

## The importance of oral histories in an archival context

By Mark Pacey

Oral histories are an often overlooked but very valuable record for archives, and an equally valuable resource for researchers. In many cases, the recordings are the only record that exists on certain topics, or the individuals involved. Oral histories have been recorded for several decades in New Zealand and vary in terms of quality and content. For this article, the oral history collection held in the Wairarapa Archive will be analysed as a case study about the quality of the recordings and their value for historical research as demonstrated by their use in the publication, *Our New Zealand Home: The USMC in Wairarapa*.

### INTRODUCTION

Oral histories have been recognised as a different means of recording the past for over 50 years. In his book, *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology*, Leslie Roy Ballard reports that:

...Those who gathered in California in 1967 to found the Oral History Association, argued that personal interviews, properly researched and processed, on file in manuscript collections and archives, would provide the basis for historical research and for the publications of historians and others in the future.<sup>1</sup>

Ballard is careful to state that oral histories can be a significant

record of the past, but particularly when these are “properly researched and processed.”<sup>2</sup> This is a significant statement, in that it alludes to how oral history recordings *should* be conducted. Ballard goes on to explain the value that oral histories can contribute to wider historical knowledge, saying: The goal of this effort was to complement the existing written record with information gleaned from interviews to fill in the gaps in that record in the same manner that letters, journals and diaries had done since the dawn of widespread literacy.<sup>3</sup>

The United States Oral History Association had a clear mission statement that would lead to numerous recordings around the country, the magnitude of which has been appreciated by historians ever since.

In New Zealand, the realisation that oral histories were an ideal way to record history occurred around the same time as the United States Oral History Association was founded in 1967. The oral history collection in the Alexander Turnbull Library dates to this time. The Turnbull Library explains their extensive collection as:

There are more than 10,000 recordings in the collection. Recordings include interviews with people from throughout New Zealand and the Pacific, of various ethnicities, iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe), occupations, political affiliations, and interests.

Talks, readings, and events are also covered. Most of the collection has been recorded since the 1960s. The collection covers New Zealand society, culture, community, and political history from the late 19th century to the present. Interviews usually have accompanying documentation, including an abstract – a detailed time-coded index providing quick access to the contents of the recording. A few interviews are fully or partially transcribed. Photographs and other relevant material are sometimes included.<sup>4</sup>

### WAIRARAPA ARCHIVE ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION

The Wairarapa Archive’s website has a section on oral histories in which it states “the Wairarapa Archive has a rich store of memories within its large oral history collection. With recordings dating back to the 1980s, memories stretch back to World War One and beyond.”<sup>5</sup> Each of these recordings are “properly researched and processed”<sup>6</sup> and can be found in the Wairarapa Archive online catalogue by doing a record search on either interviewