton).
The Americans came back from one of the islands, and we went down to see them, they were just like zombies when they first came back, but they sort of fought out a few couple of days, they were saying that if you got shot over there and you were by yourself you'd be eaten, and no food, or anything. they were you know, some of them were just boys really, the Yanks... (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

There were also great perks! Eric Heath recalled visits made to the American "PXs" (post exchanges) on Guadalcanal. He used to buy candy there to send home to New Zealand, which is interesting as you usually imagine food parcels going the other way during wartime. The stores had "ridiculous things" such as men's dress shoes, liqueur chocolates and ice cream, he explained. Although apparently the Americans used to prefer New Zealand ice cream and it was a good bartering item (interview, Eric Heath).

New Zealanders impressions of "others" vary in reaction to situations. African American troops left deep impressions on Pacific Islanders during World War II. For the first time they were seeing Black men and White men in the same uniforms and working, eating and playing together (Lindstrom and White, 1990). The New Zealanders however, saw more of a racial division between themselves and the African Americans. The impressions of African Americans were also silenced in a majority of New Zealand's written war history. In texts they were portrayed as sleeping, drinking, sport and card playing men. Little was reported of their contribution to the war effort.

The dry phlegmatic ways of the negros amused our boys. They could sleep anywhere and stacks of baled hay on the wharf proved too much of a temptation for many tired coloured boys. During their meal hour they played complicated card games it was either that or 'shooting craps' and dollar notes changed hands to the accompaniment of impassioned appeals of 'speak to me bones' (Gillespie 1947b, 46).
New Zealanders were used to segregated troops, which is also what the United States had, so there seems to be little surprise at that. But impressions from the interviews held more life, friendship and vitality than those in the written texts. Laurie Sutton said that the African Americans made up the CBs, (construction battalions). When asked whether he thought that they were treated equally he replied.

_Not really, no, no no, I remember when I drove our Captain, ah, Colonel from the Scottish, I drove him over to Pauatahanui, where the Yank camps were, they were transferring him to a place to stay in New Zealand because he wasn’t really fit enough to go overseas, and we drove into one of these Yank camps and here’s a Negro sitting in a pillbox, sound asleep and ‘Oh the Colonel he said Oh would you look at that, have a look at that, he says (laughs) he was disgusted, he was (interview, Laurie Sutton)_

The Asian American soldiers in the American forces proved of great interest to the New Zealanders I interviewed, They found it amazing that there could be Asian Americans fighting against the Japanese, for one thing it went against their idea of a monolithic enemy which would do anything to protect Japan.

_they also had these Japanese ones...., they had a, not far from us, these Japanese down there, and one of our chaps went down there and came back and said ‘there’s bloody Japanese down there,’ yes there is come down’ we went down and met the American Japanese and they were good (interview, Lionel Donnelly)._

_and at that particular time on Guadalcanal, the Americans had what they called the 298th Hawaiian Division was there , and they wouldn’t put them in, well the story was that we were told, whether it was just a fable or not, that they wouldn’t put them into action because they were too like the Japs themselves and they wouldn’t know who they were fighting, you see...(interview, Fred Pethig)._
Contrasting the oral recollection is a written one, which brings the Asian Americans back into another stereotype...

While the tropical summer rains and storms persisted the camp was infested with flies but the arrival in mid-February of a guard rifle company from the 298th U.S. Infantry Division quickly changed that. These men, nearly all natives of Hawaii, knew everything about camp hygiene and within a couple of weeks of their arrival every vestige of rotting vegetation in the camp area had been burned, all water courses had been turned into shallow drains edged with split bamboo securely pegged in place, and with nowhere to breed the flies were gone (H.J. Osman, in Sexton, 1993, 123-124).

Some intercultural experiences were not so convivial, race and colonial politics were still present in the American world, where the New Zealanders were considered British. The Americans had some interesting liberating and nationalistic attitudes towards the New Zealanders as well as those they showed the Islanders (Lal, 1992).

Life in an American unit [in Munda] was interesting and we were left to our own devices...On out time off the Operator and I went for our usual swim to the raft we had made for diving. When we reached it four soldiers used their legs to stop us from boarding it. We came back to camp and I asked a Polish-American Diesel Mechanic name Viachore, what that was about. He said the men on the raft were Irish Americans and that they hated us 'Limeys'. Of course at that time we were all British. New Zealand Citizenship did not take place until 1.1.49. (L.A.C. Lanyon, H.S. in Sexton, 1949, 251).

the Black Americans they were mostly drivers of trucks and that, and when we were hitchhiking around the islands and that, they would always stop and give us a ride, so would the white ones, but mostly black ones and one of the American officers stopped and giving us, got us a ride and he said where do you come from, we said New Zealand and he said oh, is that, what's a, you're English, we said yeah, well, UK, and he said, don't class yourself as those Limeys, he said, your a New Zealander, say your a New Zealander, don't say you've got something to do with those Limeys over there, you know, he was really against the Limes, No your a New Zealander, your a good country he said, you stay New Zealanders... (interview, Lionel Donnelly).
The "Japs":

The Japanese received the most vehement racism of all ethnic groups in the Pacific war and afterwards, by New Zealanders. Pakeha New Zealand has historically been anti-Asian and has long lived in xenophobic fear of the "Yellow Peril." During World War II, New Zealand reacted strongly to the Japanese, and their attitudes showed the worst of New Zealand's racism, whilst at the same time this opposition also strengthened New Zealand's nationalism.

We are standing behind the ramparts of the seas around us. And we are standing firm. If he comes across the sea our enemy will find narrow barriers and if barbed wire and bullets fail to stop him and guns and all our many arms then he will find us still determined. We have our hope for the future as a free nation, a free people, and we are dangerously angered that our earth and home should thus be menaced, by an aggressor so advanced in the art of destruction and so reduced in the ideals of human progress. New Zealand is ready (The Years Back, 1973).

Right from the start Japan's entry into the war was seen as "cowardly" and "treacherous" (Barber 1989, 116, Fortune 1944, 35, Dower 1986). Speaking fifty years after the war, Laurie Sutton, still recalls with bitter feelings what he feels was unjust in the way history and the war is recorded:

the thing that I don't think is emphasised enough these days is that while the Jap's planes were going over Pearl Harbour they were in Washington, their peace envoys were talking peace in Washington with the American government, and you know, its not, ah... does not get enough recognition that that's how treacherous they were (interview, Laurie Sutton).

The treachery of the Japanese allowed for a "war without mercy" (Dower, 1986, 181). The men in the Third Division faced this propaganda with fear and trepidation. The frightening reputation of the Japanese, and their own unfamiliarity to the jungle, heat and conditions gave them more to fear.
Leod writes of the propaganda which portrayed the Japanese as "cruel fanatical enemies", and alleged atrocities were exaggerated and given prominence in New Zealand newspapers. The Auckland Star, for instance, had run the headline "NOW WE KNOW- THE JAP IS A BEAST." (Auckland Star, 12 March 1942, quoted in McLeod 1986,28)

The racism was virulent. The Japanese, "Japs", or "the wily sons of Tojo", were seen as bestial, and inhuman by all of the Allies (Dower 1986). The inclusion of such an enemy in Melanesia, an area historically defined by Europeans as savage, reinforced the picture of this war as primitive and savage (Zelenitz 1991). This was always contrasted sharply with the European theater as the next quote shows...

Their skin was a different colour; and their code of warfare was, unlike that of the Germans, seen as unacceptable an inhuman. There was such distrust of the Japanese that war correspondents in the Pacific, and even some padres, carried side arm, whereas none did so in the Middle East and Italy. One New Zealand officer, who fought against both the Japanese and the Germans, when asked in 1949 whether the average New Zealander had any resistance to killing his fellow human beings, replied:

[This] might apply to the reaction of the average man when the German was the enemy. It did not apply to killing Japanese, although it is probably stretching one's imagination to regard a Jap as a fellow man... The approach to killing Japs was in a wave of hate, such as one would kill rats, and killing Germans in my experience was very impersonal (Quoted in Mc Leod 1986,82-83).

This is jungle patrol. Later they will fan out to worry the Japs, like terriers worrying rats. They move with caution, but keep pushing on, plodding along, waiting and watching. Anywhere around you, 5 yards away, a wily son of Tojo may lie and wait completely hidden and just waiting to knock you off. You hear nothing you see nothing until the bullet hits you. Jungle fighting is man against man there is no front line, the enemy may be all around. (Treasury Island Patrol, 1944).

In cartoons from this period the portrayal of the Japanese is highly racist. The Japanese are usually depicted as animal-like caricatures or contorted
"little-men." Most common was the depiction of the Japanese as monkeys, although in one of the following cartoons they are also shown as guinea pigs.

Figure 1. "New Guinea Pigs!", (Contact, June 1942, 51).
It was a useful deception and highly successful propaganda tool. The New Zealand public was so predisposed to thinking of the Japanese as inhuman and only able to think and operate collectively that there is utter surprise and near denial when it is discovered that the Japanese could love, play, have families, and personalities that were individualistic and not uniform.

There were snapshots too, that the Nipponese had left, of a wife in her kimono, of the kiddies at the seaside, of family groups, and scenes at the fair with bunting, ferris wheels and all the fun of the roundabout. Which reminded one that apparently in their complex personalities some form of love does leaven their bestial traits (At Gizo when a patrol came across Japanese tents. (Gillespie 1947b,75).

Japs to them[Office workers at Munda] were people whom on rare occasions they interviewed as prisoners, and whose letters to their sweethearts they translated. It was a little difficult to realise that Japs had such things as sweethearts, but they evidently had because one of the clerks in G2 showed me a photo of one (Barrow 1974, p.83).
In the film *Angels of War*, an Australian veteran when describing the "mopping up" of New Guinea in 1944, made the comment, "We weren't winning a war, we were just killing Japanese." This mentality applied to the New Zealanders as well. They were "going on a Jap hunt" (*Easter Action*, 1944) with the "Slogan of these patrols...'If you strike trouble, return it with interest'" (*Invasion of Nissan*, 1944). Conflict was not weighed by how much land conquered but how many Japanese they had killed there. The United States also had an influence with propaganda signs around such as this one.

![Admiral Halsey says...](image)

Figure 3. "Admiral Halsey says..." (Sexton 1993, 133)

The killing of Japanese was accepted and desired, it was great if they were "caught...with their kimonos down." (*Army and Air Force*, 1944). The war effort was intended to "crush Japan out of existence in the Pacific" (*Pacific Invasion*, 1944). Photographs of dead Japanese were common in newspapers to show that revenge was being sought.
The morning after an artillery barrage, five thousand rounds have smashed up a Jap infantry concentration on the banks of this river, now there's a little clearing up to be done [Shows dead Japanese, buried where they lie in full uniform] We've seen more horrible pictures than these. Pictures of men women and children of Nanking slaughtered by the very same men who's bodies lie here this morning. Men of the 6th Japanese Imperial Division (Easter Action, 1944).

Figure 4. "Dead Japanese soldiers: a painting by the official war artist A.B. Barnes Gráham," (Filer 1989, 81).

Figure 5. "After the landing on Mono Island," (Filer 1989, 85).
In the newspaper columns and cartoons some of the most racist ideas were portrayed.

"Keep Him Out!"

Figure 6. "Keep Him Out!" (Contact, June 1942, 6).

Perhaps you do not recognise the evil, grinning little yellow man on the opposite page. No? Perhaps you are blind to the very real peril which faces all Allied possessions in the Southern Pacific. This little man with the big ideas is well-known to many of our relatives and friends. They have fought him in mortal combat and have found him a formidable foe. The bars that hold him back in our artist's drawing look strong. But you can make them stronger. There must be no loophole through which this yellow man can slide. Many of us are unable to fight in the active sense but we CAN fight on the home front (Contact, June 1942, 7).
Propaganda and misinformation was spread throughout the Allies, making the Japanese out to be more devious and vicious than the Allies. This justified their own aggression and their role in defending these islands.

I don't like them at all...they're such a treacherous crowd, they fought with us in the First World War, but then you know, that's the worst thing they committed some horrible atrocities in the Pacific, raping nuns in the Solomon’s, oh no they were nasty bits of work, No use of them at all (interview, Laurie Sutton).

Well the Japanese were there among, you know, among the natives and they did a hell of a lot of damage they destroyed their, they had plantations of paw paws and so on and the Japanese destroyed them and um, we had to give them food, it didn't apply all over the Solomon's, but in the islands where the Japanese had occupied and those were they main ones where we were, and the poor old Solomon Islanders were pretty hungry at times, mind you their supply of food wasn't all the best at any time. When we arrived on Green Island for example, we had no rations for a couple of days and had to live on coconuts, and I don't ever want to see another coconut, but we had to drink coconut milk and there was no natural water, so we got off the landing barges with a two gallon can full of water in one hand and a rifle in the other hand, and, um, your pack on your back... but it didn't last all that long, for we were able to kick the Japanese out after a while, and the islanders got feed, probably not the kind of food they wanted, but at least they weren't starving (interview, Sid Moses).

Lionel Donnelly remembered them as sneaky but also daring. He recalled an episode which showed a different slant, that would often be edited out. Were the Japanese interested in America? spying? or just watching a movie.....?

Well I, where were we, back on Guadalcanal I think, when we were over on Green Island we used to have outdoor movies...[?] and ah a couple of chaps went to see the CO, and says while we were watching the movie we could hear Japanese talking, and ah so they organized a Japanese hunt all over Green Island, and, there's no Japanese around, and any how, that's right, we left Green Island and went to New Britain, that's it yeah, up here somewhere [points to map], the Japs were just up there, oh that's another thing I've just thought of, and anyway wee were on new Britain word
came over that they'd caught three Japanese soldiers after we left, those soldiers, we didn't think that there was anybody there, and there was a few there and the caught them. It appears that they'd been coming down to the movies at night time and just sort of mingling with us, [laughs] (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

The New Zealanders enjoyed contrasting their own generous and caring attitudes with those of the Japanese, especially when it came to the treatment of Islanders. One film showed Nissan Islanders standing and smoking with New Zealanders, they were getting and giving cigarettes while New Zealanders drank coconut and gave the Solomon Islanders food. The commentary reported the scene.

During the last two years, the Japs in occupation of this island, have ill-treated the natives. Neglected them and robbed them of their food. Now the natives are among friends again. (Invasion of Nissan, 1944b).

Many of the natives fled into the hills when the Japs invaded Guadalcanal but even so some were caught and compelled to work on Henderson airfield. Now the natives were moving back to make new homes in their old surroundings. Most of the natives are Roman Catholics and wear religious medallions. Some of them wear expensive wrislet watches, too, and one native, tapping his watch, said to a soldier- 'You buy-sefenty faive doolar.' The native huts contained a conglomeration of American and Japanese gear- all probably relics of the battlefields. One can speak of battlefields in Guadalcanal for most of the fighting was done over open country. Native kiddies smoke pipes as do their mothers, while the picaninnies' playthings varied from stethoscopes to Jap helmets (Gillespie 1947b, 68).

Most of the New Zealanders I interviewed had very little direct interpersonal contact with the Japanese. The above quotations are experiences seen through an already racist wartime and pre-wartime filter. They were the result of what they saw on the grounds around them, and the result of the great propaganda machine. They needed good reasons to be killing, and to help control psychological trauma. The Japanese were simply the enemy as George Gudsell
said when asked if he ever met any Japanese and Lionel Donnelly recalled the pitiful and frightening state of the Japanese when they surrendered.

Not to talk to, to shoot at? yes, Prisoners? yes...In the air, I was close enough to actually look at one sitting in his cockpit over there, and look at one another, his guns were that way and ours were that way so we weren't shooting at each other. You don't feel anything at all, he was the enemy. I used to see quite a few prisoners (interview, George Gudsell).

And when we ah... maybe it was New Britain we were in when the war finished, cos ah, must have been, 'cos ah, the Air Force, the Japanese Air Force came down stranded, and landed, and came down on our strip, and one came down and he crashed, not badly, one of his wheels folded under I think, and he came down and sort of spun around and slided off the strip. And our airmen, our officers were running around like they'd just ?]... and the Japanese were getting out and bowing, and saluting and bowing and all that, very well dressed, beautiful clothes on, and we had 3 or 4 planes came down there, landed, and all went through the same thing, bowing and saluting, and then they started to bring the Japanese out from the jungle, and they had a big wire thing to put the Japanese in, just about two strands of wire it was, they were there and went down there, and their poor boots and shoes they just had ah[plot?] .... and their uniforms were really ribbons, and they looked hungry and they looked a bit like if they could drag you they would eat you right away, some of them looked really horrible, you know, and that's all I really saw of them (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

There had never been a "world war" in the Pacific before and the islands were a difficult battle ground. The New Zealanders were dealing with the reality of war and were also jungle fighting in islands- world war style which called for novel survival tactics. In war, relationships with allies and enemies were at once simple and complicated. Many of the recollections from veterans showed they still retained some of the pain, racism and propaganda. The violence of warfare and the racism towards Japanese added to the portrayal of the Pacific war as savage and harsh. This environment was one condition that all were sharing.
Chapter Three
The Panoramic View

The Pacific Environment:
Westerners have often defined the Pacific, and especially Polynesia by its appearance. It is attractive because of its environment. It is the environment that makes you happy- that's what the tourist posters say. The value of islands in the Pacific, to outsiders, was seen in their tropical beauty and relaxed passivity. Frequently the people and their cultures were seen as another part of nature. Their intelligence, their relationship to the land and their rights as indigenous people were ignored and underplayed in this area which outsiders saw only at surface value. There was complete surprise for one New Zealander to learn that on Guadalcanal the "owners" were demanding payment for coconut palms chopped down and that this land had economic value.

Every day large working parties stored gear in dumps in the palm groves. When we were thirsty a palm would be cut down. One well-laden palm had just fallen when an American approached.
"You chaps can't cut down these palms," he said very pleasantly.
"Why not?" we questioned.
"We have to pay the owners £10 for every palm cut down," was the amazing reply.

It would be interesting to know how much the Japs paid." (Cooze 1944, 34).

The Pacific was filled with ironies for the New Zealanders present. They were dealing with a war in a region that is both a place and a concept. The Pacific, or "the South Seas" were islands filled with many images. The soldiers and airmen were discovering how powerful the stereotypes of the Pacific, or
"Polynesia" were. "Melanesia" was something else, filled with greater contrasts and incongruities. Despite having bigger islands and seas it was seen as empty, vacant and remote, lacking glamour and sophistication. This region showed the largest discrepancies between New Zealanders' expectations and their realizations of the Pacific. They were well aware of the "savage" history of these islands and their inhabitants. Exaggerated stories about missionaries and traders in this region were well read, and the heathen nature of the islands was distorted to magnify the success and impact of missionaries and christian churches. In war literature this style of writing continued. It enhanced the image of the New Zealand forces operating in a challenging and primitive environment. In an official Government war publication the experiences of New Zealand missionaries were described to set the scene.

most of those devout people [missionaries] were promptly despatched by the natives. A grim record of murders by natives and deaths from malaria did little to bring the Solomons to favourable public notice (Army Board 1945, 6).

Within the parameters of a war the harsh environment was purposely exaggerated, a savage landscape, savage people, a savage war. Ernest Stanhope Andrews, a film producer, writes from his flight arriving in the Solomons,

-our first sight of the Solomon Islands, land of headhunters and missionaries, a place scarcely any New Zealander in peace-time would ever think of visiting (Andrews 1944, 10).

An army publication writes too of New Zealand's preconceived and telling ideas of the Solomon Islands judging it by its standards of health, friendliness and development,
Before the outbreak of war the Solomon Islands, of which Guadalcanal is one of the largest, were perhaps the least developed of any island group in the world. The prevalence of the malarial mosquito made them unhealthy; natives on some of the islands were far from friendly (Army Board 1945, 5).

It was not a place were New Zealanders would choose to go, or want to fight a war, "the jungle is the most difficult and pestilential country in which to wage a war" (Army Board 1945, 15). Sid Moses agreed,

*So that's about the overall impression, it's a mixture of good and bad, mostly bad I suppose, you don't get cold, because there's, although we did get cold at times, if you were sopping wet and the sun went out you got cold, but ah, it wasn't a desirable place to be at all for white people, the natives more or less got immune from malaria, they used to get bitten but they didn't get infected* (interview, Sid Moses).

In the Pacific, New Zealanders for the first time fought the jungle as well as the Japanese in conditions where there is no substitute for individual courage, for the jungle exhausts men mentally and physically and throws a great deal of responsibility on the individual soldier. Elements of 3 Division fought on heavily timbered islands which had never previously known war except among scattered tribes of naked savages using bows, arrows and spears. In the Pacific there were no distractions of civilisation (Gillespie 1952, 320-321).

To respond to this portrayal was difficult and near impossible for the indigenous people. The Pacific was convenient for its silence. Westerners ranked its excellence through its beauty and supposed purity for their own purposes. Hollywood exploited and exposed a Pacific which was a sensuous, exciting adventure playground. New Zealand soldiers entering the Pacific in World War II, were most likely aware of the romantic Hollywood, or adventure novel images. Many would have seen movies or read books, which described an area which New Zealand was at once connected to and apart from. If their experience gave them no preconceptions of the Pacific, they would probably still have had their own expectations of what "going
overseas" should entail, or must entail if one was to compete with the exploits of those in Europe. The portrayal of women as sensuous and alluring was a part of the romantic picture projected from Hollywood, and the New Zealanders often commented on the incongruity of these images with those they saw in Melanesia.

Only at first glance do the islands where R.N.Z.A.F. personnel are stationed seem in any way glamorous. Most of them are far from that. Among our men thoughts of Hollywood tropical settings with bevies of beautiful dusky maidens raise more laughs than sighs ("Life in Pacific", 27 April, 1945,6d).

Figure 7. "The Lure of the Islands" by F.P. Choate, National Collection of War Art #280, National Archives, Wellington.
The Americans had an open-air picture theatre. After a three-mile walk over uneven ground in pitch blackness we would be rather annoyed to find that the pictures were off for the night.

As a rule, the pictures were good. We were especially delighted with occasional pictures of glamorous Pacific islands. Later on, when we moved into the Solomons, I looked in vain for Dorothy Lamour. She must have left very hurriedly when she found there were no stores—nor sarongs (Cooze, 1944, 25).

In both text and interview there was frustration and disappointment at the reality of the Pacific in which the soldiers and airmen had to live in and the conditions they had to fight under. There was also great disappointment and anger at how their life in the Pacific was portrayed to those at home. This is most obviously expressed through poetry, such as the what the following poems show,

**Paradise of the Pacific**

*Islands of tropical magic, whisper of wind through the palms,*  
*Moonlight on silvery waters, freedom from care and alarms,*  
*Music of soft island voices, charm of the Southern seas,*  
*Islands of dreams and of romance; tourists will tell you of these.*

*Thunder of deafening barrage, crashing of answering fire,*  
*Flashing of guns in the jungle, seeking the planes soaring higher,*  
*Rattle of rifle and Bren gun, silence of hidden disease,*  
*Islands of mud ever clinging; Third Div. can tell you of these.*

*Visions of wonderful beauty, garlands of beautiful flowers,*  
*Madness of long clinging kisses wiling away stolen hours,*  
*Lilting of soft girlish laughter, humming of birds and of bees,*  
*Butterflies bright and gay insects—tourists will tell you of these.*

*Darkness and fear in the fox-hole, tenseness of nerves under strain,*  
*Sweating of tired mud-stained bodies hauling out trucks after rain,*  
*Half stifled groans of the wounded, taint of decay in the breeze,*  
*Valour of deep-buried comrades—Third Div. can tell you of these.*

*Tight enclosed track in the jungle, limitless roll of the sand,*  
*Snipers that lurk in the darkness, panzers that roar o’er the land,*  
*Army and Navy and Airforce, roaming the Seven Seas,*  
*All in the cause of New Zealand—History will tell you of these.*

(G.N. Utting, in Watson 1944, 88).
"Tropics"

You can have your bloomin' tropics
and all their strange allure
You can have your bloomin' jungle
where Nature's not so pure.
Your mosquitoes and your butterflies
hold neither joy nor charms;
You can have your bloomin' beaches
and stately waving palms.
You can have your dusky maidens
-the ones I haven't seen!
You can have your bloomin' Lunga
and everywhere it's been.
You can have your bloomin' Trade Winds
and all the rain they bring.
I'd rather have the West Wind
and its fragrant breath of Spring.
And deep within the jungle
in limpid river reaches
You can have your gaudy parakeets
and all their raucous screeches.
For there amongst the mud
and all the vicious vines
You'll find a bloomin' haven
where the crocodile reclines
You can have your bloomin' lizards,
your snakes and fishes too
That swim beneath a tropic sea
that's not so bloomin' blue
Yes, you can have your coconuts
beside the coral shore
And all your other jungle fruits
-I don't want them anymore.
You can have your bloomin' Solomons
-just now or any time
Take me to Old New Zealand
a much more pleasant clime.

W.T. Foley
Tank Sqn.
(Kiwi News, February 15, 1944).

O Caledonia, Stern and Wild

We're in the "Islands of the Blest"
Where soft the trade winds blow,
And all the fruits of Eden
In wild profusion grow;
Where mangoes ripe fall in your lap
And milk and honey flow;
Where all the girls are glamourous
Just like a Broadway show.
You say you don't believe it's true?
I swear it must be so!
You read it in the papers,
And after all... they know!

We do not get our fruit from trees
...it comes in tins instead.
We find the 'night life' interesting
Mosquitoes round our head,
And bullfrogs croaking through the night
And bull-ants in your bed;
The water full of gnats and bugs
And weevils in the bread;
And goddam, awful, endless rain-
We wish that we were dead.
Yet still we live in paradise!
...That's what the papers said.

The surf may croon upon the reef
But sandflies whine ashore;
We bathe within the still lagoon
But sea-snakes use it more.
Here every tropic shrub and vine
Doth scratch us red and raw.
And big, black blowflies come in swarms
Around the cookhouse door.
Its called "Pacific Paradise"
(The printed word is law)
But we agree this is no place
To fight a bleeding war.

A.S. Hely (Horn, 1992,36-37, also in Contact, June 1943,73).

Hail Caledonia

You must think that we are playboys, Mr Pressman, when you say
That we booze in blestful comfort, beer that's boundless every day.
Beer that's brought at one and sixpence, and you get it less a 'jack,'
From the kindly canteen people when you bring the bottle back.

Would you were a soldier Pressman, in this land across the main
You'd enjoy to gaze on niggers as you route-marched in the rain
Where the ants and skeeters eat you through the restless reeking night
If you light the blood stained candle, blundering bugs blow out the light.

(SOLDIERS Songs and Poetry, [verses 1&2 only] ca 1943, 123-126).
Satiric and political poetry and cartoons played again on the incongruity of expectations and reality. These poems all work on the irony of what the Pacific is described and perceived to be and what the New Zealand soldiers were experiencing. Instead of relaxation, sun and sand the New Zealanders had to struggle with humidity, heat, rain, disease, mud, mountains and a lack of freedom. For many their island life was boring and limiting.

Figure 8. "In the Islands There Were No Sights Worth Seeing" (Cooze 1944, 14)
First Impressions:

Arriving in the Islands was well documented in text. First impressions were a source of mixed emotions—excitement, anticipation, voyeurism, sadness at leaving loved ones, and fear of the unknown. In retrospect, perhaps the veterans enjoyed their own innocence and illusions, the self-interest of the impressions, the hopes, the reality of what they were seeing and how they were taking it in. Sometimes the landscape was pure excitement—seductive and receptive, other times disappointing—harsh and uncivilised.

The passage up from Momi, inside the reef, gave most of the battalion their first glimpse of anything tropical—Fiji! The coconut-studded coastline and bush covered hills and mountains seemed to beckon to one to come ashore and taste the mysteries of the interior. There wasn’t one man who did not feel a thrill of anticipation at the prospect of exploring the seductive looking hinterland (Gillespie, 1947c, 14).

To most of us Fiji was our first visit to the tropics. Was this going to be the paradise the films had led us to believe, or were we to be disillusioned. The day of our arrival—our welcome—impressed us no whit. For an hour or so we stood on the decks of our transport gazing at our new home. The heat was unbearable, water was in short supply and came out of the taps in a tepid trickle; the decks seemed to burn through the soles of our boots. This was the tropics with a vengeance and there we stood, dressed up in our best ill-fitting drill uniforms while the old hands on the wharf below looked as cool as the proverbial cucumber in sensible shorts and shirts (Gillespie, 1947g, 12).

The written descriptions of land and geography are often dramatic. A thoughtful expression of one New Zealander’s attitude appeared in an Army publication, it reads, "much of the glamour of the South Seas, as interpreted by tourist posters, was fast disappearing, though there was great beauty for those with the eyes to see it." (New Zealand Army Board, 1945, 12).
New Caledonia was seen as a disappointment to many of the troops, especially those who had just left Fiji. It was described as a "narrow foreshore backed by craggy, bush covered, forbidding mountains" (Gillespie 1947c, 41).

If any of the New Zealanders had expected to see tropical shores fringed with palms, their first sight of New Caledonia was sufficient to dispel the illusion (Gillespie, 1948a, 41).

All troops had an opportunity of having a quick look at Noumea and were disappointed. The shops were empty, the streets were dirty. Pretty French girls were conspicuous by their absence and, instead, a motley crowd of New Caledonian natives and Javanese patrolled the streets. This was not the 'Paris of the Pacific' (Gillespie, 1947, 41).

In New Caledonia the niaouli trees became a challenge to sanity also.

...at Taom there was little to relieve the monotonous vista of niaouli trees. How monotonous and nerve-racking these trees can become is known only to those who have to live among them for some months.(Gillespie, 1947c, 48).

Some "lucky" ones did find their "dream" islands, where the Pacific did live up to its reputation for beauty, sex and mystery. Examples are those stationed on Aitutaki in the Cook Islands25 or on Norfolk Island, or others who found peace, security and happiness in more simple things.

American pre-war notions of a South Seas' island -lagoon, swaying palm trees, moonlight nights of dreamlike serenity, an ideal climate, and girls lovely even by Hollywood standards- all came to life here...[Aitutaki] (Priday 1945, 75).

and it was quite a nice island, it was away from the war, you didn't even realise the war was going on it was so beautiful, it was paradise. I mean the war was about 800 miles away or maybe less than that... the Japs were just coming down to Guadalcanal and they were down there in the 42s 43s, and we were sending NZ troops up there from all over NZ, lots of soldiers to Green Island for the Defence Forces. lots of pilots, and we saw most of...

25These were mainly American troops, although there were some New Zealand troops and civilians there. For some there was more than just dreaming for apparently the US tried to "discourage romances from going too far, the U.S. Army in its wisdom made it clear to the administration that marriages between members of the Forces and island women would not be approved" (Priday 1945, 75).
them, met a lot of them and so I was at Norfolk island 18 months I said (interview, Eric Heath).

Norfolk lives in a world of its own far removed from Maori tradition and Melanesian head-hunting (Priday 1945, 56).

Norfolk was, and probably still is, a paradise on an island. The happy-go-lucky islanders cultivated a few patches of fruit and grazed a few stock (without fences) but spent most of their time enjoying the simple pleasures. They made passionfruit wine and a raw spirit named "zoop"! These descendants of the Bounty still carry the names of Christian, Young, and son on. They were dark countenanced and spoke a modified English. They were very friendly but were easily upset by mentioning the magnificent avenue of Norfolk pines which were uprooted to make way for the chain mesh airstrip (Henry J. Angelini, in Sexton 1994, 283).

Within the interviews, the impressions were generally positive, and not as exaggerated and dramatic as the text impressions. Although most likely this is due to the fact that people tend to only recall happy and pleasant events and block out or dismiss the bad or upsetting memories.

But the climate was ah quite good...I enjoy the sun, I enjoy heat, (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

there were some glorious sights, of course, in the mornings, you know, were so terrific, you know, from half past one or so in the morning it was real daylight sort of thing and one of the greatest sights was seeing the American fleet you know, going up, the destroyers and the battleships going up to Bougainville (interview, Fred Pethig).

Tonga is a real South Sea Island and is much more unspoiled by European influence than Fiji (Letter, 11 January 1943, BLUNDELL Henry Neil, 1909-, Letters 1940-1946.).

... but one magnificent sight that I did see on Malaita, was this, you know, acres, well hectares and hectares of this bamboo plantation and that sort of thing, and to see all the canes and that waffling in the breeze and you know, that was a tremendous sight as far as I was concerned (interview, Fred Pethig).

My departure from Suva came sooner than I expected and I was very pleased that things turned out the way they did. Suva was as dead as N.Z. but not as comfortable (Letter January 29, 1943. BLUNDELL, Letters 1940-1946.).
Charlie has not been worrying us a great deal lately. With the gradual improvement in living condition Guadalcanal is becoming quite a pleasant place. It is much better than Fiji (Letter, March 19 1945, BLUNDELL, Letters 1940-1946).

the seas, you know, were so clear and that sort of thing, and if you looked over the little boat and that sort of thing, and looked down, you know, and saw all this coral formation, you know, and it was virtually, it was so clear and that you could see for, I was nearly going to say for chains and chains of you know, through the sea and this was interesting (interview, Fred Pethig).

The Landscape:
The New Zealand soldiers rarely seemed to question their right to be in the islands. It seemed to go without saying, they were powerless to the rank and command of the military, but still few doubted the moral situation of war. The Solomons, New Hebrides and Fiji were all a part of the British Empire. New Zealanders were protecting themselves and the islanders from the "treacherous Jap", in land that was considered dispensable. They were pleased that this was not happening in New Zealand or Australia. The military had a right to be there to defend more important places!

By the grace of God, instead of fighting on the shores of New Zealand, we are now giving the Nips hell on the ground in the Bismarcks and we have every reason that we will be carrying on...until we can attack them in their homeland (Contact, August 1944, p.8).

This was a landscape without value, the islands were empty and without civilization, so what did it matter? Some of the islands weren't even on the map!

But the thing people here wouldn't realise is that that part of the Pacific, the Western Pacific in particular, that there are some pretty big bodies of water, but there are a hell of a lot of islands. Some of them aren't even on the map! its just dotted with islands (interview, Sid Moses).
Rarely were there questions raised of land ownership. It was colonial territory, and the Allies felt they had every reason to be there. There was little regard for indigenous attitudes and needs for land use. Apart from a certain amount of sympathy for the destruction of gardens and villages, there was no recognition or understanding of and spiritual importance of land. Destruction was seen as an unavoidable consequence, it was not openly willed but was simply part of war.

If there was any consideration given to the effects war materials and equipment were having on the environment, this was explained in terms of irony, that these empty and previously "untouched" islands were now receptacles for some of the most sophisticated machinery in the world. It was seen as beneficial for Islanders' education. A way of learning civilization! In nearly all of the following quotes the islands are seen as barely touched by the indigenous people, the environment was pristine, with "white coral sand which had rarely known the imprint of a human foot." (Army Board 1945, 27). These sentiments imply that the Islanders did not know their own islands, were of few numbers and were unintelligent if they did not exploit or rightly appreciate their own surroundings.

Except for a change of attitude by the natives and the establishment of widely scattered Government, trading and mission stations, and still fewer private plantation homes, civilisation had little effect on the Solomons until war's rampant violence brought it in the wake of such destruction and amenities as the islanders had never known. Soon thousands of men occupied the dim aisles of plantation and jungle which had previously known only the occasional presence of bare-footed natives (Gillespie 1952, 120).

What must these islanders who only yesterday were living little differently from their ancestors of centuries ago, and who knew only the primitive world of the uncultivated South Sea islands, think of the products of the western world we have, with the coming of the war to the Pacific, been suddenly precipitated into their midst?... What the natives think of these embellishment s of contemporary
civilisation and the terrifying machines of modern warfare is locked up impenetrably under their heavily thatched skulls and behind their imperturbable eyes (Contact March 1945, 80).

It seems strange that Fate and War should have brought such quiet serene islands as these are out of their ancient sleep, so that guns now bristle on the palm green shores and the sound of men marching disturbs the still hot noons ("New Zealanders' Island Watch", by E. de Maunay, NZEF Times, Vol. 1 no. 52, Monday June 22, 1942, p.13).

As the convoy drew away from Guadalcanal there were no regrets and few fears for the future. We were going to "just another blank island." If we went into action - well, anything was better than to stagnate on dreary, bug-infested islands! (Cooze 1944, 37).

Mentions of the unspoiled nature of the islands was often used to show the enormous impact and sophistication of the war technology and huge human resources that were entering the Pacific. It was an irony that the military seemed to enjoy. They played on the islanders simplicity and stone age nature to highlight their own advanced materials and culture. They would use technology as an index of culture.

Let us pass then from island to island stepping stone, watching tiny towns and settlements and coconut plantations and strips of jungle being transformed almost overnight, and by all methods from the most primitive to the most mechanically up-to-date, into huge airport and naval and military bases as busy as great cities, with depots of tens of thousands of tons of supplies... (Priday 1945, 14).

Nowhere else in the world did the impedimenta of war strike so incongruous a note as when opposing armies contested the South Pacific battlegrounds. Into the receptive mould of tropic forest, where a blazing beauty of birds and insects decks the green jewelled hills, poured a river of grey metal; guns and carriers, bulldozers, strip matting, girders, poles and wire. Along the cobalt waterways where only the silent outriggers had followed the fish a traffic of warships raised white feather-fans of bow-wave, and set fishbone ripples of wake on the lagoon calm (Adams 1970, 9).

Where the spear and the heading-knife had exacted a silent revenge, the chatter and roar of explosive accompanied mass slaughter (Adams 1970, 9).
In most war literature and soldier-speak, the geography took on militaristic jargon. Islands became bases, harbors, stepping stones, vantage points, "Melanesian villages were targets, objectives, or landmarks but not places where people lived." wrote Zelenitz of the military attitude (Zelenitz 1991, 196). The islands were in effect "one big shooting range", where there were "many places to give the guns a work out" (New Zealand Troops, 1943).

Islands had "in a sense to take the place of battleships..." (Priday, 1945,11) Books describe "tank farms" (Army Board 1945, 27) and dumps of material.

From the air Henderson Field and its surrounding looked like a vast rubbish dump. Across a radius of two or three miles every yard of soil was churned and pock marked by shells or bombs....Tents and dumps of every kind of material were sprawled across the countryside, amongst the battered palm trees, out in the open, and down in the green gullies (Andrews, 1944,10-11).

**Malaria, Mud, Mosquitoes and Mold:**

The environment does not only mean the landscape, but also factors such as disease, mold, mud, and mosquitoes. Military necessity meant that camps were often in low lying areas. The act of war meant that much time was spent in fox-holes, and wet jungle in the same clothing for weeks. Weather was not an important factor when planning attacks and campaigns. The incredible amounts of rain and mud in the islands had a huge impact on soldiers memories.

Frustration was felt at all levels. The geography of the islands and seas meant that there were many difficulties supplying front-line areas and base camps with what they needed. Distance brought new complications. Standard equipment had to be changed to fit the new conditions. The higher temperatures and unpredictable climate were unkind to jungle soldiers, who
had to carry heavy equipment in full battle dress. They would "sweat in a clammy heat, march in soaked clothing through the mud and steam of this foul climate." (Guadalcanal, 1943).

So under those conditions of course the jungle, and they were all covered in jungle, and they became very strong agriculturally, and the jungle itself where we had to live, and when we were fighting we had to dig trenches in the coral and so on, but it's a hell of a place really, because you're wet all the time, you got wet everyday when it rained, and at nights you slept in a foxhole after we got into fighting positions which often had a foot of water in them, so you had to try and get rid of that, and we used to actually, we were wearing American uniforms at the time, what they call fatigue uniforms, sort of plain green trousers and jackets, and we used to take them off at dusk, and wring them out, put them on again, empty the water out of our boots and dump ourselves into a foxhole for the night. So you know that's the, your left with the unpleasant to put it mildly, living conditions and you finished up thinking the whole place was a hellhole (interview, Sid Moses).

The nights... were amongst the worst I have ever experienced. Sleep was impossible, and I developed a splitting headache... It rained nightly. Jungle reptiles, monster land crabs and birds scuttled, slithered and flopped around as soon as evening fell and kept up a hellish chorus, ranging from screams to loud clocks. The foxhole had a bottom lined with jagged coral (S.H. Knowles in McLeod 1986,28).

The first night on Vella Lavella for 35 Battalion, in September 1943, was no less trying. Few men were able to sleep, as thoughts of Japs creeping through the bush gave little peace to nerves. Trees and shrubs seemed to move, and every noise suggested undreamable things. Lying awake through the night, the cacophony of sound seemed to be realised for the first time... It was a frightening and unnerving experience at first (Gillespie 1947g, 42, in McLeod 1986,28).

Insects, and disease were constant threats. Within the portrayal of the Pacific Islands in war literature and in oral recollection the environment- landscape, climate, and fauna became strongly linked to the horror of war, racism and depressed emotional states. Memories of the struggle with the climate and conditions are prevalent images from the Pacific war and were recollected easily.
...its a pretty lousy climate up there you know, it rains all the time, it gets very hot, and there's hardly a day goes by where you don't get rain, most of the time it would start raining about midday, this happens in Fiji too incidentally, and it would rain for 2-3 hours and then stop and the sun would come out and all the rain would go up in steam (interview, Sid Moses).

All this sounds very light-hearted and entertaining if you picture it in beautiful weather and ideal conditions, but picture it instead in wilting heat and sweaty humidity, with mosquitoes singing their high song of triumph, with rain pouring down only to rise again in billowing steam: with black thunder-clouds masking a molten sky, with sheet and fork lightening splitting the heavens, and perhaps you will understand why we didn't like it very much... rain so solid that it blankets out everything; thunder so intense your little soul thinks its the Day of Judgment and shrinks in craven fear. Heat so all-pervading that the night brings little relaxation and you lie with only a sheet over you to prevent a chill and a mosquito net to get some peace from the devils. In the morning your canvas cot is so damp with your sweat and you feel like a log till you've had a cold shower- if you can get it. Food so uninteresting that it attracts the cockroaches far more than it attracts you; septic sores and tropic ulcers that eat their way into the flesh and leave their mark forever. Then you come home to be told that special football ground concessions are for overseas soldiers, and someone calls you a coconut bomber or a pineapple fusilier, and thinks you're unduly touchy when you remark on his safe essentiality. Those were the bad moments we had from others' ignorance. The good moments can never be taken away from our memories. The blood-red and pigeon grey sunsets over Suva Bay, the creaming surf out on the reef, the happy Fijians, the flaring flamboyant trees in Suva, all of one's laundry done for 12/6 a month, Johnnie Walker Black Label for 16/- a bottle, English Craven A cigarettes in sealed 50s, silk stockings and beautiful materials in the shops, water melon dripping coolness, pineapples and bananas, iced beer, dinner at the Grand Pacific, the lounge of Macdonald's, the bar at the Garrick- take your choice of those memories and admit to yourself honestly that you would be sorry had you missed any of them (Gillespie 1948b, 20-21).

Well the heat was hot, we used to have a lot of rain, although only for about half an hour and then it would come out beautifully fine, and of course our clothes would just sort of steam, drying on us ( interview, Lionel Donnelly).

On Malaita, we had a terrific lot of earthquakes, up there they had a volcano in there, and you know, it would wake you up and your bed would be shaking like that you know, really shaking, like someone was trying to wake you up, and ah and then we had a big storm over there, it was in the Pacific, in the islands, and it was terrific the seas were as high as anything, and then amongst that ... a couple of American boats got lost in it, it was really bad ( interview, Lionel Donnelly).
The Battle for Health:
Mosquitoes, the carriers of malaria and general nuisance were also a fierce and bothersome enemy. New Zealand maintained strict anti-malarial controls. Special units were established to educate the troops, with talks, an instructional film, and many pamphlets. Laurie Sutton commented to me that one of the funny things about malaria is that it seemed that the people who took precautions against malaria were the ones who got it, and those who didn't went without catching the disease. He went on a course to learn about malaria and found it fascinating, it was "the most interesting week I had up there." (interview, Laurie Sutton).

Figure 9. "Malaria Control. Signs like this one at divisional headquarters, Vella Lavella, could be seen everywhere in malarial areas." 20411 1/4, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
All New Zealanders were issued with antebrin tablets collectively, and there were strict clothing regulations. No shorts were to be worn in malarial zones and long pants and long sleeves were to be worn day and night, "they can wear no shorts because of mosquitoes, no heavy clothing because of the heat, no steel helmets because of the noise they make in the jungle, but they can still laugh" was how the lifestyle was reported to the public (New Zealand Troops on Guadalcanal, 1943). Because of the high rates of ailments New Zealand's sanitation and hygiene requirements were also tight (Mc Leod 1986, 114-116).

But a word about the New Caledonian mosquitoes, and in particular, the species which thrived around Bouloupari. Entomologists may have a scientific name for them, but it could not equal in colour the names these pests were called by the unfortunate soldier. For about three months life was made a hell. By day we were forced to wear long pants, shirts with sleeves rolled down, even nets over our faces, in ineffectual attempts to keep the mosquito away. A drive in an open, fast moving vehicle was our only means of gaining a temporary respite for, even when swimming, exposed skin surfaces were liable to vicious attack. Nor were we immune at night, for our mosquito nets, having a wide mesh, allowed the smaller insects through. We would wake of a morning to find dozens of mosquitoes, pregnant and swollen with our blood, making futile and drunken endeavours to escape through the mesh to safety from a possibly anaemic but certainly infuriated soldier. Fortunately New Caledonia is not a malarious country, and the worst damage, apart from its extreme nuisance value, which the mosquito inflicted was to cause quite an acute outbreak of dengue fever (Gillespie 1947b,25).

Men were to wash and shave daily. Still, many of the New Zealand soldiers got malaria in both the Pacific and the Middle East. Mc Leod (1986) estimates that the incidence of malaria never exceeded 80 per 1,000 per annum (p.115). However I think it was higher as many of the men only discovered they had malaria on return, and the recurrence of the disease was common (interview, Fred Pethig). Military magazines and newspapers were filled with stories
about illnesses and malaria especially. Mosquitoes made for popular subject matter in poetry and cartoons also.

Figure 10. "A Day in the Life of a Mosquito," (Cooze 1944, 21).
Ahh and of course you are inundated with mosquitoes and what have you, the other thing about the place is full of crabs, land crabs, quite big things, like a dinner plate really. I suppose the natives eat them I don't know, but I do know that I was in hospital in the Canal for a while, and these things took it to their head to come out of the bush and they go down to mate, down to the beach, they live on the land and they come down, and of course there's big trucks going by squashing them, (laughs). And then after that came a plague of rats, God, heavens above, and the rats were these black rats, horrible looking things, and of course they'd come down and eat these crashed crabs you see, and well it wasn't really funny actually it was quite, quite annoying, well that was one of the odd things that happened (interview, Alan Head).

no shortage of mosquitoes there (interview, George Gudsell).

Figure 11. "Target For To-night," (Contact, June 1945, 58)
Coping with and surviving through malaria, almost became a mark of commendation. Out of seven men that I interviewed four came down with malaria. Laurie Sutton quoted a radio show he heard called *Chuckles with Jerry* they described Malaria as "feeling as though you're going to die and all the time wishing you could die" (interview, Laurie Sutton).

We went across from Guadalcanal to Malaita in the H.M.S. Kiwi, a New Zealand boat, I had malaria again, and this is a big American hospital base there, and they wanted to send me back, I was quite, quite bad with it, and we didn't have a doctor we just had a sort of a medical student, and he got his back up and wouldn't send me to there, you know, and he was telling people standing there how bad I was, you know I was yelling and screaming at night, and one time there I was driving a fast car, I suppose I was asleep, I don't know, I was driving a fast car, and I knew if I'd close my eyes I'd crash and die. And ah I was driving everywhere through narrow streets trying to keep my eyes open...you know, I suppose it was all in my subconscious, but I kept my eyes open all the time so I wouldn't die, you know, but it was pretty bad, [?] couldn't get over it.... cos I used to get it quite a lot, why I used to find it out was when I was having a cigarette if the cigarettes tasted moldy, I'd throw them away and a few days later I'd have malaria, and I finally clicked after about 3 times, oh it must be because I was... I had malaria that the cigarettes taste moldy. you know, of course the natives would be happy, they'd be getting [?cigarettes] (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

the Malaria is not a nice sort of illness to have really because you sort of come out in sweats and so forth (interview, Fred Pethig).

One New Zealander became most poetical about his wartime "enemy."

'Reply'
(by a Malaria Control Orderly to those who might mistake a Knapsack Sprayer for a Flame Thrower.)

Bugs!
You mugs
Each day
I slay
Each week
I seek
Anopheles
In pools 'neath trees
Their larvae foiling
By constant oiling,
Breeding restraining
By ditching and draining;
Then covered with dirt
I go and see Bert
For he
Has tea
Enabling me
To continue in my noble work of exterminating this
malignant pest, anopheles punctulatus-

Not Japs
You saps,
You mugs,
Bugs!

(Kiwi News, Tues. February 1, 1944, p.3).

The proportion of New Zealanders to suffer from malaria was not as high as U.S. troops.26 This is partially because New Zealand learnt a lot from U.S. mistakes earlier in the Pacific war. Battle casualties for New Zealand, in the Pacific theater accounted for only 7% of all hospital cases in New Caledonia, the remaining 93% of cases one assumes were for ailments, malaria or minor accidents (Mc Leod 1986, 115). The wet, muddy conditions brought on skin irritations, tinea, septic sores, hookworm and malaria. The dietetic deficiencies of "C" and "K" rations also added to problems.27

26In April 1942, the US rate on Efate, New Hebrides was reported to peak at 2,677 per 1,000 per annum. During combat on Guadalcanal, the Solomon Islands, the rate was higher than 1,780, per 1,000 per annum (Mc Leod 1986, 115).
27John McLeod described the make up of these rations as such. Both the "C" and "K" rations were American. The most common the ration, "C", was comprised of six variations of canned food, three meat and three biscuit. The New Zealanders (and most likely the Americans) found it very unpopular and repetitive. The "K" ration was much more popular and consisted of three cardboard cartons. Breakfast was canned veal loaf, soluble coffee and sugar, and malted milk tablets. Lunch was a corned ham spread, and bouillon cubes. Dinner consisted of Sausage, "D" bar chocolate, lemon powder and sugar. Each packet also included toilet paper, cigarettes, fruit bars, and candy. New Zealanders were also disappointed by the small U.S. tea allowance, so the U.S. increased this for New Zealand troops, and dropped the coffee ration (Mc Leod, 1986, 114).
anyway we used to live and sometimes we'd have them three times a day were ah... Vienna sausages, sausage they were called, they were a sort of square shape, and thin and in a sizable square and they were horrible, Cooks used to mince them up and try and make all sorts of things you know, stews and anything else, three times a day, but these little islanders they could eat (interview, Laurie Sutton).

Depression, anxiety and loneliness were problems in the Pacific. "One must overcome that magic complaint 'malua' whose only interpretation seems to be 'never do today what you can possible avoid doing until tomorrow'." wrote one account (New Zealand Army Board, 1945,8). The loneliness of the commando life was also accredited with "producing a few 'Fiji happy' individuals; a state of mind in which the afflicted person gave up the struggle against the environment, became lazy, and lost interest in everything." (Larsen 1946, 68). Lionel Donnelly recalled that

one of our men got shot, one night he was on guard duty, and he ah, and they found him dead, and word got around that he'd been shot by a Jap, and then it came around that he had committed suicide...this bloke was called killed in action (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

Other illnesses could also be more bothersome and serious than they sound.

Most of our troubles were due to skin infections- prickely heat, dhobies, itch, boils and carbuncles, impetigo, and the worst of the lot, tropical ulcers (Gillespie, 1947c,23).

Some of our own early arrivals at the Cape apparently thought all their wash day blues at an end with a native village near at hand with plenty of would be launderers, but by the time it was realised that the native's personal hygiene was not of a very high standard it was too late, and an epidemic of skin sores added to the constant discomfort caused by the multiplicity of rashes brought on by the extreme heat and humidity. The Unit's medical orderly spent many weeks ministering to the various skin complaints before they were finally brought under control. Needless to say, any further employment of natives as laundry-men was banned (H.J. Osman, in Sexton, 1993,123).
nearly everybody got tinea... and the other thing was there was a lot of dysentery, and I got that and I tell you what if you get a real bout of dysentery you don't have to be told you've got it, (laughs), you get so weak you can't even stand up (interview, Sid Moses).

Native Health:
Education and experience with diseases meant that many of the New Zealanders were highly aware of health and sanitary conditions, and many became experts on the anopheles and malarial symptoms. Connected strongly to their own health was that of the Islanders. New Zealand medical personnel were involved with helping Islanders reap the benefits of western medicine. These moves were viewed as humanitarian and colonial, as the Islanders could be seen as their responsibility. Many of the New Zealanders found the prevalence of disease shocking, and quickly became experts on "native health" too.

When natives [on Malaita] stopped to talk to each other the betel nut would be handed around for all to chew. A small stick was twisted around in the mixture and any adhering paste would be scraped off in the mouth and chewed. This must have been a very good method of spreading tuberculosis and other diseases which were endemic (R.T. Shannon in Sexton, 1993, 89).

And even though the [?] didn't like it the ones [Islanders] that used to come around they had, they had, elephantiasis, complete big leg on them, or it must be terrible, just standing around, I felt sorry for them. But we got on very well with them, used to go swimming with them, we used to go through their camp, they'd come to see us (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

One of the most prevalent complaints at the hospital [At a mission hospital and leper station at Fauabu, Malaita] were advanced cases of tropical ulcers. The natives had no effective treatment for this problem. They had no way of keeping ulcers clean or dressed. They would simply neglect the ulcer, leaving it dirty and letting flies walk all over it. Tropical ulcers, when neglected are progressive and fatal. In the hospital I saw kids with whole of their kneecaps eaten away and women with breasts completely gone. The standard treatment in medical circle at that time was sulfa drugs...the mission did not have supplies of these drugs so
carbolic acid was used. this is an extremely painful acid to use on bare flesh but there was nothing else for it (R.T. Shannon, in Sexton, 1993, 89).

I don't know if the true wording is elephantiasis, but you know, we did see one or two horrible sights, you know, of elephantiasis, and we were told that within one or two months of us leaving there of course that these people would just die you know, natural or unnatural death, you know, what ever took place (interview, Fred Pethig).

A publication called Soldiering in the Tropics (S.W. Pacific Area), published by the New Zealand Army Board in 1942 speaks of the racial and medical attitudes early in the war. Much of its content was taken from an Australian publication of the same title and a US. publication titled The Jungle Soldier. The book was to aid soldiers with hints on what they should and should not do in tropical areas during war. The main emphasis was on disease control, and maintaining good health. It optimistically stated that, "ordinary white men have lived and enjoyed robust health for twenty years in the worst tropical jungles far from civilisation" (The New Zealand Army Board, 1942, 3).

The publication strongly advised soldiers to stay well away from indigenous Islanders, especially if they wanted to remain healthy. "Germs are the cause of most jungle sickness. The most dangerous germs usually come from 'diseased natives.' Therefore the most uninhabited jungles are the safest." (The New Zealand Army Board, 1942, 4). After a description of the effects of dysentery which "eats out the linings of your intestines and makes you bleed internally", some rules were declared to help soldiers eat clean food..

(a) Keep flies and all other insects off your food and utensils.
(b) Stay away from native houses, the worst sources of disease.
(c) wash your hands before eating.
(d) If you are forced to eat foods cooked by natives, be sure you dish up the native food while it is boiling. Put food into a plate that you yourself have washed and disinfected (New Zealand Army Board, 1942, 5).

Under the 'Personal Hygiene' section is this plea, note the reference to the Islanders to encourage the New Zealanders to not lose their "civilized" ways.

(a) Wash your whole body, or at least your feet and private parts, every day. In the jungle, you will see that even the most primitive natives wash their bodies daily and wash their clothes regularly (New Zealand Army Board, 1942, 7).

In the Pacific, statistics for Venereal Disease among the Islanders were reported to be incredibly high and quite false. Most likely this was intended as propaganda to keep military men away from Indigenous women.

Venereal diseases are very dangerous in the tropics. In many jungle regions 90 per cent of all natives are infected, and native women often convey venereal diseases, such as ulcerating granuloma, which do not usually occur in civilized countries. Natives usually receive no medical attention. A jungle soldier cannot expect venereal treatment in the jungle. Therefore the soldier must avoid sexual contact with native women when he is in the jungle (New Zealand Army Board, 1942, 7).

Stereotypes of Islanders and the Japanese were prolific in written texts, this following quote is an example of exaggerated propaganda that was published.

Sapato had been a native village but with the coming of the Japs the inhabitants had fled to the hills, where their women folk would be safe from the rapacious enemy. Their vegetable gardens and fruit were pillaged by the invaders and the natives were forced to live off the natural vegetation of the jungle. Probably all natives had suffered attacks of malaria and they were also carriers of hookworm. This made their presence in and around military camps a source of infection for soldiers. Not that the men concerned themselves about this and there was always candy for the kiddies and a cigarette for the 'bulas'- a term from Fiji days that the boys still used when referring to the native (Gillespie 1947b, 79).

Affected by their very surroundings and vulnerable to them, New Zealanders were most responsive to the environment. In coming to terms with the irony
of their expectations and realizations of the Pacific, many of the New Zealanders reacted with humor, or bitter sarcasm. The area was seen as no place to fight a war, and under these circumstances the New Zealanders tried to use the landscape and the climate to show the difficulties of their circumstances that they were not being lazy nor living an easy life. Within the portrayal of the environment images of Islanders are closely connected.
Chapter Four
Seeing in Black and White or Color?

The Portrayal of Pacific Islanders:
Through official and unofficial activities there was contact between Allies and the Islanders. Much of the formal and nearly all of the informal interaction was omitted from the official portraits of war, it was not considered as being of historical value. Islanders were seen by New Zealanders in the same way that Zelenitz argues that American writers portrayed them, that "if they acknowledge the Melanesians at all, [they] tend to see them primarily in terms of how they helped or hindered the war effort." (Zelenitz 1991, 194). When Islanders are mentioned they are usually treated as nameless and cultureless "natives" doing what was stereotypically expected of them (Zelenitz, 1991).

A predominant impression of World War II in officially written text was that it occurred in lands and waters without affecting the Islanders in any harmful way. The Islanders and their lack of western civilization were often taken to mean lack of any civilization at all. In this portrayal Pacific Islanders were not involved in or concerned for the war. In most of these accounts there are few references to Islanders. Historians and the soldiers have cut them out of their shared history and of a chance for greater recognition. In the media there were a few mentions of Islander heroes, and a few stories of Islanders being "liberated" (see "Much Decorated Native", May 1945, and Kiwi News, March 14, 1944, and Homecoming, 1944). But in general it suited the military this
way, with "invisible natives" there was less guilt or need for accountability, especially when they destroyed a village, garden, island or fishing ground.

From the interviews conducted, and from the more relaxed popular histories more impressions of the Islanders were shown. They often contrast the conclusions shown in the written historiography. The soldiers realized the superficiality of many stereotypes and would try to break them down into terms they could deal with within their new situation and level of awareness. The amount of contact between New Zealanders and Islanders depended a great deal on what sort of activity the New Zealanders were involved in, how much free time they were allowed and what sort of situation the war was at. For many in the front line the Islanders were not as visible. For those operating out of the conflict there was more time and freedom to explore and their minds were less controlled and occupied (it seems that both the Army and the Air Force had similar experiences on the ground). The New Zealanders were also often on the move, only staying for short stays in parts of the islands, or so were the Islanders. Eric Heath gave this as one of the reasons for his lack of contact with Islanders,

*But we got on very well with them, we used to take them out on our boat, and we didn't have a lot of contact with them, we were more or less, kept to ourselves, well we were because they were shifting all the time one lot would come in and stay in our camp overnight and then off the next day, so that's kind of how it worked, so there wasn't a lot of communication with the natives at all (interview, Eric Heath).*

Another reason for the lack of references of Islanders is that in many situations they weren't there. Many of them escaped the front-line battles by
moving inland, away from traditional villages, gardens and seas. If they did not do this voluntarily they were ordered to (Zelenitz 1991, 196).

"Guadalcanal, very memorable time, stinking hole... but no natives, they'd all backed into the hills, and many of them were actively assisting the Americans, well, really no they were working for the British, because it was the British Solomon Islands then... but what they were doing was of direct help to the American forces in a big way as coast watchers and so on (interview, George Gudsell).

This "so on" is a large understatement. Islanders were much more involved in and connected to the war, than most people at home probably realized. In all the islands Islanders were involved in formal military units (Lindstrom and White 1990). They contributed not only as coastwatchers but also as soldiers, labor corps, coastwatchers, spies, feeders, carriers and in maintenance. Lindstrom and White (1990) detail that in the New Hebrides more than two hundred men joined the New Hebrides Defence Force (p.37). In Fiji more than two thousand indigenous Islanders were involved in their military organizations (p.39). Coastwatchers were prevalent both officially and unofficially in Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia and in Papua New Guinea, (p.47). In Tonga the Tongan Defence Force numbered over two thousand members, (Priday 1945). The war was occurring in these peoples' home lands, how could they not be connected? Geoffrey White wrote of the Islanders' position as such,

Because Islanders were relatively powerless and lacked access to forums where they might voice their suffering, they often endured death, disease, and destruction in obscurity. On the larger islands whole coastal communities could quietly disappear as they sought refuge in forested interior regions. Although this may have gotten villages out of the way of battles and bombings, it often left
them, unable to obtain adequate food supplies or medical care, to face starvation and disease (White, 1989, vii)

The New Zealanders seemed to take it for granted that the war was not affecting the Islanders, and that the scenes they were seeing were those of everyday life. It appears that there is a timeless nature to much of the Pacific and the way it has been portrayed, whilst great change can occur, people still recall what was once perceived. This can be seen in the racial perceptions of the Pacific, one of the largest stereotypes prior to the war, that was maintained in many minds is that of the "natives" as savage and primitive. Nearly every aspect of their lives was seen as inferior especially when compared materially to the sophisticated equipment and practice of this war. Their primitivism was often seen with patronizing sympathy, such as the paternalism of colonial contact, other times it was with distaste, such as this following article which portrays the islanders as cannibalistic, dirty and inhuman. In 1942 an article appeared in the New Zealand Listener, to provide "background information" to the public about the Solomon Islands, it was said to be written by a correspondent who went through the Solomons "some years ago." It's subheading read 'Still Some Cannibals' and that is the author's preoccupation.

even to-day on Hebridean Melekula human flesh still figures in the ceremonial Nambu feasts (and probably does too in the fastnesses (sic) of Bougainville's 10,000 ft. Mt. Balbi and other highland areas), you will guess at the second good reason why our omnivorous Imperial leviathans left these islands like mustard on the plate side- until 1942 suddenly showed them to be bulwarks, daggers, spearheads, stepping stones, wedges, and other metaphors of the game of power. With central Borneo and New Guinea they remain the world's last patches of savagery- Old Style. Because the archipelago forms, within the New Hebrides, a wide-mouthed stocking of land into which the defeated of Indonesia have been successfully emptied, every island of size is divided among many diverse tribes, speaking different languages, practising different cultures, and
almost always at enmity. Some villagers are naked. Some wear cerati ornaments or a grass kilt. Some a tattoo. One Guadalcanar [sic] area has totem caste. Rennell Island is not even Melanesian.

The author continues in this tone to describe the Islanders, attempting to replace older illusions with new ones.

Altogether those who imagine the Pacific Islanders as having led an idyllic existence until corrupted by the missionary’s prohibitions and the trader’s cotton clothes will be speedily disillusioned by a few days spent amongst these unwashed Melanesians, lip stained vivid red with betelnut chewing, hair mop bleached yellow with lime, leaf skirt crawling with vermin, body (almost as often as not) hideous with gigantic cysts or suppurating sores and face sullen with ancestral fears (New Zealand Listener, September 4, 1942).

The army was well aware of the existence of Islanders and their official attitude was to promote segregation between the troops and the Islanders. Their racism was supposed to benefit both sides, for the New Zealanders it was to protect their health, for the Islanders it was to protect them from Westernization, being ripped off or 'spoiled', disease, and independence amongst many other things. New Zealanders were officially ordered not to associate with Islanders in any of the islands, even if this was of a hindrance to the troops.

Of many 'don'ts' proclaimed to the troops two were continually stressed- 'Don't fraternise with the natives and don't enter their villages unless you are invited.' All villages were out of bounds after sunset (Gillespie 1947b,12).

It was also a standing order the New Zealand soldiers must not fraternise with the Fijians in Suva. The commando NCOs, therefore set out to train the Fijians with little or no knowledge of the native temperament (Larsen 1946, 36).

The attitudes were patronizing and hypercritical, in a guide book to the Army troops in the Pacific the following advice was given for the "Treatment of Natives,"
Jungle natives will be your friends or your enemies, depending on how you treat them. Never suppose, because a native runs barefoot or speaks a queer language, that he is stupid, or lacks self-respect. Any good soldier will treat all natives as if he were a polite stranger traveling in their country and grateful for their aid.

Do not try and bully or rush the natives. Always pay every native a fair price for everything you get from him.

Don't use terrorist methods on natives to get labour or to keep word of your whereabouts from reaching the enemy. Jungle natives move about a great deal. You could not, if you desired, eliminate even one family. Since natives when left alone and not threatened and abused will seldom take enough interest to rush news of you to the enemy, the soldier who acts ruthlessly towards natives is working against himself. Once a soldier has personally wronged a backward native, that native will become our active enemy even if he has heard of Hitler or Pearl Harbour.

Never steal food from native gardens. If there are any natives about, buy it from them- food is cheap. If natives are absent, leave payment for food taken.

Treat native women as you would like your own womenfolk treated (New Zealand Army, 1942c,15).

In another review of the Pacific war, The War from Coconut Square, the Islanders are also seen as primitive and unchristian.

...Santo is the home of some of the world's most primitive people. There are one or two mission villages on the coast it is true, but the interior inhabitants are heathens who have hardly ever seen a white man. These are independent of the white man's religion and cotton and canned goods, for they go about virtually naked and unashamed and their wants are of the simplest. All the same they have felt the white man's coming, whole villages have been wiped out by introduced diseases like measles and influenza. The women, not seeing the fun of bringing children into the world who they fear must also die young, also practice abortion by drinking infusions of the leaves of plants, usually it is said in agreement with their husbands (Priday 1945, 99).

Despite the instructions not to fraternize, there was of course much contact. "men would sneak out and go down to villages at night" (Gillespie 1947b, 25). Cultural and sexual interaction has been perceived and recorded in many ways. The "official record" of New Zealanders experiences found in government and army publications is racist and supports colonialism such as this description of Fiji, "since the British took over, the Fijian has made
wonderful progress along the path of civilisation." (Friday 1945, 17). All islanders were rated by their ability to be white men, and how far along the evolutionary scale they had come. They were not seen as people like the New Zealanders, with detail in complicated lives. They were seen in terms of evolving out of savagery, and were now at the stage of "childhood." The war was hastening this process, as had missionization. The presence of strongly religious and Christian people in Melanesia was an irony that was not lost on the troops. It seemed an incongruous situation to have islanders which were more religious than the "white people" in an area that had been seen as heathen and savage. From the interviews some of the first reactions to describing the Islanders were references to their missionization and colonization, the soldiers and some historians took it upon themselves to show the change in Islanders, and attempted to give them more respect. Unfortunately too often whilst accepting the "savage" stereotype as myth they replaced it with another limiting stereotype of the passive, childish christian.

Even the winning jeep gives way here to the native carrier, organised now out of his recent habit of head hunting. (Guadalcanal, 1943).

The fierce headhunters of former days are now represented by about 800 Methodist natives who live a quiet life around the coast in small villages, and are noted for their intelligence (Gillespie 1948a, 75, describing Vella Lavella).

...they were fantastic people, see they were all, of course they were all taken over by the churches. (interview, Laurie Sutton).

And, ah, it was populated by the Solomon Islanders, most of which were Melanesians, there were a few that weren’t, but nearly all were Melanesians, and they were, they’d been sort of most of them, they’d come under the influence of Missionaries and their sorts, and they were pretty, in their own conscience anyway, law abiding and useful people. And ah, the time we got there they were more or less Westernised as far as a lot of their habits were concerned, not necessarily as far as language was concerned, most of them couldn’t speak English, but they could all speak Pidgin, if you know what pidgin is, so we had to try and learn a bit of
pidgin too if we wanted to speak to them, and we were sort of various dots around the Solomon’s in the middle of the Solomon Islanders, and the islands were pretty sparsely populated, but they were very religious these people, because they’d been indoctrinated by the various missionaries, and even NZ had what they called medical missionaries, and I happened to know one of them pretty well, and ah and he was a chap named Colonel Sawyers, I think his name was - from Auckland, who was a missionary and became quite a prominent surgeon in Auckland after the war, but these people did a good job, I think they were mainly Church of England although there were some Catholics and they got the Solomon Islanders into the sort of situation where they stopped eating each one another and became quite religious and that’s the way we found them (interview, Sid Moses).

The Fijian is one of nature’s gentlemen in spite of some dark chapters in his history. His cannibalistic tendencies of earlier times have been exaggerated to give the impression that cannibal feasts occurred every day, when in reality they occurred only at infrequent intervals (Larsen 1946, 20).

Fiji is the dividing line between Melanesia and Polynesia, and the Fijian native seems to possess the best qualities of both races. Nowhere in the world are you likely to find men of more outstanding physique, and the Poly-Melanesian type does not run to fat as readily as the Polynesian. Some of the Fijians are coal black, and their tremendous crop of bushy black hair makes them look ferocious to the transient tourist; yet this impression could not be further from the truth. The Fijian is a happy-go-lucky fellow with a desire to live and let live, and he rarely loses his good temper. He is child-like in his simplicity, but this is only due to a lack of education... The education system in Fiji, however, has not yet reached a very effective state, and the majority of Fijians have to be handled like sensitive, but intelligent children. The Commandos were successful in training them only because they bore this fact in mind (Larsen 1946, 20).

Some who arrived [Islanders working on the construction of a new base on Epiritu Santo] were the real "wild men" of South Seas literature, at least to look at. "They fairly scared the life out of me when I first saw them," said a smiling Allied pilot. But in reality they were easy to get along with, and a mutual liking developed between them and the happy-go-lucky troops (Priday 1945, 100).

another 'racket' of the Fijians was to play on "native custom." If they did not feel like gathering material to build their bure, they would use some obscure native custom to argue against it. But the New Zealanders soon discovered ways of testing their religious principles (Larsen 1946, 38).
Colin Larsen, a Sergeant with the First Commando Fiji Guerrillas, had some extremely paternal ideas. The attitudes in his book show the difficulty he was having to unite the opposing ideas of Fijians as savages and children and also as valuable and responsible soldiers, important to the future of that colony.

As the commandos were to work closely with the Fijians, it was necessary to break down some of the traditional barriers this was not easy. The Fijian liked being bossed by good leaders, but the subservient kind of discipline was not the kind the commandos wished to develop; they wanted self-reliant scouts who would show initiative and volunteer information without being diffident about approaching their senior officers. The Fijians take note of every little action of the white man, and the commandos had to be most meticulous in their conduct (Larsen 1946, 23).

Most of the Fijian interpreters had been school teachers, and their intelligence was above average, although their "little learning" proved dangerous at times when they wanted to emulate the white man and run the platoon according to their own desires (Larsen 1946, 33).

This was an exceptionally ironical situation for the commandos were about the revive in the Fijians the warlike spirit which missionaries had spent decades to eradicate—no wonder the Fijian were a little confused at times! To get cooperation from the natives it was necessary to be very friendly, scrupulously fair, and prove by demonstration the necessity for discipline. The Fijians do not understand sarcasm coming from a white man, and though they dearly love to joke, the jokes must be obvious, or they misunderstand and become offended (Larsen 1946, 34).

Larsen, writes not so generously of other islanders' abilities. When describing the publishing of a newspaper, the Guerrilla Gazette, designed for the Fijian commando Units, in different languages, he wrote

This news sheet was sometimes translated into Fijian: the Tongans could read English fairly well, and it was not considered worthwhile to translate the news into Solomon Island language, because these natives were too primitive to grasp the facts of a world war (Larsen 1946, 103).

These sentiments contrast with what two New Zealand veterans recalled when asked if the Islanders seemed confused by the war, they both said that the Solomon Islanders understood well what the war there was about.
(interviews, Lionel Donnelly and Laurie Sutton). These comments showed that these Europeans were able to grasp indigenous ways of understanding and knowledge.

In film, stereotypes were prolific and the representation to the public was of Islanders aiding a war which baffled them, they were seen as simple to please. In one of the Weekly Review films, a scene shows several Solomon Islanders carrying sacks on their shoulders. The following running commentary details the scene.

...the Japs have tried to float food ashore in waterproof containers. They drop it at night, by day naval patrols pick it up. It includes compressed barley, sugar and compressed fish. These unwilling donations to our supplies are useful enough. This captured store of rice and barley is good food for native labourers. The manpower of the Solomon Islanders is reinforced with American mechanical equipment, when a bulldozer gets to a coconut palm its just too bad for the soap industry. The equipment is not all American made, the Japanese kindly provided this refrigerating plant, complete in every detail (Guadalcanal, 1943).

The tone towards the Japanese and the Islanders is derogatory. Implying that they both have different dietary requirements to white people. Although traditional food stuffs were different, the writing implies that it is saving the Allies the cost of feeding, and the islanders are working for less. The landscape is seen only in reference to economic industry and war, and that too must sacrifice. Ultimately the piece illustrates how the Allies are outwitting the Japanese and using their equipment against them.

In other films shots of the Islanders are included for comic relief. The producers seemed to enjoy playing on words and ethnological footage to highlight the simplicity and ignorance of Islanders.
The children on Florida are not allowed to smoke until they are five, from then on when they can get the tobacco, they puff away like little steam engines (*Army and Airforce*, 1944).

The accompanying pictures was a shot of three young children with pipes, smoking strongly, with smoke everywhere. In another film several Solomon Island men are combing their hair, and the commentary described them as "These men from Malaita are illustrating the old Solomon's phrase about 'combing the jungle for the enemy'" (*Army and Airforce*, 1944).

Irony and surprise seemed to be everywhere as soldiers realized the falsity of many of their preconceived stereotypes. Compared to the conflict they were involved in with mercenary killing and more "primitive" living conditions, the "village" life of the Islanders seemed much more "civilized" and desirable.

The New Zealanders found it interesting to compare the various islands of the Pacific and their native peoples, and to observe the influence that civilisation is beginning to exert over native customs. The commandos discovered some pockets of civilisation even in the remote villages. The chief of one village in Fiji entertained a reconnaissance party with China plates stamped with the familiar mark of the Union Steamship Company, and at a village in the heart of Guadalcanal, a Singer sewing machine was seen rusting under a leaf shelter (*Larsen* 1946, 11).

For many New Zealanders, their experiences in the Pacific were the first time when they could see blatant racial differences. They must have become so indoctrinated with New Zealand's myths of assimilation and homogeneity, and taken for granted the systems in place in New Zealand, that they were none the wiser to colonial racial hierarchy at work. In Fiji especially, there
was a new awareness of the position of "white people," the "expatriates," and a strange sort of jealousy occurred when they believed that the Islanders were allowed greater freedom than themselves by being more primitive. This was made explicit with regard to clothing, where colonization had ruled for distinct differences in dress codes to separate the more civilized colonizers from the natives.

The troops arrived with their shirts, such as they were, sopping with perspiration but in the interests of the white man's prestige, shirts were not allowed to be removed in public. Coming as they did from a white man's country, the men found it difficult to appreciate the position of the white residents of Fiji, who are so much in the minority (Gillespie 1947b, 13).

When in Rome do as Rome does' is a sensible proverb. The 29th was in Fiji, but it was not doing as the Fijians did. The native troops had bedcots to sleep on, 29th soldiers slept on the floor; Fijians wore open-necked shirts and trousers for 'walking out' dress, while the New Zealanders sweltered in khaki drill jackets buttoned right up to the neck (Gillespie 1947d, 26).

Human beings were never meant to wear clothing in the torrid zone, and even the Europeans living a life of comparative ease soon find their clothes saturated with perspiration. The Fijians, wearing a light cotton sulu (skirt) perspire freely too, but they keep themselves clean with frequent swims or compulsory showers of rain (Larsen 1946, 17-19).

Lack of social life was probably the most unbearable feature, and it was ironical to see Fijians with not a care in the world living happily about them (Larsen 1946, 69).

The New Zealanders seemed to enjoy the upset they were causing in Fiji, and believed they were acting in aid of racial equality.

Before the soldiers arrived in Fiji, no white man of any standing in the community did manual labour; and when the Fijians found New Zealand soldiers working beside them on the wharves and on defence works around the coast they could not understand the new relationship. At first the natives thought that the soldiers were of a low class, but they soon detected the difference between the soldiers sincere friendliness and the patronising friendliness of some of the local Europeans. The New Zealand soldiers have become so popular with the Fijians that the local residents fear that a great deal more would be expected of the white man after the war; and some fear that the soldiers have upset the traditional white man's prestige (Larsen 1946, 23).
Many of the New Zealanders spent a large amount of time in Fiji, and New Caledonia. In these countries they observed many other ethnicities, towards which they were not always generous. The Fiji-Indians were nearly always described as "an immigrant group," and defined by their trades (e.g. Priday 1945, 23 and Gillespie, 1945-48). In a letter from one, Rae A. Neil, whilst in Suva to his parents he writes not kindly,

Dear Pop,

As regards to my coming home with a Fijian wife as I said to Mum. I have changed my mind entirely, not for me. The Fijian are very nice, obliging and clean, they may have as many as three showers per day + thats dinkum. We've known them to leave the cookhouse to go and shower.

The indians just the opposite, very dirty and cunning; very much the old method of life. It doesn't pay to walk down the street where the indians trade, they'd chid you quicker than look at you. They are very cunning and tame at business time, you have to beat them down in price to under half, say 18/- for an article, say you can get it for 7/6 at another place and walk out, they say "OK boss its yours." The indian life is very cheap, about 3/- a week covers them, most food is rice.

The average person lites on 15/- per week thats the whites as well. As the Fijian likes a few luxuries like the white man, he must pay for them.... It is quite an education to one to even come to Suva, there's any amount of the old methods of native life and primitive stage, even the oxen in the cart + plough (LETTERS to Gordon and Pat Cole from Rae A Neal. 1942-1947).

In the Street of all Nations, soldiers rubbed shoulders with Fijians in their white sulus, Hindus in their dhotis and accompanied by their Indian womenfolk, who carried themselves so gracefully, dressed in pastel shaded and sequined saris. Many of the boys liked to mingle among the natives thronging the street market places where traders sold bundles of live crabs, fish, fruit, vegetables, and strong smelling locally-grown tobacco twist which was sold by the foot. In the even the town's dance halls were well patronised, not only by soldiers but also by visiting naval crews. The girls were and assorted crowd of half and quarter caste Fijians, Samoans, Indo-Fijians, some with shoes and some without, some very attractive and some almost repulsive (Gillespie 1947b,17).

New Caledonia's multicultural population also held delight and interest to most. The "Frenchness" added a more "cultured" level to the population. To some it made them feel like they really were "overseas," "This really is a foreign place here, everything is different from home", wrote one observer, (ANDREWS, Papers 1942-1992). In many ways this could be positive,
unfortunately too quickly people were described and defined only through their racially perceived stereotypes.

The crowd that ran to greet them gave the Yanks a good idea of the island's mixed racial composition. There were frizzy-haired Melanesians in loincloths and their "popinees" in bright Mother Hubbards; dainty Javanese domestics in sarongs; black teethed and black trousered Indo-Chinese men and women; pretty French-Caledonian girls and stoutish white-clad business men and officials. Only one of the usual races was missing - the Japanese, for they had all been rounded up and interned the day after Pearl Harbour (Priday 1945, 48).

...to us, for the first time, everything was interesting. Clothed in their 'beach pyjama' were the Javanese and Tonkinese women, who looked so small and dainty; then the Kanakas with their black faces, and white teeth as contrast. The Kanaka women looked very humorous in their Mother Hubbard dresses and with bare feet. We all wondered why the dress they wore was called a Mother Hubbard, but the only conclusion reached was that, like Mother Hubbard's cupboard, beneath the dress was bare (Gillespie 1947f, 17).

For some of the New Zealanders there were some interesting contrasts between the groups of people and how they lived.

Opposite the camp at Pam was a shack which housed a French-Kanaka his dark corpulent wife, the majority of his 14 children, half a dozen pigs, several filthy mongrels, and what room was left was claimed by the roosters and fowls (Gillespie 1947b, 44).

We went to a little mining village called Chagrin the other day...On one side of a grubby stream reside the French people. It was refreshing just to see people living normal suburban lives, to catch a glimpse through open doorways of easy chairs and carpets, to see starched linen airing, and kiddies playing in the garden. Somewhere a tinkly piano is being played....On the other side of the river lie those people who are several steps down the social strata- the Tonkinese and Javanese. The Tonkinese are indentured labourers from Indo-China. Their women folk wear half-mast black sateen trousers and bolero-like coats with wooden mules on their feet. Their teeth are stained black with betel-nut chewing, but even so with smooth olive complexions some are not without good looks. The kiddies, usually trouserless stand on the side of the road and in shrill voices cry- "penny, penny." Tonkinese shanties seem to be built from packing cases with pages from last year's illustrated papers used as wall paper. Fowls and bantams perch on the doorstep while the inevitable mongrel scratches its fleas. Many of the Tonkinese have completed their term of indenture but the war prevents their return to their homeland (Gillespie 1947b, 49-50).

At least one New Zealander, Trevor Shrine, was said to be more involved in a social and communicative way, it would have been interesting to hear more
of his experiences. Other New Zealanders were also interested and involved in indigenous activities, the fact that they recall these occasions serve that they were impressionable, whether that be good or bad.

...one of the New Zealanders was Trevor Shine, who when ashore used to put on eccentric dancing shows at the Triangle Gardens, and also would entertain the island natives. One of the chiefs was so delighted that he gave the Kiwi a valuable war club. Trevor spoke Maori well and found the Loyalty islanders were able to understand him, for a lot of Polynesian words are incorporated in their languages (Priday 1945, 50).

Some form of religious festival was being held in the native village, and Kanakas from neighbouring islands were arriving, bringing with them their food for the stay. Some of the boys wandered along to the native compound in the evening and persuaded the kiddies to sing, rewarding them with sticks of chewing gum (Gillespie 1947b, 63).

Sitting, standing, and lying on the ground were upwards of 2000 people, black, yellow, brown, sailors in white, men in every kind of khaki, French, English, NZ, Americans, Kanakas, men, women and children. There were really beautiful French and half-caste girls, old mature women, half-naked Kanaka boys, tiny little toddlers in every shape and size of humanity, a blaze of light in the centre, and the level tropical night overhead. Chinese, Javanese, Tonkinese.

After a while there was a great commotion in another part of the square and we shifted to view the furor. There was a bunch of native New Caledonians and Solomon Islanders, semi nude doing a wild stamping dance while two of their [?] beat a packing case drum. The dancing got more and more frenzied, until a gendarme came up shouting excitedly waving his arms "Allez finis, allez finis" But as fast as he broke up one dancing gang another started up a few yards a way. He had a pretty thin time till the American shore police took a hand and quickly broke the gang up. (ANDREWS, Ernest Stanhope, Papers describing the scene whilst listening to American musicians in Rotunda.).

In the Solomons contacts were also made with a mixture of haphazardness and necessity. The New Zealanders needed help from the Islanders and usually received it graciously.

From West Cape I went to the unit at Tolebaita on Malaita Island. Prior to my arrival the radar personnel had been housed down on the coast. This was a swampy area and most of the staff contracted malaria. We were housed up on the ridge with the radar station and most of us escaped malaria. We had a group of Solomon Island guards to protect the unit housed down on the coast. We were instructed not to leave the camp and not to go anywhere into the jungle as the natives were considered to be dangerous. An Australian district administrator had been murdered by the natives not far from our unit as late as 1928. The
coastal natives were under the control of the out stations which were every few miles along the coast. The natives had had some bad experiences with the Japanese and were diffident about us. I of course took no notice of the restrictions and went where I pleased. No one else did preferring to spend their free time in the sack. I would go out all day along the tracks catching butterflies.. (R.T. Shannon, in Sexton, 1993, 88).

I was passing through a village when a little boy about 3 or 4 years old came out of a village and wanted to know where I was going. Everyone was proficient in English and knew about us so I told him I was going back to the unit. The boy walked beside me and then said "Carry your bag mister." The bag was small and light so I gave it to him. He must have walked a couple of miles behind me while I caught butterflies when he stopped. He said "Go back now mister." He gave me my bag and we both stood and looked at each other. The he said "Cigarette mister." I gave him a full packet and off he went. No doubt, that day he was the most popular man in the village (R.T. Shannon, in Sexton, 1993,90).

In Tonga where the New Zealanders established an army, air and naval base (Priday 1945, 27), the New Zealanders had a "good humoured interest" in the Tongan people (Hornabrook 1951, 107), it was said and "liked the Tongan natives in "good will" (Gillespie 1947e, 48). The Islanders were seen as "hospitable and generous," (Priday 1945, 29) and lived a relaxed communal life which was "far from the grind and relentless individual warfare of our civilised habitudes" reflected Priday, (Priday 1945, 29). Like the treatment other Islanders received, the Tongans were also always seen in comparative terms, either compared to white people or other islanders.

the Tongan men, though perhaps not as impressive as the Fijians, were nevertheless of fine stamp (Gillespie 1947e, 48).

The islanders may have been more advanced and better educated than the majority of Pacific peoples but their ways were still not those of the white man. Their standards of morality were in conflict with army discipline. Stealing and other such offences were rife among Tongan soldiers and civilians alike, and personnel were often found to have sold or given their military clothing issue to relatives or friends (Hornabrook 1951, 102).

No depressed, disease-ridden islanders these, but generally muscular, handsome men and comely, smiling women, freedom-loving people whose welcome did the heart good to see. Their eyes grew with wonder as guns and jeeps and command cars and laughing men in khaki streamed ashore, for this was more activity
crowded into a day or two than they had ever dreamed would happen in their lives (Priday 1945, 29).

As soldiers they were enthusiastic and efficient, (Gillespie 1947e, 48) but they could also lose interest "and quickly forgot what they had learnt, while they failed to understand the importance of such factors as the care of vehicles." (Hornabrook 1951, 101). Sometimes they were considered irresponsible and unreliable such as during sentry duty, (Hornabrook 1951, 101). The Tongans who were attached to the First Commando Fiji Guerrillas "had a lot to learn from the Fijians in bushcraft. The two races, though former enemies in the nineteenth century, worked well together because of the diplomacy of the Fijians." (Larsen 1946, 89).

The war brought many changes to Tonga, and changes to some New Zealanders, "I wasn't the only member to very quickly become indistinguishable from the natives, wearing only a towel every third day," wrote one airman, (Denton Tyler, in Sexton 1994, 222). Denton Tyler seems like an interesting man, he was learning to speak Tongan from a woman who worked at Queen Salote's palace, and consequently became an important part of the Tongan family.

I was embarrassed to the extent that her (the tutor’s) mother would do all of my washing and ironing, and twice a week her husband (Shofe) would trundle a wheelbarrow back to the Unit with my beautifully washed and ironed clothes. They wouldn't accept any payment, either, and the wheelbarrow would be laden with bananas and pineapples (Denton Tyler, in Sexton 1994, 222)

He wrote that he had to stop being taught the language because his Commanding Officer told him to, as Queen Salote had just passed a non-fraternization order with United States men, and since the New Zealanders
were under US command it applied to them as well (Denton Tyler, in Sexton 1994, 222). George Gudsell was also in Tonga, he recalled his experiences.....

I had a time at Tonga, seems a long way from the war zone doesn’t it? It was one of the hardest flying assignments I had. The Japanese were operating submarines in that area, and the shipping route from Hawaii was around south of Tonga between New Zealand and Tonga...[operated with American navy] We saw a lot of the Tongan people, we were right in the middle of them, that’s really the nearest... the most contact we had, but the presence of troops there, not that there were a lot of troops was changing their outlook. Most of the young girls were shipped out of Tonga. But we’d make some good exchanges. There was a family near by who I used to take them my laundry, I’d pay them cash, but they’d much rather have had a couple of blankets. Yeah so it was a lot of trading going round, I think that the natives had never encountered so much goods, suddenly realise that they could get this and in many cases they could get this fairly easily (interview, George Gudsell).

The Tongan response to New Zealanders was not always as harmonious as the histories project. Judith Hornabrook, wrote a thesis in 1951 on the Tongan Defence Force and showed several examples of how the experiences of World War II affected Tongan nationalism, through strengthening their own pride and political awareness. The return of Tongan troops from the Solomons in 1944, added to growing antagonism within the Home front which was frustrated at the "comparative inactivity of their military life", (Hornabrook 1951, 103). They walked out of the camps and protested to the Queen, complaining that the Union Jack was being flown over the camp, not the Tongan flag. They also demanded that they wanted Tongan officers to have "more influence in determining camp policy, and wanted more rights."28

---

28Major Hardy, then Commanding Officer claimed that the "walk-out" was not serious - the troops were unsettled by the return of the Platoon from the Solomons and resented not being given transport to attend a big feast; also one officer was seeking to establish himself over the New Zealand officers (Hornabrook 1951, 103).
Hornabrook argues that the Queen and the Premier realized that the "roots of the trouble" lay in "sensitive Tongan pride."

Hornabrook offers no further analysis summing up the protest as follows:

That this movement was a mere demonstration with no hostility seems proved by the quiet way the troops returned to their duties and by the fact that they stressed their desire to stay in the army. As a result of the event, in consideration for Tongan nationalism, the Tongan flag henceforward flew over the camp. (Hornabrook 1951, 103-104)

Hornabrook also simply detailed other incidents, one a rock being thrown at a New Zealand truck which she patronisingly believed was to denote something less harmless, such as "primitive superstition and distrust of modern machines" (Hornabrook 1951, 105). There were also several attacks on New Zealand soldiers, "one of which resulted in the death of a New Zealand non-commissioned officer, but such outbursts were infrequent and almost certainly personal affairs." (Hornabrook 1951, 105).

The New Hebrides (Vanuatu) received the least amount of description from any source. Although less troops went through it was still a major base for the Air Force and the Army. There were bases in Espiritu Santo and Efate. It is hard to know why these experiences were omitted, either the Islanders stayed away from the camps, the New Zealanders just didn't see them, chose not to notice them, or perhaps there were too many layers of racism.

We saw so few of them, it was the same further south. I spent quite a lot of time in the New Hebrides and you saw them as you flew over the islands, would wave to them, because we were nearly always flying fairly low, on reconnaissance, hoping to find a submarine, no personal contact at all, I'm trying hard to think.. (interview, George Gudsell).

There is a certain amount of inter-tribal fighting and cannibalism, and it seems that an occasional white man has been killed and his limbs, according to
Melanesian custom, distributed among a number of village and eaten (Friday 1945, 99).

From there we went to um what do they call it... Espiritu Santos which was in the New Hebrides. And the natives there, of course some of them were quite warlike, ah, they were headhunters and what have you, although we never saw actually saw any there. I was later to meet up with some in the Solomon Group but what we did strike there though was pygmies, little people, and I didn’t have much to do with them, except that (chuckles) they appeared one day while I was having a bit of a snooz off really and they were collecting the washing off the line (laughs). And I wouldn’t go much... do anything about it because they are armed of course with these blowpipes which a re quite deadly, the little arrow in there carries poison, so I didn’t envisage that I wanted to have one of those things put into me so I just kept quiet about it (interview, Alan Head)

Natives on Natives:

It is also interesting to note that none of the published accounts on the Pacific war bother to record what "natives" thought of other "natives." This is probably since they were all supposed to be alike. Most notably neither Howlett (1948), Larsen (1946) or Ravuvu (1974), noted the Fijian Commandos impressions of other Pacific Islanders they met. Len Barrow, an Englishman29, (who proposed the training of Solomon Islanders with the New Zealanders and Fijian soldiers as a "special party" and later a patrol, (Larsen 1946, 80-81)) did have some opinions. He discusses his experiences of the Solomons Islanders with the Fijians...

I told them they were much better than the Japs, and they just smirked as much as to say "What the hell does he waste time telling us that for," and I added that they must show they were better men than the Fijians. That one fell on more fertile ground, for a rivalry not always very friendly had sprung up between the two during the last few months. The Fijians despised the Malaitamen as stupid little savages, which not unnaturally was resented by the Malaitamen who anyway could see no reason for the general assumption that the Fijians were more useful citizens than they were (Len Barrow, p.37-38).

29Although not a New Zealander, his impressions are very interesting, and he was working for the New Zealand Army.
At first the Fijians were amused at the Solomon Islanders' *sulu* battledress and at the English (Pidgin) they spoke, but they quickly learnt to understand the Solomons' speech as most of them spoke English with similar Melanesian-type sentence structures (Ravuvu, 1988,29).

Len Barrow was also the only person to argue that the Fijian statistics of casualties may have been helped by the aiming of the Japanese. He describes the death of two New Zealander officers and wounding of many others...

The Fijians had suffered much less heavily. It was the old game of picking off the whites and the Japs were well up to it (Len Barrow, p.38).

**Food, Trade and Gifts:**

For most of the New Zealanders their impressions of Pacific Islanders were more prominent when they were out of combat. "Every day" occurrences such as eating, washing and playing are more often remembered and described.

No no we didn't have much to do with them [Solomon Islanders] at all, we, they worked with us in the camps they did all the cleaning up, and raking with the coconut fronds and stuff like that, there were Melanesian Mission boys and they were, and Melanesian schools they had and they were released into the forces to save much money which went back into the mission. But they were mostly people, well as I said, cleaning up camps and things like that, and tidying up, but we didn't have a lot. We weren't supposed to go near the villages although we did sometimes, because of the hookworm, we always had to have our boots on, and there was a lot of that about so they made sure that we didn't go into the villages. Some of us snuck in, although I didn't, but some of the guys did and got some trinkets and things, and gave them bully beef, which was the great answer to all. (interview, Eric Heath).

Common displays of racial and cultural interaction involved food. Much documentation went into recording such transactions. However, too often
they are shown to highlight the New Zealanders as charitable and generous with their sophisticated materials and food items, especially cigarettes. Their gifts of medicine and medical advice were also often portrayed as being of great benefit. In return the Islanders were shown as naively grateful and generous with food and "souvenirs."

The 29th Battalion patrol carried food, clothing, and tobacco, gifts for the natives, who had been deprived of such commodities since the advent of the Japanese. Whenever the New Zealand troops visited any island in the Solomons, whether on active operations or not, they took with them such gifts, always including a supply of clay pipes, which were in great demand. Medical officers frequently accompanied the patrols, as they did to Gizo, and ministered to the needs of the neglected natives. In return the generous Solomon Islanders showered gifts of fruit and nuts on our men and entertained them with native song and dance (Army Board, 1945, 27-28).

From time to time, with ceremonies both dignified and interesting, generous quantities of fruit and vegetables were presented to the New Zealand troops by native tribes. Not everyone liked the flavour of pawpaw or some of the native vegetables such as taro, but oranges, bananas, pineapples, mangoes, and melons were welcomed on a menu not unduly overburdened with fresh food. Many of these natives brought their gifts from long distances- from Kandavu, for example. (New Zealand Army Board, 1945,13).

In some of the written texts the attitudes of New Zealanders' were not particularly respectful of the Islanders' ideas of supply and demand. In one of the Unit histories discussing a fruit and vegetable shortage in Fiji the islanders were put down for their lack of interest in providing a market, "The easy going native is content when his own simple needs are filled, and it was difficult to convince him that it was worth while going to the trouble to produce more for sale " (Gillespie 1948a, 13). But they are more often than not shown to be most receptive, "Natives came to the company areas, selling mandarins, oranges or bananas. They also collected and returned laundry, for which they made a very small charge." (Gillespie 1947b, 25).
Many of the islanders understood economics all too well, "During an entertainment he [a Fijian sergeant called 'Joe'] would announce that for some more cigarettes the natives would give another item." (Gillespie 1947d, 17). The Fijian Indians were appreciated for their goods, but in other recollections not the bartering style in which they were sold,

The oncoming guard found the local Fijian kiddies waiting with bananas, cooked tapioca, or coconuts to exchange for butter or bullybeef. The more astute Indians, having studied their market, arrived with eggs or sometimes dressed chickens (Gillespie 1947b, 16).

One of the principal means through which Islanders established relationships with New Zealanders and other military personnel was as providers and receivers of food and trade goods. Many of the recollections and representations in text and interview were of contact through buying and selling, although the importance of this to both parties was not necessarily economic. Many of the New Zealanders enjoyed "native handicrafts" and would often trade military goods for them. The Islanders, it appears, were often more than willing to participate and so too were the Americans.

Yes, yes, they, ah... we used to do trade with them, we'd give them a bar of soap and ah they would give us different things, and I thought Oh I'd like a bow and arrow, so I asked the native, the native I used to deal with, just a young boy, 'make me a bow and arrow and I'll give you a packet of cigarettes for it', well the next time I came home, he used to come out once a week to get across the island, and the next time I came home he has about 100 bows and arrows, and they were quite good, they used to use the flax, the center of the flax for the arrow and you could fire it through a piece of wood. You know that's how good they were, they were quite good, well done (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

And I brought back a walking stick, you know, its been engraved you know like with the paua shell and that sort of thing and over here they
had these cats-eyes and that sort of thing this was the in thing, and I was rather intrigued, one of our enterprising youth he decided one day to catch an ordinary type pigeon that was over on the island you see and he spent about 3 weeks to try and educate this pigeon you know, to talk, you know, and his idea was to get back to Guadalcanal to sell it to the Americans, I did hear that later he did sell it to the Americans for about 20 American bucks which was good money (interview, Fred Pethig).

Participation by the Islanders, was often a necessity due to the damage and destruction caused by war. Sid Moses, when asked whether much trading was going on, answered in this way.

Oh I don't think so no. The Islanders did alright in the finish, but there was a period I don't know how long it was, 3-4 months I suppose where the Japanese had um treated them very badly, and as I say destroyed all their food sources, so they weren't too happy with the Japanese, they killed a few of the islanders too, which didn't make them all that popular, but by and large the islanders were pretty good, and they were quite happy, ... well we gave them all sorts of things, we used to give them, they did give us some things, they had some pawpaws and so on, that they used to give us, but we'd give them some of the American canned rations, that we didn't like them much so we gave them to the islanders. But the islanders finished up, they went through a period of hardship, but they finished up alright (interview, Sid Moses).

It is interesting to note in passing that Fiji was the only island visited by the Brigade in the Pacific which gave any real opportunity for the purchase of native handicraft or exotic goods. The dearth of any articles of native workmanship or souvenir value, both in New Caledonia and the Solomons, was as pronounced as it was remarkable (New Zealand Army, 1945).

The skill required to make many of these items was appreciated by some, and one of the Veterans, in the Solomons, enjoyed the enthographical aspects of the making of "curios."

There I was to strike quite a few of the local or the indigenous people, and one place that was called Stewart islands, and they were a group of
Polynesians in the midst of Melanesians. Now Melanesians of course have quite different features, they are quite different people really, and these people, God knows where they came from or what they were doing there, but they were there. the interesting thing about them was they did weaving, the womenfolk, were weaving with a loom, and they’d rock back and forth on this loom, you know the weave and ... as the shuttle goes through, and they were weaving a plant, the leaves, the bark of the plant, and I have some sample of it here, but unfortunately its upstairs and so I would have get it down for you but ahh...if I can I will and you can have it actually, its a sample about that long [measures three feet] I have no further use for it but its quite a historical thing. The natives up there make curios, you know, this type of thing. A miniature kava bowl, they make things like that I had canoes and fans and things around wherever they are (interview, Alan Head).

When asked what was traded for these items he replied,

Your Clothes, (laughs) so when you came back down pants were very much like ...American issue of underclothes, underpants were shorts, briefs, and so we would fly back again just dressed as that except for our overalls, you know you put these overalls on in case you crash and get a flash they protect the skin in the event of a crash and a flash of fire. otherwise though, you were quite right we would trade on quite a few occasions I’d trade shirts and short pants, khaki, you know drill, for ... not shoes natives don’t wear shoes at all, and that would be it. (interview, Alan Head).

The Portrayal of Gender Relations in the Pacific:
The treatment of gender and sexual relations has been completely ignored in many of the historical texts. The sexist and highly reserved nature of war writing meant that the subject was highly “taboo,” at that time and still in the present. Mentions of Pacific Island women throughout texts are interesting for they repeat the discrepancy between the expectation of islander beauty and sexuality and the disappointment at the reality. Melanesian woman were often described in contrast to Polynesian and white aesthetics. The portrayal of Island women in newspapers and cartoons also highlights the
misperception of the Pacific in New Zealand and the shallowness of sincerity. The exaggerated features common in caricature show the levels of sexism and racism prevalent in this society. Enlarged eyes, lips and breasts accentuate these features.

Figure 12. "Pity we didn't have these Yankee clothes in N.Z., Bill." (O Kendall, 1943)
"LATEST CREATIONS ON THE NATIVE FASHION FRONT IN THE PACIFIC AS SEEN BY OUR ROVING ARTIST"

Nifty bands of sea shells in all the latest shades. Guaranteed to keep any deficiencies in a "hair-do" in order. The necklace is in shell to match.

For the debutante there is a very wide range of orchids and flowers, suitable for every occasion—just for the picking. (Seed catalogue sent on request.)

Highlight of this season is this becoming hair band of plaited extra fine grass with white butts attached. Very exclusive as white man does not give up said buttons. Hurry!

For the "Modern Miss" this "ever ready" comb in all shades of wood and with carved decorations to match. May be worn at any angle (as long as it stays in). A few models with inlaid mother-of-pearl still in stock.

What the Hell! Puff! Give me pipe and plenty of white-man haccy. Puff, and these youngsters can keep all their fancy "men catchers." Puff Puff

Figure 13. "Latest Creations on the Native Fashion Front in the Pacific As Seen By Our Roving Artist," (Contact, February 1945, 41)
"THIS RECONNAISSANCE WORK AIN'T HALF SO BAD!"

Figure 14. "This Reconnaissance Work Ain't Half So Bad!" (Tabuteau, 1945)
Figure 15. "Blackout," (Tabuteau, 1945)
Figure 16. "An introductory illustration for a section on war songs from the Pacific theater." It is ironic that most of the songs were extremely cynical and bitter about exactly this sort of misrepresentation of the Pacific war (Cleveland, 1959, 80.).

Despite the frivolous nature of these cartoons written accounts are much more conservative. Village women maybe mentioned in relation to their place in the community but never as sexual or platonic partners for white men. In a few of the interviews more information was given, usually quite happily by the interviewees.

Many times the New Zealanders talked of how they saw American sexual relations, usually with disapproval and it is hard to tell whether this is because of the act itself or because it was with Melanesian or Asian women, or because of the Americans manner of approaching sex.
On Malaita, there was just the small Aussie radar team, and then the Yanks came over to take over and the first thing they said, 'what are the natives like here', 'oh they're alright, quite good', 'What do you mean quite good, do they do it do they do it?' (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

The Americans were seen as unashamedly sexual. To the New Zealanders it was somewhat shocking, and surprising, it seems that many of them were still seeing in color.

I was chatting to Slim, a U.S. doughboy who had an eye for the girls. We were watching a file of natives-men, women and children- who were passing through the clearing. As they passed us greetings were exchanged. Glancing at Slim I saw him deliberately wink at a buxom lass.

"Come off it Slim," I ejaculated with a laugh. "You can't make black white."

"I was turned down for the Air Force," said Slim. "I'm colour-blind in one eye."

"But what has that got to do with it," I asked in surprise.

Slim turned to me with a disarming smile.

"I wasn't winking," he said. "I just closed my good eye. She's a peach isn't she?" After all we had seen so little fruit! (Cooze 1944, 46 in the Treasuries).

When asked if the New Zealand military had strict policies about sexual relations, or if any of it occurred, Lionel Donnelly answered,

Yes, oh yes, well I think you could get away with it, but it was the natives themselves, you know, the natives its our girls you had to get permission from the chief and all that and that and so, It was too much trouble, nothing ever happened.. (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

Alcohol, Discipline Prostitution and Love:

Part of the great New Zealand Soldiering Myth was that New Zealand soldiers were well disciplined, even when excessively drunk! The World Wars I and II in Europe provided the public with much evidence of the temptations the soldiers submitted to. Experiences of brothels and prostitution were discussed
and the effects of Venereal Disease were openly displayed (McLeod 1986, 132). Despite military command many of the soldiers acted up. Most were civilians and knew that when they would return to their homes they would leave the military and they therefore had little respect for formality, rigidity and structure. In the Pacific "Discipline problems... were caused by alcohol; although in the former it was more often than not the lack of it." (McLeod 1986, 136). Liquor was very limited and was only readily available in New Caledonia, at Base Camps. Many men kept their own stills and produced varying quality of brews from sugar, raisins, coconut, or torpedo fuel!

Drunkenness was reported to be a problem in the New Zealand Forces Club, Bourail, New Caledonia. One incident was reported...

Excessive drinking and the presence of "native" women sometimes led to assaults on these women by drunken men. In June 1944 the Provost Section on New Caledonia found a New Zealand soldier on top of a Javanese woman and pulled him off. "The soldier was hopelessly drunk... As he was vomiting we could not search him for identification. We noticed that some of the buttons of the fly on his pants were undone" (McLeod 1986, 136).

Noumea was described by a few New Zealanders as having many brothels. Andrews wrote of his situation in Noumea, "Our tent is strategically placed with two unlicensed brothels about 100 yards away at the back a shy guy shop on one side and the official brothel on the other, tres covenant!", he later added to this by saying "I did the French an injustice- there are four more brothels within a few hundred yards of here." (ANDREWS, Ernest Stanhope, Papers 1942-1992). Fred Pethig also recalled some of his loss of innocence upon arrival in Noumea,

And we pulled in and stopped about a day and a half in New Cally and it proved me to being so naive and that sort of thing to see all these Americans lined up you know, you could see them all from where we were
on the boat... and I said to one of the more knowledgeable chappies, (laughs) Oh, what are they making for their meal? But they were waiting for their comfort stop with the girls you see, ... and the same thing happened when we were on Malaita and that we heard that the Americans had comfort women on Choisel Island, (interview, Fred Pethig).

When asked if the New Zealanders had comfort women, he replied,

Well not... no I never heard of any, on Malaita and that sort of thing it was hard, I think, for many of the younger members, because I was about 27 or 28 at the time, but many of our boys and that sort of thing, were, well many of them perhaps shouldn't have gone, because some of them were only...well we had one or two 19 year olds and twenty and twenty one, and some were a bit older than that, you know, they were, you know, they hadn't seen life at all. It became, well behooved upon us older ones... to keep things shipshape (interview, Fred Pethig).

Sexuality and prostitution as concerns seemed impossible in the Pacific, a region in Western minds seen as sexually free and provocative. That there were "problems" was another difficult issue for the military. Describing Tonga, Priday wrote that no "prostitution as such exists,"

The island-due, it is believed, to a natural immunity caused by tropical yaws- is syphilis free; nor does prostitution as such exist. Efforts were therefore made to keep the island free from a milder form of venereal disease.

The civil authorities readily got the police to round up, tactfully, the few women known to be of loose character, and there was no difficulty whatever in getting their consent to being examined, or in getting them to report for follow up treatment of their own accord in the cases where treatment was necessary. It was thought this success may have been due to the native habit of looking on an unmarried girl's sexual life as her own concern, but considering venereal disease as a village disgrace (Priday 1945, 32).

Venereal Disease (VD) was not a problem for New Zealanders, according to Mc Leod, his figures show that the 2NZEFIP rate for the entire war was 47 per 1,000 per annum, totaling 6,842 (1 man in 14) between 1941 and 194530 (Mc

30Comparatively the rates for the occurrence of Venereal Disease in New Zealand were 23 per 1,000. In World war I the rates in Europe were 60 per 1,000 and 34 per 1,000 in New Zealand, (Mc Leod 1986, 132).
Leod 1986, 132). These rates do appear high, and it appears that there must have been more of a problem than Mc Leod accounts for. It is disappointing, but a reflective sign of lack of interest that no research has been done into why and how VD occurred and spread in this theater.

In recollection Pacific Island women were seen as "bashful" and shy, (Army and Airforce, 1944) by a few observers and they would often hide from the military men, -although not always around New Zealand men is the impression several veterans had. The Island men were seen as being protective of their women...

But while we were at Malaita of course there was this occasion when we went down to Fulambu you know, where there are three sisters there [Leper colony], and that sort of thing and there were these Melanesian girls and they just had a little sarong around their middle, you know, and otherwise they were completely naked as it were, and um I remember one of the sisters saying you know that they'd run for miles if an American came around but that they didn't mind the Kiwis sort of ogling them you know, and that sort of thing. It was tremendous. This was an non-infectious type of leprosy there. Our CO went with us at that particular time and he arranged for as the Catalinas came over from Guadalcanal that they'd drop certain things you know, for them" (interview, Fred Pethig).

The native women [on Malaita] only wore skirts and as I went along the tracks I would see them ahead of me. As soon as they saw me they would melt into the jungle and after I had passed them I would see them come out onto the track again. There was always a man or a boy with them. The women carried everything while the men and the boys carried machetes and hacked at everything as they went along. No matter how young a boy might be, if he was the only male in the group he would be in charge. If I did meet a group I would hand out cigarettes to everyone including even babies in arms. Everyone loved American cigarettes as these were unprocurable for them. The local tobacco was "twist" which could be teased out and rolled into a cigarette. Twist was also in very short supply because of the war." (R.T Shannon in Sexton 1993, 88-89).
After a ten-minute spell we plunged into heavier jungle. A native track made the going easier the track led through a native village [on Guadalcanal]. As we filed through the village chief stalked to the far end of the compound and stood with outstretched arm. Very dignified and very unapproachable, he had "shown us the door" in no uncertain manner.

Men, women and children were all smoking pipes. The women wore a short grass skirt which waggled from side to side as they walked with swaying hips. Some of the women modestly turned their backs as we passed. One or two stared at us with an enigmatic look in their dark, opaque eyes.

I saw a swing made from vines on which a woman pushed a child to and fro, and my thoughts sped to our own backyards many miles away here children amused themselves in the same way." (Cooze 1944, 35).

and the interesting thing and the thing that we were proud of was that um... all the villages [in the Solomons] used to be of course on the beaches but when the Japs came they shifted all the villages back into the hills, so that they couldn't get at their womenfolk you see, and even when the Yanks cleared these places they didn't bring their villages back but they did wherever the New Zealanders went they brought their villages back. That Falamai village there were the...beautiful beach along there.... there were a terrific people" (interview, Laurie Sutton).

Recording Islanders and their ways in detail was unusual in text and memory. Alan Head remembered one situation which showed the level of interest he had in Islander tradition or "peculiarities." He was also obviously aware and critical of the impact westerners try to have when they think they are superior.

The womenfolk, I think I mentioned before that um.. in childbirth they have these stakes in the water, excuse me a minute (phone rings). .... carry on, now where was I, oh with the women folk, yes the childbirth, likewise they have , I noticed, these huts up in the air, you know elevated, about as high as that window, (about 6 feet), and they are for women to menstruate in, and they... this is natives of course, they put them up there and they stay there until they ...as they say they're clean again, and then they come down, they're fed while they are there of course. But they have their own little peculiarities, which of course horrified the American doctors, (laughed), and I recall on one occasion we have a lady who was having a youngster, and she wanted to go the beach, and the Americans there weren't terribly pleased about that they said that was unorthodox and infact it was quite out of the question and they wanted, did her bring into
hospital, but she fought like a tiger, it ended up with them I think it ended up with them losing the child. I'm not sure on that particular point, but the point I make is that they had there own and the missionaries let them carry on with their own traditions and so on. And the missionaries did do quite a good lot of work up there. Um they are very good in that way (interview, Alan Head).

Interest in the "other" went both ways, the Islanders were as much intrigued by the Allies as vice versa.

We saw many of the women folk, not so much the men, where there wouldn't be an inch or not even a half an inch of their body with good skin like we have, it was all sores and terrible sights, and of course not only did they have to put up with the malaria disease but also many other diseases too, you know. And I remember the Yank saying that there was a women then coming, and of course our huts, they'd cleared away a certain amount of the bush and the natives would come and sort of view us, you know, from the peripheral of the camp and that sort of thing and sort of look us over (interview, Fred Pethig)

One New Zealander, was love struck enough to write and dedicate a poem to a Solomon Island woman. In the introduction to this poem the commentator described how this medical team had been giving treatment to the Pinipel Islanders for Yaws Disease mainly, when a young Solomon Islander came along. She was described as a "fascinating sight," who was "downright handsome for a Solomon Islander." The Editor of a medical magazine the Larynx was "so impressed by her beauty...that he was compelled to write a few verses in her honour" (Gillespie 1945b, 81).
LITTLE NELL, THE BELLE OF PINIPEL,
or
YAWS FOR EVER.
(With apologies to 'Gunga Din'.)

You may talk of ladies fair
When you're quartered safe back there
At the 4GH and sitting on your bottom,
But in the blue Pacific,
Lack of women is terrific,
And all a lad can do is wish he'd got 'em.
Now in Nissan's sunny clime,
Where I used to spend my time
A-serving Pete and Paddy Webb so well,
Of all that black-faced crew,
The finest girl I knew
Was Little Nell, the belle of Pinipel.

The lingerie she wore
Was nothing much before,
And rather less than half of that behind,
For a string of coral beads
And a few hibiscus weeds
Was all the millinery that she could find.
On a hot and sunny day,
When we were anchored in the bay,
Where the heat would make your blooming eyebrows crawl,
By the table when we'd set it,
The first to come and get it
Was Little Nell, the belle of Pinipel.

It was Nell, Nell, Nell,
First I stumbled, then I fell.
She sat upon her rudder
With the gravity of Buddul,
Then she bared it 'cos the bismuth made her well.

I shan't forget the thought,
Though I know I didn't ought
To have thought it though you think those things up here,
That if I'd tipped her half a wink
As fast as you could blink,
She'd be waiting fifty paces right flank rear.
She lifted up her head
When she heard the things I said,
And she smiled a word that Pidgin couldn't tell,
It was really not that hot,
But of all the smiles I've got
I'm gratefullest to one from Little Nell.

It was Nell, Nell, Nell,
Here's a Kiwi with his morals shot to hell.
Your smile is quite perfection,
You're the belle in this direction,
For God's sake smile a smile, please, Little Nell.

They carried us away to where the coxswain lay
With his buttocks where his boot soles should have been,
We were heading from the beach
When I heard a lady screech,
'I hope you liked your smile,' says Pini's queen.
I'll not meet her later on
In the place where I'll have gone,
Where it's parlez vous, ca va and all quinine,
She'll be smiling here, perhaps,
Smiling smiles to poor damn Japs
As they hari-kiri quietly on the green.

It was Nell, Nell, Nell,
You quite unrivaled queen of Pinipel,
And though Paris gowns evade you
By the living God that made you
You wear nothing very well, Little Nell.

(Gillespie 1945b, 81-83)

This poem is interesting for it shows the authors discomfort of feeling attracted to a Melanesian woman, a "kiwi with his morals shot to hell." It is also sexist and condescending. There are constant comparative references to white women's finery and Nell's lack of it. The second title, shows the sick parody. A discussion of attraction towards Pacific Island women was not common in this war literature. These were the only examples mentioned.

New Zealanders coastwatching in the Ellice Islands also seemed to have got involved in the community, they obviously felt that the Islanders were equal people. This was not considered wise by Gillespie, who seems to be a proponent of the Protestant work ethic. These coast watchers were causing problems for the colonial situations, the behavior was the result of too much island temptation, argued Gillespie.
When a representative of the Western Pacific High Commission visited the Ellice Group in November 1943, he reported that some of the men had been there too long and their mental attitude bore evidence of their lack of association with their fellow-men. One or two of them caused friction and embarrassed the economic structure by inciting the natives to demand rates of pay equal to those of New Zealanders. On two islands watchers had contracted liaisons with native women, and on one island the soldiers had quarreled. All this was merely the fruit of endless monotonous days of idleness and isolation (Gillespie 1952, 237).

Coming to terms with Pacific Islanders socially was difficult for New Zealanders, it highlighted their prejudices and unsettled their beliefs. Both formal and informal contact was novel. There were set boundaries for discourse or relations on colonial levels and many of the New Zealanders enjoyed breaking these as they learnt more about acculturation. Efforts to communicate and interact were not always initiated by the New Zealanders and the Islanders played an important part in establishing these encounters especially through their involvement in the war effort. An area where all the allies had to give respect.
Islanders as Allies:

The Allies were fortunate to have help from friendly natives...All around the island there were many mission stations which, over the years, had built up tremendous goodwill from the natives. We benefited considerably from this. The natives would sometimes walk for days through little known tracks and eventually arrive at our base with intelligence reports from behind enemy lines...Amazing! What a risk they must have taken. (Horn, 1992, 195).

New Zealanders were genuinely grateful, and often surprised by the Islanders help and guidance. The experiences of Islanders as Allies was the largest incongruity to the old stereotype of the Islanders as hostile savages. Through their experiences the New Zealanders, as soldiers, airmen and historians tried to change the images of the Islanders from savages to that of loyal and protecting natives. Colonization and missionization were considered to have been of great benefit to the progress of war and were further justified through the Islanders actions.

... people don't realise you know, how the amount of good work the islanders did in their tom-toms, and their way of relaying messages right throughout the islands. you know, this was the amazing thing to me, but ah you know, there were many you know, aspects of life in the islands (interview, Fred Pethig).

There were many amazing aspects to life in the islands. Interaction through the contact from shared missions and desire to fight the war were some of the most positive of all racial experiences. The New Zealanders interviewed seem
somewhat evangelical about their positive racial experiences and had a desire to rectify the false portrayal of Pacific Islanders. Islanders were respected for their roles as coastwatchers, guides, carriers, even more so for such responsibility had been seen as beyond them.

An elaborate coast-watching service had also been organised under district commissioners and resident officers, with natives maintaining a twenty four hour watch at important points round the coast and on outlying islands throughout the group. Those natives, frequently without shelter or equipment but wonderfully loyal, were unaccustomed to long and boring hours of duty in all weathers, but they performed a magnificent task despite the fact that work, as Europeans know it, is something to be avoided whenever possible (New Zealand Army Board, 1945, 7-8).

in those days ...the Solomon islanders actually worked with our intelligence officers to plot around these Treasuries ... and inland, they went up on, and up on the beaches there and the natives helped them...But they were terrific people those islanders (interview, Laurie Sutton).

Arriving at the tip of Malaita and that sort of thing it was interesting getting off the APC boat because of the coral formation and you could only anchor maybe 4-500 yards off shore, and diesel fuel that they had in 44 gallon drums they had in those days, they just pitched them over board and let the natives sort of more or less try and ride them in to shore. But there were drums and drums lost that never made it, you know, would no doubt make it further down the island or something, but not for us...this took quite a....of course natives did most of that work and we were just sort of ferried ashore.. (interview, Fred Pethig).

Within the stereotype of the "Loyal Friendly Native" were still some references to the odd inhuman qualities of natives, who were still not quite the same as white people. The only difference was that for once the Allies could use this to their advantage. The Islanders' knowledge of their jungle and weather patterns greatly assisted all of the Allies. Relationships formed between troops and "their" native guides, some of these have been described, but within them there are still signs of inequality, such as the use of racially-
based "nicknames" such as this "Bamboo," (Army Board 1945, 17), "bulas," (Gillespie 1947b, 79) and "Chief Safety Pin" (Friday 1945, 100) which continue to appear in text. The New Zealanders' ideas of humor were still racially condescending.

Loyal native guides, one of whom was named Bamboo, warily moved with our patrols. Without them many more lives would have been lost and progress would have been even slower. Those natives have an acute sense of smell and seemed to possess the ability to sniff out the Jap, who leaves a curious odour behind him. 'No go there- Jap', they often said, tapping a squat nose with a finger. (Guadalcanal to Nissan, p.17).

... and of course our camp was up in the hills because we had the radar unit you see up there where we plotted between the ships coming up and (?) to the airplanes, and there were mainly Catalinas that were flying at that particular time. But we settled into huts you know, and different ones, usually about 6 assigned to the different huts, But the natives had a second sense or something about them, that they could tell you know, and they could tell the weather, you know, even better than the met people, (laughs) really because, this always amazed me, they'd say oh you can expect ten minutes of real downpour and then it'll be really sunny again, you know, (interview, Fred Pethig).

Native guides gave a lot of confidence to patrols as they slipped silently and easily through the tangled undergrowth. On occasions these natives would slip ahead and disappear from view, only to reappear unexpectedly with a big toothsome grin adorning their faces, thus indicating that all was clear. Each guide faithfully carried a Jap rifle and ammunition and each told a varied and always bloody story of how these weapons were acquired (Gillespie 1947g, 43-44).

But ah the natives and that were very good, like, in many respects, and we'd had never managed otherwise if it hadn't been for the natives in getting through the bush (interview, Fred Pethig).

One of the Fijians in the Komave Platoon would not accept payment for his services. He reasoned that if the New Zealanders could travel over a thousand miles to protect his country, surely it was up to him to contribute his services free (Larsen 1946, 44).
In official histories the Islanders' war effort was seen and was wanted to be seen in colonial terms. Their work was attributed to being a contribution to the empire rather than the Islanders protecting their own land and future. Nor was their effort seen as actions taking advantage of the war as a time to learn new skills, make money and wealth, develop their education. Their involvement was also not viewed as an act of resistance, nor was it seen as the extent to which they had been driven just to get the war over with. Their commitment was seen as a symbol of their shared hatred of the Japanese, rather than a rejection of any form of oppression and colonization.

...to see the Melanesian and Polynesian, whose way of life has changed so little since before time was, working and fighting in harmony with the white man, helping to write a new chapter in the history of war and of the Pacific, because imbued with the same desire as the Australian and the New Zealander and the American, which is to get rid of the Japanese in these parts once and for always (Priday 1945, 14).

Acting as "fuzzy wuzzy angels," (The Open Door, September 1944, 7) the Solomon Islanders saved many lives by hiding soldiers and airmen in their villages, or in the jungle.

Many airmen, both New Zealand and American, were saved in this way by Solomon Islanders, whose loyalty never wavered despite the fact that they were short of food and deprived of all medical attention. On the day of the landing Sergeant George Leoni, a New Zealand airman, was found in a hut at Soanotalu. He had been hidden there for five weeks (Army Board, 1945, 30).

Apart from grateful recognition to villagers and civilians, usually the greatest respect was given to the Fijian, Tongan and Solomon Island men who were a part of the 'South Sea Scouts,' or the Fijian Commando Guerrillas. They were admired for their work, as scouts and soldiers. They were trained and usually operated under the command of New Zealand officers. Despite recognition by
the New Zealand and Pacific publics their treatment was still defined racially. They were nearly always seen comparably and the credit was usually seen as due to their wonderful commanding officers. Many times the Islanders were considered lost without their commander, "There were many ways in which men could be cut off from the unit with no New Zealander to look after them" (Larsen 1946, 131).

Not only were the Islanders denied their own initiative but also their own cultural heritage. Now, the Fijians could also be disassociated from their own military tradition. An ironical situation because it was often by their warrior and violent past that they were usually defined.

In the first few days of the war, with no military tradition or history behind them, these carefree happy peace-loving people volunteered in large numbers. With equipment then at the low ebb of sticks for rifles and stones for grenades, they did all that was asked of them... (Foreword by Brigadier J.G.C. Wales, Commandant Fiji Military Forces, 1942-September 1943, in Howlett 1948, 11).

now they're a very interesting people [the Fijian Scouts] Actually I've got a very good friend....he was a Captain of the Fijian Commandos, and they did a fantastic job, and when we went back and went back to New Caledonia, and I saw a Fijian there walking around, who'd been who was featured in our paper, forget what they called the paper they used to put out now and again, that he'd been shot and they bayoneted him through both breasts the Japs to make sure he was dead, and here he was walking around the place as fit as. A fantastic physical man you know on the other hand though ,I was talking to him [his friend the Captain] about how good they are and he said well he said that they had to sit on them sometimes they were active.... a month or so ago they used to have to be very firm with them on some occasions...They actually, on New Georgia, they actually lost that airstrip there at one stage, and the Fijian Battalion went in and recovered it. Oh yes, they did a good job (interview, Laurie Sutton)

A word of praise, too, for those happy but stern men, the Fijian soldiers, who had left their villages to serve with the local defence forces. To the Fijian Defence force our battalion detached several officers and non-commissioned officers,
whose progress with the Fijians later in the war in the Solomons we always watched with interest and pride. These men have since told us that the glowing reports of the prowess of the native Fijian in combat are not exaggerated (Gillespie 1947e, 25).

As soon as the Fijians proved their near super-human abilities the New Zealanders are quick to take credit for their alliance with the Fijians, despite their earlier doubts about putting the Islanders into action (Gillespie, 1952). The New Zealand National Film Unit enjoyed filling the screens with testimony of the Fijians' strength as soldiers. In fact there were several films made specifically about their involvement in conflicts, and also much footage of the return of the 1 Commando Fiji Guerrillas back in Fiji after their action in Bougainville.

Also having a holiday on Florida are men of the Fijian Scouts, man for man these are the most dangerous jungle enemies the Japs have to face. These are old friends of ours (Army and Airforce, 1944).

These Fijians, seasoned fighters, perfectly fit and beautifully trained have no rules for playing Tojo's jungle game. They're ruthless fighting men. Jap snipers and mortars lick the ground around them as they try to work around behind (Easter Action, 1944).

The Fijian people are waiting for the return of their warriors. For the pick of the manhood of these islands is away up north in the Solomon's, forming a part of the Allied team which is fighting Japan. The men have been away on Guadalcanal and Florida, Munda, Vella Lavella, ... and Bougainville. Fiji has heard of the great work her men did on Bougainville last Easter, in repelling the big Jap attack on the perimeter around the airstrip. With perfect sight, hearing and training these men found themselves superior in every way to the enemy jungle fighters.. (Homecoming, 1944).

Such was the interest and admiration that even a poem was composed, although it too contains stereotypic images.
Bula
(Dedicated to the Fijian Regiment)

Soft feet padding with a noiseless tread,
White teeth flashing in a round black head;
Patient, cheerful, wherever they are led,
Silently, Fijian boys slip by.

Swift hands gleaming with the ruthless knife,
Sure legs gliding through the jungle strife,
Tireless trackers of another yellow life;
Silently, Fijian boys slip by.

Hurt black bodies on the jungle floor,
Lips still smiling as they did before,
Comrade helping comrade—they'll be back for more;
Silently Fijian boys slip by.

Always ready if the job were tough,
Soft voices singing when they'd time enough;
Happy, even if their life was rough,
Silently, Fijian boys slip by.

"Bula Fiji" grinning Anzacs cry.
"Bula Anzac" comes the swift reply,
For their loyalty's as certain as that yellow men will die,
When silently Fijian boys slip by.


Examples of the exploits of the Fijian Commando troops were often recorded.

Their treatment would go from highlighting their clever ingenuity...

The Fijians on Bougainville are ruthless, splendidly trained fighting men, who like nothing better than walking 15 miles off a trail to kill a handful of Japs. Their commanding officers have no trouble over discipline, as a mere threat to prohibit the Fijians from going on patrol constitutes all the discipline necessary. An average Fijian carries a 40lb pack in addition to a share of mortars, heavy machine guns and extra ammunition (Kiwi News, March 14, 1944).

to heroic accounts...

Many Stories are told of the amazing skill and daring of Fijian scouts operating on Bougainville Island, says an Australian war correspondent in the Solomons.

A number of them, discarding their clothes and firearms, filtered into Japanese native labour camps and joined a food line. After they had eaten they went into action with their knives, causing heavy casualties among enemy guards, before disappearing into the jungle (Kiwi News, June 20, 1944).
Strung out around the edge of the battle area are Fijians, Pacific Islanders who are extreme experts in the art of Pacific War. Facing them at the moment a few hundred yards away is a Jap outpost. Their bullets ride overhead at any sign of movement. In charge of troop distribution here is a New Zealander, Lieutenant Colonel Upton of Auckland. Back at the perimeter some of the Fijian boys are taking it easy, waiting for Charlie. These are the jungle fighters whose exploits have become legend throughout the Pacific. In two months on this island, they've lost only one man and killed 125 Japanese, at the moment a mortar bomb carrier serves them as a card table, its a way they've learnt at passing the time (Fijians playing cards). (Easter Action, 1944).

to the blasé...

Sometimes we showed films before they were released in the States. One was Stage Door Canteen which took five hours to show because of some breaks for shelling by the Japanese in the hills. The Fijian Commando Guerrillas handled the nuisance (ex Sgt. Roe D. Stewart, in Sexton, 1994,177).

A few cases of Islander heroism were truly celebrated in New Zealand- legend style. One such case was the exploits of Lieutenant Iqkoro Vulu Vulu, (who was also referred to as Iserali Korokorovula in Homecoming, 1944). He was "found when hope of his rescue had virtually been abandoned" ( Kiwi News, Vol. II, No. 14, Tues. March 14, 1944). This story was reproduced several times in New Zealand and International media. The following show the style of how it was reported.

Lieutenant Iqkoro had led a bombing attack on Jap positions on the east coast of Bougainville, and was returning to the Fijians' Kameli airstrip in a cub plane which crashed in the jungle treetops on Jan. 27. The plane was piloted by Second Lieutenant Charles Cross, US Artillery observation officer.

Lieutenant Iqkoro and the pilot trudged for six days through almost impenetrable forest, but were unable to get a sun bearing through the jungle, and on February 2 found themselves deep in enemy territory. They had no food and only a little water. Second-Lieutenant Cross became too weak to walk further, so the Fijian carried him on his back for two days before the American insisted he be left. Lieutenant Iqkoro built a small leafy hut and left Second Lieutenant Cross there while he went off to seek help.

The Fijian does not remember much of the ensuing ordeal except that he went downhill, sliding most of the way because his weak legs were unable to support him. On February 21 he was picked up by natives and carried to shelter. He quickly revived and returned to Allied lines. A search party has since found no trace of Second Lieutenant Cross (Kiwi News , Vol. II, No. 14 Tues. March 14,
1944, on same page a note, "Second Lieutenant Iqkoro VulaVula, known in New Zealand as "the smiling fullback" when the Fijian Rugby team toured the Dominion."

Planes lost in this country are never seen again," he added. "the jungle or the Japs get them. One Fijian who crashed fought the jungle for 20 days before he reached friendly hands. The pilot gave up after the Fijian, who carried him for four days, could no longer lift him. He was never seen again." (Captain of a US plane to First Lieutenant David D. Duncan, US Marine Corps, in article, by Duncan, National Geographic, January 1945, 87).

At the home of Ratu Sukuna, Lieutenant Iserali Korokorovula[?]... is on a visit besides knowing a thing or two about jungle warfare the Lieutenant knows the right thing to say about things of knitting (They are sitting on a mat at back of the house, several women are knitting,)Iserali was the officer who traveled for twenty days without food in the Bougainville jungle, for five of those days carrying an American airman on his back. The two men had crashed after successfully fighting bombers to a heavy concentration located by the Fijians (Homecoming, 1944).

Sergeant Major (and later Sir) Jacob Vouza, was a Solomon Islander who made the press in New Zealand too. His "exploits" in the Pacific have also become legendary. In an article referring to the award of the George Cross to Vouza the author writes that Vouza is "the essence of dignity: not only did he win his decorations but he knows how to carry them" ("Much Decorated Native", 11 May 1945, 5c). High praise indeed.

Despite this credence, Gillespie mentions of how Islander popularity resulted in some backfire racism. Troops became jealous at the exposure of Islanders and not themselves "...the people at home were avid for news and pictures of them [The Fijian Commandos]" wrote Andrews, (Andrews 1944, 18).

Conscious of their peers in the Middle East receiving most of the coverage the New Zealanders in the Pacific felt more in the backwater. From this research it appears that they had every reason to be resentful of the lack of coverage,
there were few articles about the Pacific theater at all, however their racial resentment is telling but not acceptable.

The work of the force suffered from a curiously undeserved lack of publicity from any official correspondents and photographers, and no broadcasting unit sent home to New Zealand those singularly uninspired personal messages from men carrying out a task lacking in both glamour and spectacle. An occasional amateurish photograph did appear in the New Zealand newspapers, but it only revealed a crowd of husky Fijians in snow-white sulus and European coats presenting gifts of fruit and vegetables to the soldiers (Gillespie 1952, 56).

It was not only the New Zealanders who had problems getting credited. For many of the other Islanders involved with the New Zealanders getting any recognition was difficult, let alone trying to move beyond recognition as guides, or carriers into fully equal soldiers. Getting acknowledgment that was not patronizing was also nearly impossible. Other Islanders were nearly always placed in contrast to the Fijians. Larsen was one historian who was prone to this, for him even the Fijians were not real soldiers.

In comparing the qualities of the men who contributed to the success of First Commando, generalizations can be made... The New Zealanders and Tongans, who were highly selected men, derived egotistical satisfaction from comparison with the ordinary infantry, and it was this pride in their own ability, that drove them on in their dangerous missions. The Fijians did not possess pride to the same extent, and although many of them fought outstandingly, it would be more accurate to describe them as extraordinary scouts than as extraordinary fighting soldiers. The Fijians, with their exceptional hearing and eyesight, must be amongst the greatest bushmen in the world, even though the New Zealanders had to show them the way in strange country (Larsen 1946, 150).

Larsen's main purpose was to show the New Zealanders' abilities as more superior, although he also concedes at times that perhaps they were more complimentary to the Islanders'. His attitudes towards the Islanders were at times sensitive and pragmatic but also racist and paternal, especially in his brief dismissal of the Solomon Islanders.
The New Zealanders had one advantage over the Fijians in their education, which enabled them to use artificial aids to navigation. The New Zealanders were natural bushmen too, and they found that jungle warfare had something in common with deer stalking. In spite of the Fijians more powerful physique, the New Zealanders were more determined in traveling long distances. The Fijians had perfect shooting and stalking ability, but their sensitive emotions and superstitions often prevented them from using this ability to the best advantage; there were a few occasions too when New Zealanders failed to show the patience and sympathetic understanding necessary to securing their best response... The Tongans fought outstandingly, having a temperament similar to the Maori; but the Tongans' bushcraft was not equal to that of either the Fijians' or the New Zealanders'. There is no bush in Tonga, and though they adapted themselves quickly, the Tongans lacked the real jungle sense that comes with long experience. The Solomon Islanders rendered valuable services away from the fighting, and a few were excellent in battle, but it would take many years to train the average of them as soldiers (Larsen 1946, 150-151).

Earlier in his book, Larsen spoke of the Solomon Islanders in more detail, his version of being culturally observant.

The Solomon native was small in stature, and generally had a distended stomach as a result of malnutrition and various diseases such as malaria. Malaria, if not checked with quinine swells the spleen. In spite of this the natives were surprisingly strong, and they were useful for carrying stores over rough country. Their knowledge of local tracks was useful too, but these factors were not sufficient to make the average of them good commandos or good soldiers (Larsen 1946, 81).

The portrayal of Islanders was not always seen in military terms, several other factors on the social scene had a large part to play in forming New Zealanders opinions of Islanders, such as sport, music, and entertainment.

Sport:
In order to alleviate some of the boredom, and as a diversionary tactic, Officers would often try to encourage sport. The benefits of this would improve fitness, co-ordination, camaraderie, "esprit de corps", and I would add race relations. Rugby was the main sport played by New Zealanders in the Pacific, although cricket, soccer, boxing, athletics, swimming, baseball and
volleyball were also mentioned in histories. In New Caledonia, horse racing became a major preoccupation. The New Zealanders with much time on their hands often played sport with Americans and as "good sportsmen" the New Zealanders respected their abilities...

...softball was enjoyed by all. A tall negro soldier called Train and nicknamed Freight was very friendly and taught us the finer points of the game (H.S. Lanyon, in Sexton, 1994, 6-7).

Played quite a lot of baseball and volleyball with the U.S. engineers and guards (Negro). and they were a fine bunch of chaps." W.E. Rowe discussing Rendova, in Sexton, 1994, 254).

Sport was seen as a way of respecting Pacific Islanders as well.

Just as Gallipoli brought Australians and New Zealanders closer together, so Fiji manoeuvres and the Solomons campaign have cemented friendship between Maorilanders and Fijians, who already respected each other for prowess on the Rugby football field (Priday 1945, 122).

New Zealanders stood high in the estimation of the Fijian, even though new Zealand won the first and celebrated Rugby match by thirty-two points to twenty-nine (New Zealand Army Board, 1945, 13).

[The Nandi Cricket Club] was mainly Fijian in composition and was a first-class combination. We never succeeded in beating them. Their cricket was pretty to watch, particularly in the field, and every chance was snapped up by their huge hand. Their bowling and batting was also first class." (Gillespie 1947c, 21).

Natives on Vella Lavella recovered their magnificently decorated war canoes from hiding places in the jungle and rowed them with joyous vigour in a regatta (Gillespie 1952, 167, describing Christmas Day celebrations).

Entertainers and Hospitable Hosts:

Away from home in foreign and unfamiliar territory, the New Zealanders appreciated the friendliness and hospitality of Islanders. Values which they ranked highly. They were often welcomed at villages they arrived at in Fiji. A unit history described their impression of Fiji, "it was soon apparent to everyone, after their arrival on the island, that the Fijian people are a very likable race, and the natives themselves very happy to welcome any self-
invited soldiers who visited the villages" (Gillespie 1947b, 2). New Zealanders joined in the kava ceremonies and taralalas (form of dancing) with relish, these were the sort of "cultural encounters" that the Pacific was supposed to be full of.

It was on those occasions [the inland of Fiji, or delta flats] that we found the real Fijian, whose generosity knew no bounds, who would leave his own home so that a soldier might have a comfortable sleep under cover, who was happy and ready to spend hours doing nothing but fetch and carry fruit and food for such troops as happened to be near his village. It was rarely necessary to take rations on other than overnight excursions, but we used a system of barter - twist tobacco, or bread, or any other simple item from the cookhouse, would be a fair exchange for food and drink, fruit, and lodgings, garlands of flowers, and warm hospitality (Gillespie 1947e, 24-25).

Early in December after the camp had been built and the troops had settled in, a number of Fijian chiefs and hundreds of their people from the Rewa Delta came to the camp and conducted a special native welcome, which included the famous kava ceremony. They brought about six truckloads of fruit and vegetables. Altogether it was a most interesting and novel afternoon for the New Zealanders. Later, four hundred members of the battalion, accompanied by the band, returned the visit and spent a long and pleasant day going from village to village with kava ceremonies in each...The Fijians are great hosts. The natives looked after everybody's needs, and it is doubtful if there is a live hen or chicken of any age left in the Rewa Delta at the end of that day.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies and entertainment, the native girls wanted to dance. One of them, approaching Captain J.V. Cauty, MM, spoke to him in the native tongue. Thinking she was asking him to have more kava, which he had been drinking all day, he said, 'No thank you'. The interpreter leaned over to him and said, 'Sir, she is asking you to dance'. So Captain Cauty, who had hardly ever danced in his life, led the battalion in a dance on the lawn and with the band playing, the area was soon a weaving mass of soldiers and native girls...[sang Isa Lei as they left]. . . The moon was rising and the night was cool. The Fijians have delightful voices and nothing could have been more beautiful than their rich and deep harmony heard across the water (Gillespie 1947d, 16).

The entertainment of New Zealanders by Islanders was also enjoyed, and their dance and singing was respected in all of the islands, "Isa Lei" nearly became the troops' anthem, as it was "adopted with enthusiasm by the division" (Gillespie, 1948a, 23). The Cook Islanders at least were believed to "never happier than when entertaining their pakeha guests," (Priday 1945,
As usual there were differences noted and again there was some comparison between islands.

*We used to have parties with the Yanks, and a few natives would come in too. A couple of them did a dance for us, because we edged them on, and edged them on* (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

The happy-go-lucky Fijians all seemed to be talented singers, and they would start up a song when working, when walking along the road, or virtually at any time at all. With a ukulele accompaniment they would embark on elaborate part singing in which excellent base voices would be prominent, and sooner or later they would always come around to 'Isa Lei'...almost the national song of Fiji, which was adopted with enthusiasm by the division... (Gillespie 1948a, 23).

The natives gave a concert to the boys after lunch [Christmas Day]. Everybody enjoys their and of course like all native peoples (and whites, too, I suppose), they love the applause which greets their efforts. Some of the native teen-age damsels would fill a Hollywood glamour girl's sweater without a wrinkle. The kiddies in their ragged print dresses and with flowers in their hair gave the Solomon Island version of jitter-bugging. Old breech-clouted Ezekiel, who must be at least 70, joined in but gave up early, his rheumaticky bones being a handicap (Gillespie 1947b, 87).

*And they [Solomon Islanders] would come and sing for us, but they couldn't sing, the further you go up the Pacific, nobody could sing like the Maoris, the further you go up the Pacific the worse the singing gets worse, but they, you know are great little fellows....*(interview, Laurie Sutton).

The farewell concert before leaving Fiji was a memorable one. In addition to our own talent, the local Fijians arrived in war paint and war dress and presented traditional dances, including and awe-inspiring spear dance. Their contribution included the haunting melody 'Isa Lei'. The auditorium presented a wonderful sight from front stage. In the soft light of the footlights could be seen first all of the Fijians with their glittering bodies dressed, or rather undressed, in all their old glory (Gillespie 1947c, 22).

**Communicating and Understanding Culture:**

Interaction and inter-cultural experiences did exist on social levels. Some of the most interesting information that came through from the interviews were examples where they took a more ethnographic and cultural interest in Island life. Some of their observations were fascinating and not as superficial...
as many of their other encounters. Occasionally there was respect for the Islanders as being peoples with history and ways of doing and knowing things that were suited to their lifestyle and manner. The Islanders' vitality and life were allowed to surface and these examples show what some of the New Zealanders learnt in their time "over seas."

*But also there is supposed to be the only known place where the natives have made islands, you see, and so they'd carried these rocks and so forth out, oh about 2-300 yards out from the shore and dropped them over board and made these little islands you see, the idea was to get away from the anopheles mosquito you see, that was the idea of that* (interview, Fred Pethig).

I got friendly with a young native named Deonessi. This was the local rendition of Jones. Deonessi would come butterflying with me and I would give him a tin of bully beef for his trouble. The natives called me "Damoi" which was butterfly in the Malu dialect (R.T. Shannon, in Sexton 1993, 90).

*But, it was interesting, the natives... we didn't get many hand grenades and things like that, when we did you know we'd go out on the boats with the natives and that sort of thing and you know, whether they were boys or girls or adults and that sort of thing and whether they were boys or girls or adults and that sort of thing, everything they did was so playful, and so joyous and they way they did it, and it may seem cruel, but of course war is cruel, but low and behold they would say to us, lop a grenade just in there, and of course you'd pull the pin out of the grenade and I think it was about 7 or 9 seconds and you know, you'd wait two or three seconds so that the grenade would just get into the water and in many cases stun the fish, and they were small fish you know, like shrimp, well not shrimps, but what's the NZ fish, well mainly bones, and they'd come up with these you know, handfuls of fish that had been stunned and some in their mouths two (laughs) and throw them into the boat you see into the little canoes, and then of course when we'd finish we'd go back, and then of course all the natives then would come, then whether they were the hill tribe people or whether they even the fish people down around the shores... and they'd all come and get their quota, as it were, you know, of the fish because they were limited in many ways you know, with there diet and it was interesting to see the hill people, you know, trading with the sea people or the people around the shore, because what intrigued me was the old pineapple, you know, and how it grew, you know, up from a stalk and grew*
at the top of the stalk and it was an interesting aspect as far as I was concerned (interview, Fred Pethig).

and of course we used to get these big leaves you see, I can't remember now, I guess they were banana leaves I suppose and some of these would be say, 9, 10, 12 feet long, you know, and I remember one...putting this, when we went down to Fulambu and on the way back we had a down pour and I put this... you held on to this stem or where it joins onto the plant itself and I put it upside down you see, the idea was to put it on your head like that and of course it made a bit of a guttering you see and the water flew off the back you see well behind you. This was interesting, I well recall this because when I did this and it was like a floppy hat on me and the natives, they roared (interview, Fred Pethig).

Language and communication between these peoples from different cultures is another interesting point of analysis. It was usually necessary to communicate with the islanders in war and in social contexts. The New Zealanders were intrigued by "pidgin" and enjoyed humorous stories of the Islanders languages and their efforts to accommodate new experiences within their own framework. There are also a few recollections which show when the tables were turned on the New Zealanders expectations of the Islanders' ignorance...

After we were there for a while we were assigned a different native to be our particular guide and that sort of thing, and the amusing thing was that although the guide was mainly in plotting the different tracks through the bush and that sort of thing, but they always had to say walk about 10 paces or so behind us all the time. And um but it varied in the islands or at least I found, the odd native had been out here in the Church of England missionary ships and so forth and they could speak beautiful English you know, and one of my biggest setbacks, was here was me talking pidgin English and that sort of thing and this fellow, and you know, I thought I had done a good job, and then he said, Oh you know, I know you kiwis and that sort of thing and I've been to NZ and knew all about Auckland, Wellington, Dunedin (laughs) and Christchurch, and so forth, you know, it was tremendous really. And those who had been to NZ and that there
great ambition in life was to bring up, ah. get married and have children but to make sure that those children didn't get malaria and that sort of thing and all the other disease (interview, Fred Pethig).

Some of the New Zealanders acquired a working knowledge of the language, and got to know the Fijians so well, that they were initiated into all the Fijian customs: they learnt the native superstitions and some of the Fijians' innermost secrets. The rules of native custom are almost inviolable, and sometimes it was difficult for the New Zealanders to restrain their laughter at the ceremonies. The members of Ndeumba Platoon had to stand with solemn face while the Fijians sang a hymn to celebrate the completion of a new latrine (Larsen, 1946,43).

A mistake frequently made by newcomers to the Islands is to foresee the limitations of working with natives before the complications have been explored. For instance, there is the matter of language. The newcomer will produce a wonderfully weird sentence composed of what he fondly imagines is pidgin English and a smattering of the native tongue he has picked up. The native addressed will then follow this rhetoric with interest, then quietly and confidently reply in faultless English. There is one Fijian with an Oxford degree. Of course, one might find the exception who has mastered only the one tongue. Such a case was he who, doing his first sentry go, smacked home the bolt of his rifle and bellowed in a voice that could be heard a mile or so away: "Halt or I shoot myself. Is that right?" (Contact, April 1944, 13).

Finding Islanders that spoke French was also a mind-altering aspect for racial stereotypes. French, which was considered by many New Zealanders as a sign of sophistication and high learning was being spoken by "black" people...

Now the people there [in the New Hebrides] are French mainly, in parts they speak English also. But its quite disconcerting to meet a big black fellow over there and they start conversing with you in fluent French and you don't know what they devil they are talking about (laughing). But yes they speak a pidgin English of course and you can get along that way (interview, Alan Head).

The New Zealanders language was reported to have changed dramatically also. A predominantly male environment confined by the violence and brutality of combat became reflected in the use of language. "In the literature
of the period, the world of mates has its own language. Men are given nicknames, local Arabic or Italian slang words are picked up, and swearing is openly recognised as a source of pride" wrote Jock Phillips of the European Theater, (Phillips 1987, 208) but this can also apply to the Pacific with pidgin and American words being adopted.

Solomon islands pidgin was picked up and enjoyed by many of the New Zealanders, who were proud with their attempts at proficiency. Others found it impossible. Larsen uses it in his book for the effect of racist humor, he shows how the war and the equipment of Westernization were being incorporated into Solomon Island languages.

The Solomon Islanders are likely to express themselves in some weird combinations of words, and the following have been heard. A picture of an elephant described as, "Big fella bullamakau, 'im got tail along front and tail along ass b'long 'im." A cross-cut saw: "Take 'im 'e come pus' 'im e go all the same big brother ackis (axe)." They used to call an aeroplane "Schooner belong Jesus Christ," but they have since learnt that a p39 is a "Lightning," and if they saw a "Flying Fortress" they could probably tell you it was a B17 (Larsen 1946, 96).

Other texts use language to show a twist in expectations

[In the Treasuries:] Natives began to trickle in for gifts of cigarettes. Some spoke good English, but we had difficulty in following a narrative in pidgin English.

"Mitch," a nurseryman in private life, seemed to get on well with the natives.

"Theres nothing to it," Mitch would say. "Call a spade a spade and the natives will never understand."

He pointed to a cross-cut saw leaning against a tree. "See that saw? In pidgin you would say, 'One fella him belonga me. One fella him push he go. Him pull he come. All the time sing."

One day several natives came along to pass the time of day- and take home a few gifts. Jack Heather pointed to an aeroplane passing overhead and said to one of the natives; "One fella him belonga one time boss man belonga me. Him flyship. All the time one damn big noise."

"Oh, yes," replied the native with a wide grin. "Him aeroplane." (Cooze, 1944, 43).
Crude swear words, nick-names, code names, and military jargon were incorporated into everyday speech at all levels of command. Perhaps it was to add "emotional colour" to life, or create humor, as Stanhope Andrews suggested, (*ANDREWS*, Papers).

A new and quieter standard of verbal expression and physical gesture was established, all the more effective because of the understatement. The usual sanguinary and copulatory adjectives acquired a new edge and meaning because of this (*Andrews*, 1944, 13).

Islanders were coming to terms with Western ways and words as well. The New Zealanders seemed to enjoy the effect they were having in educating the Islanders. Many of the stories were enjoyed because of the development of their own form of Island humor.

Coast watching reports forwarded by untrained but enthusiastic Fijians led to many sleepless nights and wild goose chases. Fantastic stories of submarines off the coast, aeroplanes, heavy gunfire at sea, suspicious lights and smoke came frequently to headquarters and were immediately investigated. Nothing was passed over as to absurd; there was always the lurking suspicion that someday one such report might be true. For the most part the submarines proved to be floating coconut palms or other logs, including one which was reported to have taken on fresh water and vegetables in a distant and unfrequented bay. Most of the suspicious lights came from fishermen on the reefs using flares as they have done for centuries for night fishing with spears. One aeroplane, complete with navigation lights, was a balloon released by the meteorological staff. Gun-fire was distant thunder, and in one instance a whale stranded on the reef of an outlying island, though it may be said that electrical storms in the Pacific do produce a realistic imitation of heavy guns in action. Enthusiasm, plus imagination... (*New Zealand Army Board*, 1945, 13).

On 19 March 1942 native coast watchers on Kandavu, an island on the outer rim of the Fiji group, reported that a large bird had settled on the water and entered a ship, which immediately sank. It was an aircraft from submarine 1-25 (*Gillespie* 1952, 49).

For manifold reasons the medical and dental facilities available to civilians in New Caledonia were limited, and the local inhabitants throughout the island availed themselves of a service offered by allied military hospitals. At Boguen there was a constant stream of French, Javanese, Tonkinese, Arabs and Kanakas-all seeking medical advice or treatment for their many ailments. Language
difficulties caused some confusion, but the pooling of the combined linguistical
talent of the staff and the frequent use of sign language usually overcame the
difficulty. An incident in these dealings with New Caledonians is here
reproduced from our first unit magazine, 4th Generalities: "Orderly, next patient
please." This request produces a dark poorly shaven man with a rather vacant
look. Answering the question, "Ou avez vous mal?" he opens his mouth and
points with his finger. The opened mouth displays an array of tobacco-stained,
crag-like teeth, and without more ado he is led to the nearby dental officer. After
some time has elapsed a scared face with a blood stained mouth reappears in
the doorway and says in broken English, "The teeth, they are out, but the throat
he is sore still." (Gillespie 1945b, 50).

A more revealing example of how language and literacy was affecting the
islands was told in one historical text. It is remarkable for it shows the lack of
understanding New Zealanders' had of what is important to the Islanders
and their levels of literacy.

The natives [Labor Corps workers in the Russells] had a sudden urge to send
letters to the folk they had left behind on their home islands. These letters, of
course, had to go by boat; nevertheless they insisted on buying and sending them
in 6-cent air mail envelopes bought at the canteen. It was explained that this was
unnecessary, but they insisted on buying these envelopes and would buy no
other.

The island command was at first horrified at the idea of the natives
wishing to send letters away to islands throughout the Solomons, for quite
possibly they might contain information the Japanese would give much to get
hold of. Democracy has its obligations, however. So it was decided that the
letters must go after being censored. This was done by a trustworthy native who
knew the island languages. As it happened, little was found that really needed
censoring (Priday, 1945,138).

Inter-cultural encounters were a two way experience. The New Zealanders
were coming to terms with new ways of viewing and accepting the
indigenous Islanders, at the same time as the Islanders were learning ways of
accommodating and learning from the New Zealander and Allies. For the
New Zealand soldiers and airmen the Islanders were full of surprises. As
soldiers, guides, coastwatchers, and hosts the Islanders were showing the New
Zealanders their equality and friendship. It became clear to many New
Zealanders that Islanders are quite capable, and are worthy of training and education. Even Larsen became reflective and melancholy (if not hypocritical) at one point in his book and the following cartoon also shows that some parts of Islander lifestyle were desired and envied.

Life is not a struggle in this land of plenty, providing one is content with the simple existence, and the Fijians' easygoing social system has many features that the so-called civilised world has lost. After observing the Fijians, the New Zealanders realised just how much freedom civilisation had sacrificed to gain the amenities of a modern home. But they also realised that their minds had become too active ever to return to the simple life of their forefathers and still be contented. In comparing systems some thought it a pity that life could not be organised so that electricity, running water, transportation, and the like, could be enjoyed without people having to become automatons and slaves to the clock (Larsen 1946, 45).

Figure 17. "Who's Got the Right Ideal" (Tabuteau, 1945).

Involvement with Islanders through sport, war, entertainment, hospitality and social relations increased the Islanders' status, as they became respected for their cultures and their generosity. Despite the dismissal of Islanders from official sources it is apparent that some New Zealanders had a lot of contact and were interested and accepting as they became more acculturated.
Chapter Six

Impact...Reflection... Memories...

Impact:
The Pacific war ended on August 15, 1945, what is now known as VJ Day. Celebration occurred throughout the Pacific. Few histories of the Pacific war bother to detail the manner of the ending of the Pacific war. It is almost a footnote. Barber offers the most telling explanation for this:

At home in New Zealand few wept for the dead of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hatred of Japan was strong and too well polished by successful propaganda. Only a few wondered at the time whether it was moral to employ a weapon of mass destruction against a civilian target in the hope of hastening a war's end."

(Barber 1989, 240).

The lessening conflict had been occurring throughout Melanesia since 1944, and New Zealand's army strength in the region was reduced in March 1944 and soon after the Third Division, 2NZEFIP was disbanded. Members of the RNZAF were still present, on VJ Day New Zealand still had seven fighter and two bomber reconnaissance squadrons in the region (Barber 1989, 261).

Several of the veterans interviewed commented on their memory of that day.

"well we were quite pleased really, we couldn't get over it, just one bomb, and ah we didn't know what they were talking about, the atom bomb, we hadn't heard anything about it or anything, just that the war was over. As it was I say I was in the first couple of hundred to come home, the ones that were left behind [in New Britain] the natives used to come to the camp at night and steal things, so they armed every, all the MO over there with pistols and rifles an they were to fire into the ground if they come through...[?], but I didn't fancy that, so I was glad I was out of it (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

---

31 At the Prime Ministers request, hotels in New Zealand are not to open until 1:30pm, in an effort to reduce drunkenness (Barber 1989, 261).
On VJ Day, we all went up to one of the islands up here, Ellis islands to thank a chief that had given us a lot of information..., and this the chief there it was in a mountain crater up from the beach and he'd got his, his natives had seen a lot of planes come down, and they'd go and get them and they did a lot of works... and our commander decided to go up and pay him a visit and take a lot of goodies up there for him, a thank you, so they came down in the crater and it was too short and that's the chief's hut there all smashed up (laughs) they'd rammed into it... so I don't know what happened to it in the end (interview, Eric Heath).

New Zealanders didn't seem to feel too much need for reflection on the ending of the war. Perhaps that is another sign of the lack of profile of this war, or maybe it was due to relief and exhaustion. Many of the texts, instead enjoyed reflecting on their own and the war's impact on the Islanders. There was revived interest in the ironies and incongruities of war in the Pacific, and the results of change brought to the Islands. Although this was seen in material not emotional, psychological and definitely not in political terms. Some authors were melancholy, others excited...

Time will cover the scars on the earth's surface, but nothing can ever bring back the simple sanity of island peoples thrown violently into contact with western civilisation in its most terrible aspect, fighting for its life. We were saddened by the evidence of these violent changes, and heartened at the same time by the how of apparently inexhaustible allied power (Andrews, 1944, 7).

I spent a lot of time in Fiji, for training and as an instructor. So there you dealt with a lot of Fijians, we had them working for us in places, ....a most lovable people. I think perhaps the war had quite an affect on them (interview, George Gudsell).

This narrative would not be complete without some mention of our colourful Fijian friends. Many friendships sprang up between New Zealanders and those happy and hospitable islanders. In looking back one remembers their child-like delight in everyday scenes of military life, their delight in riding in the back of a truck and their endless chants would herald their coming and going...One recalls their eagerness to acquire odds and ends of our possessions, their gifts of fruit.
and the hospitality of their villages...Perhaps most of all, one remembers their sense of humour and love of a good laugh (Gillespie 1947c, 25).

An unfortunate part of this reflection is the way in which Islanders are placed again into the role of passive natives. So quickly they are reduced to old stereotypes, as the colonial governments attempt to re-establish the old order. This following article is almost more racist than pre-war literature in attitude, an amazing example of "blaming the victim,"

What has war done to native peoples in the South Pacific who have been touched by its sudden impact, who have rubbed astonished eyes on morning to see in a palm girt tropical bay such a great armada as has not been the fortune of many Europeans to witness? At the worst the effect has been to make the native a little lazy, also to develop his inherited instinct as a trader; to be the man selling at a big profit...Servicemen with cameras used to tip the natives who posed for snapshots. A missionary told me that now the natives want a dollar each to pose, and if it is not forthcoming they run away quickly lest the white man press the button during the bargaining and get his desire for nothing...But as the war gets ever closer to Japan these good times begin to disappear, and it will not be long before the native, with his free "cast-offs" representing apparel from all the services, will be back where he started and once again work for a few dollars a month and keep. Not that natives are generally wasteful. A gang which has just finished working on a service vegetable-growing project for three dollars a month (five for the head boy), plus 80 cigarettes, food and accommodation, pooled the entire earnings and brought a launch from a local European resident." ("Natives Take Turns as Traders", 19 April, 1945, 7g).

The Islanders are once again being described as "simple," "lazy," and "greedy." The impact of the war was not seen as positive to this author who is awaiting the return to colonial plantation lifestyle and segregated order.

Some of the Islanders managed to retain the New Zealand public's interest longer. The homecoming of Fijian troops was reported by New Zealand film crew. They enjoyed showing the celebration and happiness of the Fijian people, showing scenes from around the harbor, streets and in the villages.
In the market, returned men are pleased to see taro again, which is their favorite vegetable, after months on canned rations. But town is a place for Europeans and Indians, the real life of Fiji is in the villages. For some of the men there is another journey ahead and they embark on a small ship for a hundred mile journey to their home islands of Lau, away to the east of Suva (*Homecoming, 1944*).

In hundreds of peaceful villages the women are dancing to welcome home the greatest jungle fighters in the Pacific (*Homecoming, 1944*).

The Solomon Islanders were also shown to be delighted to be back in their own villages, although this commentary conveniently avoids any real understanding of the Islanders' feelings, and the destruction that would have occurred in many of the villages. This film's purpose is ultimately to promote a sense of pride in the New Zealanders' work in clearing out the Japanese.

This peaceful Solomon scene is on Florida Island. Here native life is coming back to normal, and such signs of war that there are cause no worry [*film shows a canoe going into the sea, kid playing on swing.*] With just a little added excitement to life now for the people of Florida. And they've all returned to their villages from the interior [*Two kids saluting, Picture of them being driven on the front of jeeps*] (*Army and Airforce, 1944*).

Whilst prejudice was being placed back on the Islanders, prejudice of a different sort was also directed towards soldiers returning from the Pacific. Now that both the wars were over, greater information was being spread about the experiences of both theaters. Unfortunately the Pacific was swamped under the perceived superiority of the European theater. Laurie Sutton remembered how he was treated upon arrival back in New Zealand.

*it was all an experience.... we never got our just desserts you know, I don't know whether you realise that they sent us away with different New Zealand tabs than the division going to the Middle East, they were black and white and we were khaki with a thing on, and I had friends come back and say, 'oh you didn't go overseas' (interview, Laurie Sutton).*
For soldiers returning from both theaters of war there were problems and difficulties dealing with memories of combat and their experiences in the military. Mc Leod, discusses that many men had "repressed memories that were too revolting to relive" and "others, who wanted to share their experiences, did not have the opportunity." For as quickly as they were put into the war they were taken away from it, and expected to "pick up the pieces of a domestic life back home. Their wartime thoughts, habits and memories had no place in postwar society" (Mc Leod, 1986, 10-11).

The bonding of friendship made during the war also became important in the veterans' lives. When others couldn't understand them they would turn to their mates, at the local Returned Services Association, where they could attempt to come to terms with parts of their experiences. Some of these cartoons play on these mixed emotions many veterans feel towards their war years.

Figure 17. "Remember Back Home?..." (Gillespie, 1948a, 140)
Despite the physical and emotional damage caused by war, and the swing towards pacifism that has followed most wars, McLeod writes that this did little to dispel New Zealanders' desire to soldier in the 1950s,
The mundaneness of normal civilian life made many ex-soldiers yearn for the war years. Their distortions so enthused those who had narrowly missed service in World War II that in 1950, in little more than a week, 5,982 "adventurers" put their names forward for service in Korea (McLeod 1986, 12).

The trend towards the romanticism of European wars has never happened in the Pacific. Those who were there were only too keen to leave. The scene in the following cartoon appears to be far from the truth.

Figure 20. "Hurry Up You Chaps, You've Been in the Islands Long Enough," (Tabuteau, 1945)
Few memoirs have been published about Kiwi Pacific veterans and there are few "popular accounts" of the war compared to such American literature. The Pacific, and these men's war experiences has taught them many things about themselves and their relationships to others. For most of the veterans I interviewed the war formulated many of their values of life, race, peace, and nationalism. Although the previous cartoon suggests a certain "indigenizing" of the soldiers it was not necessarily correct to portray them as Pacific Islanders, but certainly would have been more accurate to depict them as newly nation-conscious New Zealanders.

Americans and Japanese in the '90s:
Several of the veterans I interviewed are still very much aware of the way war is perceived today. They too share the more pacifist sentiments popular at present, but they also defend their experiences and believe they had little choice to have done what they did. Several of them are angry at the support and sympathy Japan now gets, especially when compared to the way Americans are treated politically by New Zealand politicians. Resentment and bitterness still surface.

_I get so angry, I get so angry about these school teachers and that who, you know that, ah, squeal about Hiroshima and that other place, and they don't realise that that Atom bomb saved thousands and thousands of Japanese lives as well as Allied lives, it shortened the war. There's thousands of Japs that wouldn't have been alive today if it you know, if it hadn't have been for that dropping that Atom bomb. But a lot of them just don't realise, they can't accept it_ (interview, Laurie Sutton).

_Its been politically popular over a certain period in New Zealand to denigrate the Americans which makes me very angry, particularly amongst some of our politicians_ (interview, Sid Moses).
Many of the Pacific war veterans still felt under appreciated, Laurie Sutton recalls an example of his feelings when at morning tea at his old workplace two girls were talking sympathetically about World War II, and the violent way it ended. Laurie Sutton said that he then turned to them and said "If we hadn't kicked them out you'd probably be going around with slant eyes" (interview, Laurie Sutton). When asked what he thought of the ending of the war, George Gudsell replied that, "Well I personally think that the Japanese won..." because of the larger support the New Zealand public gives towards non-nuclear events than it does to those commemorating World War II, (interview, George Gudsell). Nearly all of the veterans support the American Armed forces and are still very grateful for their support in World War II. Most of them are also pro-nuclear development, "no, it was a bad day when they stopped them coming here in those ships," said Lionel Donnelly (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

Return Trips to the Pacific:
Lionel Donnelly has never returned to the Pacific, but held interest and a somewhat ignorant delight at what he believes the region is like today,

Well I've never been back there, but what I've seen on TV, oh the New Hebrides, there's a township there and everything, you know, I wouldn't mind going back there just to see it (interview, Lionel Donnelly).

Four of the veterans I interviewed have been back to the islands, and their memories were interesting contributions to their attitudes earlier. Sid Moses told me of how when he first returned to New Zealand from the Pacific war that he said to his wife "look if I ever suggest going on a Pacific Island Cruise you can take me along and have me certified" (interview, Sid Moses).
However, fifty years later both he and his wife did go on a cruise. When asked about his trip, his insights into Solomon Island society were telling of change, but also how the islands are still remembered in a military manner.

Well, yes there were certainly big changes on Guadalcanal, because they’ve developed what was Henderson Field, which was the fighting air base into an operational international airport now, and they moved the capital of the Solomon Islands from Florida Island, which was just across the water, you could stand on the beach and see it quite plainly from Guadalcanal, they moved the capital from there to what has now become quite a little township, there’s nothing much you can compare it with here, except its a bit primitive really, but it called Honiara and that is the capital and they’ve got their own government and all that sort of stuff which was far from the situation when we were there, but I would never want to go into conditions like that again if I had any choice, you know you didn’t have any choice, you were shipped there and you were part of the unit and that was it (interview, Sid Moses).

Eric Heath found his return trip most interesting and intriguing. He mentioned the large amounts of materials and machinery from the war that still litter the islands. At one such "dump" he recalled that he found an old generator, and could still remember how to start it. On one island, he remembers the Solomon Islanders being very excited as he landed at an old Kiwi camp on Anuha Island, "and when we got there the natives were quite impressed because through a translator I was able to tell that we were here once" (interview, Eric Heath). But he concluded that it also "was sad going back to all this" (interview, Eric Heath).

50th Commemoration of the Guadalcanal Campaign:
In 1992 as others around the globe were commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Guadalcanal campaign, an RNZAF Boeing took 45 Kiwi
veterans and government officials to Honiara for the two-day international commemoration (The Evening Post, 3 August 1992). George Gudsell was one of the 45 veterans. When asked to describe his impressions of the Pacific today, he also recalled a recent trip to New Guinea and compared it to his trip to the Solomons for the 50th Anniversary. He had been to New Guinea a few times during the war but "didn't really see anything", but in this later trip he was aware that the people "were very bitter about the war." His wife who had joined the conversation, added that it was against the Australians, and George Gudsell continued with his impressions of why the New Guinean People were so angry...

It was against everybody, when the Australians were here we had to work for the Australians, when the Japanese were here we worked for them, when the Americas were here we worked for them, when the Americans were here we worked for them, and what did we get, a medal, no money. They were very bitter about the amount the Australian soldiers got, pensions, they got nothing, this fellow who had lost his leg, he’s sitting in the street begging, literally, and he’s got his row of medals up, and he says well, you can’t eat medals (interview, George Gudsell).

The Solomon Islands proved to be different,

Didn’t find the same attitude, least I didn’t sense it. I think that perhaps they were better treated, and they were all wearing their medals...and they were actually very proud, quite different (interview, George Gudsell).

There is pain and regret in many of the memories. At times when the interviews would enter silences it was obvious that there was a lot of healing still to be done. A World War is not a simplistic event. There is a continuing need for further analysis to prevent history repeating itself in the future as well as coming to terms with what has happened in the past.
Conclusion

The New Zealanders who went to the Pacific during World War II, experienced combat and war in a theater which received little credible attention in New Zealand. The war in this theater was not perceived as particularly glamorous or heroic. Battling the physical environment of mud, mould, mountains and malaria as well as psychological battles of fear, anticipation, boredom and death did not make for the sort of experiences young men wanted to have or discuss. Part of the silence from the Pacific theater is due to its own soldiers' reticence.

The experiences of racial interaction which could have been a highlight in the war were never given a chance to be of collective prestige or value in such a racist society. Currently with New Zealand's increased connection to the Pacific more interest in being expressed into the experiences of those in the Pacific war. The vocalization of Islanders' own memories of wartime have sparked works such as this.

Following New Zealand myth and tradition the prominence of a deceptive interpretation of events in the Pacific war has been an incredible hindrance to the New Zealand public as well as Pacific veterans in telling "other histories." Throughout the interviews the veterans often used terms such as "you realise" or "you don't realise," which although they are common patterns of speech when giving information, also show the amount if misinformation
that was prevalent after the war, and of the veterans' desire to give version or story and right wrongs.

Through these stories and through a re-examination of the official sources a new interpretation of the Pacific war is possible. It is by design not definitive, instead it reflects on the diversity of human relations. From these war experiences it has been shown that as the soldiers and airmen learnt to communicate with Islanders, that this led to an increased understanding of the Islanders as people with cultures that were not primitive or savage. The New Zealanders greatly appreciated the help and guidance of the Pacific Islanders directly involved in the war and genuine good regard was often expressed throughout the interviews and text. The veterans' racial attitudes, at first conditioned by colonial propaganda, became replaced with wartime propaganda and finally were eclipsed by their own impressions and discoveries of Islanders as people and allies.

Official war literature and its narrow minded counterparts have omitted many important angles of analysis, perhaps they thought more literature and study would come later, but it hasn't. New Zealand's involvement in World War II came at a critical time as the Pakeha population of this Dominion was gaining a sense of nationalism. It was a time of great achievement and great loss. Reminding these veterans of the past was a difficult experience, many had obviously conditioned themselves to forget. When asked how he feels about the war today, Alan Head poignantly replied of the futility of it all.
How does it feel today? well its fifty years and of course its just forgotten, I suppose I could have commented further on that at the time, but there's been.... real need for it now, but infact its been very difficult to, except for in the logbook, of course which is way upstairs, to be able to pull it out and sort of relive the thing. But I think myself that it was a damn waste of time and life and everything like that. It was .... a thing nobody wants to occur again, and whether it's possibly... the thing keeping us out of the atomic threat. There is always going to be small wars I suppose, even now with the things, people fight each other in the name of religion or some other cause, and there's not much we can do about it (interview, Alan Head).
Appendix A
Photographs and Illustrations of the Pacific War

Figure 21. "NZ Governor General Sir Cyril Newall receives a gift of fruit from the natives of Mono Island during his tour of the New Zealand areas in the Solomons."
20424 1/4, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 22. A Fijian Unit, (Filer, 1989, 85)

Figure 23. "New Zealanders use a native canoe to cross a bay in Vella Lavella"  
(Filer 1989, 81)
Figure 24. "Captured Japanese Motorcycle, Bougainville"
WH 666, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Figure 25. Major WW Hallwright treating natives on Pinipel
41592 1/2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 26. "Training in New Caledonia was hard. Here are the mortars climbing Mount Tonta during an exhausting exercise. Far below can be seen the Tontoula River winding among the Niaoulis, 1943."
20421 1/4Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 27. "A painting by the official war artist, Russell Clark, of New Zealand soldiers watching a movie in the rain on Mono Island after the Japanese had been defeated." (Filer 1989, 87).

Figure 28. "Native Guides", by Russell Clark DA 4037, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 29. "Behind Jap Lines, New Zealand and Fijian Commando Patrol, Munda, New Georgia." DA 4016, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Figure 30. "Native Chief. Natives ranging in age from this old chief to a youngster of fourteen years (who had three Japs to his credit) made excellent and enthusiastic guides." DA 3954, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 31. “A Native guide with a captured Jap rifle, NZEFIP, Vella Lavella Campaign”
WH 248, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 32. "Sick and wounded New Zealanders at the 4th Generalities Hospital. Two Fijian Guerrillas, Edward Naucukidi and Iliatia Nabewa."
WH 390, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 33. "This Fijian is making sure of his target"
WH 658, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 34. "A wounded Fijian is carried out through the Jungle for medical attention"
WH 659, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 35. "Capt. O.A. Gillespie, M.B.E., M.M. (Div. Historian)"
by A.B. BarnesGraham
NCWA 148, National Archives, Wellington.
Figure 36. "Fijian Patrol, Bougainville"
WH 664, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Figure 37. "A group of Fijian soldiers with their New Zealand commanders and local guides on the island of New Georgia in July 1943." (Filer 1989, 89)
Figure 39. Solomon Islands, 41643 1/2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
Figure 40. "Capt. LW Suckling NZMC (ChCh) beside his bure with Pte C. Molesworth..."
WH 49 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Figure 41. New Zealanders and Fijians socializing in Fiji.
(Filer, 1989)
Appendix B
The Informants

An introduction to the voices quoted in the text. All seven were interviewed during August 1994.

- Mr Frederick Pethig, enlisted in the Royal New Zealand Air Force in May 1942. Prior to that point he had been fascinated by the European theater, and like many others in New Zealand was keenly tuned to the radio broadcasts. Before his service in the Air Force he was employed by the New Zealand Post Office, as a clerk, in Ashburton. Born on July 2, 1912, Mr Fred Pethig was 82 years old when interviewed.

Upon return from the Pacific he worked briefly at the Flying School in the HQ orderly room then once "demobbed" continued to work at the Post Office until retirement in 1959. He served only in the Pacific theater, although he was due to be sent to Africa in late 1944, but was instead put into convalescence for malaria. Whilst in the Air Force, Fred Pethig was a Radar Operator in the Solomon Islands, primarily in the mountains above Cape Astrolabe, Malaita. He also spent time in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia. His final rank was AC1 (Aircraft Hand 1).

- Mr Alan Head was born 23 May 1917, in Kaitaia, the Far North, a predominantly Maori area, "a lot of Maoris in our earlier years in the schools, as a matter of fact we spoke the language then." (interview, Alan
Head). At age 20, he moved south to Wellington, to look for work during the depression.

I'd always been interested in aviation, and it goes back a long way to the time when Kingsford-Smith landed at the Ninety Mile Beach prior to the take off for Australia, and we all went out of course, (chuckles), quite an occasion and being a young chap then I was quite interested in the plane itself... later of course when I came south I had applied for the Air Force nothing transpired until of course the war broke out and then my application was processed.

Mr Head started in the Air Force in 1940, and went to camp in 1941. He did his training in Montreal, Canada, and was set to be posted to England, when the Japanese entered the war and was instead posted to the South Pacific on a ferry flight of B25 Bombers, from San Francisco to Australia.

After that I went to...came out to New Zealand with a lot of people who were being evacuated from Singapore.

From the RNZAF base at Whenuapai, Alan Head went up to New Caledonia, and was in the New Hebrides pending the attack on Guadalcanal, which he participated in. After this he was sent back to New Zealand, and then sent on again to Laucala Bay, Fiji, in October 1943. There he flew Catalina Flying Boats, around Fiji. Next came another time in the New Hebrides, and then on to Florida Island and Stewart Island. He also spent time in Nauru, Norfolk Island, and Hawaii. He often flew with Americans, and had several trips to the United States. He was discharged in either October or November 1945.

- Wing Commander George Gudsell, was born in 1918, in Ashburton. In 1939 he had completed his first year as a school teacher. He could remember the special edition of the newspaper declaring New Zealand at
war in Europe, although at that point he "never thought of a war in the Pacific..." He didn't enlist until May 1940, for he, like many others did not take the war seriously, "the phony war" it was called because of this. He enlisted in the Air Force, the choice for him was simple.

What was there to do but be a pilot...as a kid I'd always built model airplanes.

There were few aircraft and so the training included mainly ground study. As a junior officer he was sent to Singapore, just as the Japanese were building up. He remembers when the Japanese were spotted flying across the South China Sea that "nobody seemed terribly fussed about it." He recalled the dismal state of defence from Singapore, the old unsuitable aircraft, Brewster Buffaloes, and he spoke of how one morning he was awakened to be told that the Japanese had landed, and that they sat around talking. Even when the bombers started bombing, they had no where to go. "No one had bothered to dig trenches or air raid shelters."

He then went to Australia and did some flying and coast watching there, then was sent back to New Zealand. He joined the first squadron that went up to Guadalcanal, and operated with the Americans, "and that was a different kettle of fish, we were able to hand it back then."

He spent the remainder of the war flying in the Pacific, mainly in the Solomons, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Fiji (where he was a flying instructor and Tonga. In 1992 he returned to the Solomon Islands to take part in the 50th Anniversary of the campaign of Guadalcanal.
• Mr Lionel Arthur Donnelly found his discharge papers, and had served in the islands for 147 days starting from June 22, 1943. Born in Wellington, he couldn't wait to sign up for the military and leave Wellington Technical College. He had already joined the Army Territorials.

  I was in the artillery as a dispatch driver and then they had a big questionnaire came out and everyone had to fill it in, and one line was 'would you join the Air Force?';... so we all put down 'yes' and then the next thing a week later we were all in the Air Force. Oh it was a real con.

As a gunner in the Air Force, Lionel Donnelly experienced life in the New Hebrides, throughout the Solomon Island chain, Green Island and New Britain

• In 1943 Mr Laurie O. W. Sutton entered the Pacific, with the Army, firstly in New Caledonia, then Guadalcanal, and up through to the Treasuries. In 1944 he was discharged and sent back to New Zealand to be a farmer, an essential industry. He believed that "you've got to make your own fun up there", and formed a concert party within his unit with "another chap, Sergeant Troppo and Gunner Nuts," (himself), there main acts were taking the mickey out of the officers.

  Born in Wellington, 13 March 1922, he went into drapery with the department store James Smiths until he joined the Army. When he
returned he worked at a men's clothing company, Hugh Wrights for a few years, then "had twenty odd years" selling insurance for Government Life. Laurie Sutton enlisted in New Zealand Scottish Regiment when he was 18, however the regiment was split because some like him weren't 21 yet, and so he ended up in the 49 Battery. When he came back from the Pacific, he was keen to go to Middle East, but, unfortunately, (or fortunately) he got malaria.

- Mr Sid Moses was born and brought up in Auckland. He had joined the Territorials "as every New Zealand youth between 18-21 was required to have military training." He moved to Wellington and joined the Wellington Regiment, and was set to join a reconnaissance battalion in the Middle East. During retraining for that service the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor, so he was instead shipped to Fiji with the 2NZEFIP, (later to become the Third Division). After six months in Fiji, he returned to New Zealand for further training and then went on to New Caledonia and fought up through the Solomon Islands to Green Island. Sid Moses was back in New Zealand when the end of the war was declared.

- Mr Eric Heath had just recently retired from his position as a cartoonist at The Dominion, when I interviewed him. He had just made his own interview for the cartoonist archives held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, so many of his memories were fresh.

He was born in Wellington, November 28, 1923, and went to many different schools as his parents shifted around for cheaper rent during the
depression. After he finished school he worked as a filing clerk for The Evening Post. He volunteered for military service in 1942, and wanted to join the Navy, but his mother wanted him to join the Air Force, even though he was underage. There was snob value attached to the Air Force, we remembered. He flunked the navigator course, and trained as a gunner, then an Aircraft hand. He was sent to Norfolk Island for about 18 months. A Commanding Officer discovered Eric Heath had artistic skills, and he was made a signwriter and wrote things like "no trucks crossing at certain times." He was then brought back to New Zealand as an AC1, but wanted to go away again. Next he went up to Guadalcanal in 1943 via the New Hebrides. He was assigned to the No. 6 Flying Boat Squadron which involved air/sea rescue of Allied and Japanese planes and shipwrecks. Eric Heath serviced many of the Catalina planes involved.

During the Post-war years, Eric Heath returned to New Zealand and worked for The Evening Post, again. He also did a rehabilitation course with an old art teacher and then went into book illustrations with Reeds, and now some 70 books later is still continuing.
Appendix C

Maps of the Pacific Theater

Figure 42. "Map of the Pacific Theater" (Gillespie 1952, endpaper).
Bibliography

Periodicals:

Camp News: Army, Navy and Air Force Weekly,
  June 1942- December 1943, Wellington: Centennial Command,

Contact: National Magazine of the Royal New Zealand Air Force,
  1941-1945. [Monthly], Wellington.

Duncan, David D.,
  1945 "Fiji Patrol on Bougainville," The National Geographic

Foley, Roger,
  1990 September 22, "For those who fell at Guadalcanal and the
  Solomons," The Evening Post, p. 29

"Getting on Well Together: New Zealanders and Americans"
  1945, May 2, The Dominion, p 6g.

Jackson, Richard,
  1992, April 22, "When Clouds of War Dimmed Our Horizons", The
  Evening Post, p. 7

  1993, April 23, "Turning to Offensive- The Coral Sea Battle," The
  Evening Post, p. 5.

Kiwi News: Newspaper of the NZEFIP,
  1943-1945. [Weekly].

Korero: AEWS Background Bulletin,
  1943, New Zealand Army Education Welfare Service.

Laracy, Hugh and Geoffrey M. White, (Eds.)
  1988 O'O: A Journal of Solomon Islands Studies, No. 4 (Special Issue,
    "Taem Blong Faet: World War II in Melanesia").

"Life in the Pacific: New Zealanders Fight off Boredom,"
  1945, April 27, The Dominion, p 6d.
de Maunay, E.,

"Medical Treatment: Pacific Natives' Need",

"Much Decorated Native: Exploits in Pacific, Solomon Islander's George Cross",
1945, May 11, The Dominion, p 5c.

"Natives Take Turn As Traders: Impact of War In South Pacific,"
1945,  April 19, The Dominion, 7g.

NZEF Times,
1943-1945

Open Door: Missionary Organ
1944-1945, Wellington.

"Pidgin Prayer"
1945,  June 16, The Dominion, p 7d.

Sharrad, Paul,
1990  "Imagining the Pacific", Meajin, Vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 597-606.

Stewart, Stephen
1992, August 3, "Veterans Mark Guadalcanal Campaign," The Evening Post,

"The Savage Solomons: An All-Black Who Became a Cannibal King -And Other Wonders"
1942, September 4, New Zealand Listener.

The Weekly News ,
1943-1945, Auckland,

Weeks, Charles, J. Jr.,
Books and Unpublished Theses:

Andrews, Ernest Stanhope,

Army Board,
1945 Guadalcanal to Nissan: With the Third Division Through the Solomons, Wellington: Government Printer.

Barber, Laurie,

Belich, James,

Bennett, Judith A.,

Bentley, Geoffrey,
1969 RNZAF: A Short History, Wellington, AH and AW Reed.

Bentley, Geoffrey and Maurice Conly,

Beros, Bert,
19-? The Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels and other verses, Sydney: Waite and Bull.

Brooking, Tom,

Clark, Barbara G.,

Clark, Brian (Ed),
Cleveland, Les,


[Cooper, Harold]

Cooze, Frank,
1944 Kiwis in the Pacific, Wellington: AH and AW Reed.

Cox, Bryan,
1987 Too Young to Die: The Story of a New Zealand Fighter Pilot in the Pacific War, Auckland: Century Hutchinson.

Crawford, John,

Dower, John,

Edridge, Sally

Filer, David,

Fortune, C.H., (compiler)
1944 The War in Retrospect: A Day to Day Record of World War II. from Hitler's Attack on Poland to the Allied Invasion of Europe, Dunedin: Evening Star Company.

4th Generalities: Unit Magazine of the 4 NZ General Hospital,
1943 Wellington: Blundell Bros. Ltd.
4th Generalities: *Souvenir of the 4th NZ General Hospital, New Caledonia, 1944* Wellington: Ferguson and Osborn Ltd.

Fyfe, Judith and Hugo Manson,

Gillespie, Oliver A., (Ed)

1945b *Shovel and Sword and Scalpel: A Record of the Service of the Medical Units of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force in the Pacific*, 3rd Division Historical Committee. Wellington: AH & AW Reed


1947a *Headquarters and Communications: A Brief Outline of the Activities of the 3rd Division and the 8th and 14th Brigades During Their Service in the Pacific*, 3rd Division Historical Committee. Wellington, AH & AW Reed.

1947b *Pacific Kiwis: Being the Story of the Service in the Pacific of the 30th Battalion, Third Division, 2NZEF*, 3rd Division Historical Committee. Wellington: AH & AW Reed.


1947d *Stepping Stones to the Solomons: The Unofficial History of the 29th Battalion with the 2NZEFIP*, 3rd Division Historical Committee. Wellington: AH & AW Reed.

1947e *Story of the 34th: The Unofficial History of the NZ Infantry Battalion with the 3rd Division in the Pacific*, 3rd Division Historical Committee. Wellington: AH & AW Reed.
1947f The Tanks: An Unofficial History of the Activities of the Third New Zealand Division Tank Squadron in the Pacific. 3rd Division Historical Committee. Wellington: AH & AW Reed.

1947g The 35th Battalion: A Record of Service of the 35th Battalion with the Third Division in the Pacific. 3rd Division Historical Committee. Wellington: AH & AW Reed.


1948c The 36th Battalion: A Record of Service of the 36th Battalion with the Third Division in the Pacific. 3rd Division Historical Committee. Wellington: AH & AW Reed.


Gordon, Bernard K.,

Government Printer,

1946 War Record, Wellington: Information Section of Department of the Prime Minister.

Guadalcanal, 1942-1992: Official Souvenir Publication,
1992 Chatswood, N.S.W.: Mace Marketing Pty. Ltd.

Guadalcanal: Fifty Years On,
1992 Solomon Islands Artists Cooperative,
Hall, D.O.W.,
1949 Prisoners of Japan, New Zealand in the Second World War, Official History. Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs.

1951 Coastwatchers, New Zealand in the Second War, Official History. Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs.

Hancock, Kenneth R.,
1946 New Zealand at War, Wellington: AH & AW Reed.

Henderson, Jim.,

Hoffman, Alice M. and Howard S. Hoffman,
1990 Archives of Memory: A Soldier Recalls World War II, University of Kentucky Press.

Horn, Alex,

Hornabrook, Judith S.,

Howard, Grant,
1981 The Navy In New Zealand: An Illustrated History, Sydney: Reed.

Howlett, Robert A.,

Howlett, Robert A., and Bruce Adams,

Kay, Robin,
1968 Chronology: New Zealand in the War, 1939-1946, Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs.
King, Michael,

Lal, Brij V.,
1991 "For King and Country: A Talk on the Pacific War in Fiji", in White, Geoffrey, Remembering the Pacific War, Center for Pacific Islands Studies, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Larsen, Colin R.,

Lindstrom, Lamont and Geoffrey M. White,

McLeod, John

MacKenzie, Bathia (compiler),

Mason, John T., (Ed)

Morris, Keith and Nona,
1993 Wartime Memories of the RNZAF, Pukekohe: Nona Morris Publisher.

Munro, R.D.,
1993 3rd NZ Division, 2NZEFIP, 1940-44, Upper Hutt, New Zealand: R.D. Munro
Nelson, Hank

New Zealand Army,


1943 *NZ Army 2nd Expeditionary Force in the Pacific Gradation List, 1st November 1943*, Wellington: Kiwi Printing Unit.

1944 *NZ Army 2nd Expeditionary Force in the Pacific Gradation List, 1st May 1944*, Wellington: Kiwi Publishing Unit


New Zealand Army Board,


New Zealand Institute of International Affairs,
1942 *A New Zealand View of the War And Peace Aims in the Pacific*, prepared by the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs as a document for the eighth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, in Mont. Treblant, Quebec, Wellington: Institute of International Affairs.

O'Kendall, O.J.,
1943 "*Playboys* of the Pacific", Auckland: Oswald Sealy (NZ) Ltd.

Owen, Alwyn and Jack Perkins,
Pacific Islands Study Circle of Great Britain,
197- Australia and New Zealand Forces in the New Caledonia, Tonga, British Solomon Islands, Fiji and Norfolk Islands,

Pethig, Jennifer L.,

Phillips, Jock,

Priday, H.E.L.,

Purser, Howard M. and Dennis L. Chambers,
c1945 A Collection of sketches by Two New Zealand Soldiers serving in the Pacific.

Ravuvu, Asesela,
1974 Fijians At War, Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies.

Rogers, Anna, (ed.)

Ross, Angus,

Ross, Angus, (ed.)

Ross, J.M.S.,
1949 The Assault on Rabaul: Operations by the Royal New Zealand Air Force, December 1943- May 1944, Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs.
Sexton, I.M., (Compiler),


Shaw, Henry I. Jr.,

Smith, Bernard,

Stout, T. Duncan M.,
1958 *Medical Services in New Zealand and the Pacific*, Wellington: War History Branch: Department of Internal Affairs.

Tabuteau, E.,
1945 *Coconut Crackers: Around the Pacific with the RNZAF*. Auckland: Oswald-Sealy (NZ) Ltd.

Terkel, Studs,

Watson, Clement Gordon,

White, Geoffrey M. (ed.),

White, Geoffrey M., David Gegeo, David Akin, and Karen Watson Gegeo, (eds.)
White, Geoffrey and Lamont Lindstrom, (eds.)
1989 *The Pacific Theater: Island Representations of World War II*.
Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 8., Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

White, Leo,
1945 *Fighters: The RNZAF Climbing the Solomon's Ladder into the South Pacific*, Auckland: Whites Aviation Ltd.

Wood, F.L.W.,
1958 *New Zealand People at War: Political and External Affairs*,
Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs.

Zelenitz, Marty,
1991 "Villages Without People: A Preliminary Analysis of American Views of Melanesians during World War Two, as Seen Through Popular Histories."

Unpublished Manuscripts:

Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, (NLNZ).


Alexander Turnbull Library, NLNZ.

LETTERS to Gordon and Pat Cole from Ray A Neal. 1942-1947.
MS/Papers/4598-5. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, NLNZ.

SCRAPBOOK of clippings from New Zealand and American Newspapers.
1942-1943. f940.54/ NEW/ 1942-1943/. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, NLNZ.
SOLDIERS Songs and Poetry; (ca 1943). Micro/MS/573. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, NLNZ.

WATERMAN Family, Correspondence/ Waterman Family, 1942-1944. MS/Papers/ 3907. Wellington: Alexander Turnbull Library, NLNZ.

White, Geoffrey M.,

Interviews:

Donnelly, Lionel,
August 8, 1994, [Interview with Jennifer L. Pethig].

Gudsell, George,
August 11, 1994, [Interview with Jennifer L. Pethig].

Head, Alan,
August 14, 1994, [Interview with Jennifer L. Pethig].

Heath, Eric
August 12, 1994, [Interview with Jennifer L. Pethig].

Moses, Sid.,
August 10, 1994, [Interview with Jennifer L. Pethig].

Pethig, Frederick J.,
August 7, 1994, [Interview with Jennifer L. Pethig].

Sutton, Laurie O. W.,
August 5, 1994, [Interview with Jennifer L. Pethig].

Non Print Media:

Army and Airforce- Daily Life in the Solomons, (1944), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 125. Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand, [Film].

Baking in the Pacific, (1943), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 79, Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand, [Film].

Easter Action on Bougainville. (1944), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 140, Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand, [Film].

Fiji Defence Force, (1943), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 89, Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand, [Film].

Guadalcanal- Base For Attack, (1943), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 86, Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand [Film].

Homecoming of Fiji's First Battalion., (1944), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 161, Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand [Film].

Invasion of Nissan , (1944) New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 134, Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand [Film].

New Caledonia- First New Zealand Nurses Embark For Forward Area..(1944), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 136, Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand. [Film].

New Zealand Troops on Guadalcanal, (1943), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 116. Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand. [Film].

Pacific Invasion- What it Takes. (1944), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 138, Lower Hutt: Television New Zealand Archives. [Film].

R.N.Z.A.F. in Fiji., (1948), New Zealand National Film Unit, Weekly Review 361. Wellington: National Archives of New Zealand. [Film]


The Years Back: The Unquiet Ocean. (1973), New Zealand National Film Unit, Lower Hutt: Television New Zealand Archives, [Video].

War Years, (197-), Hugh MacDonald (Producer) and Fred Cockram (Executive Producer), [Video].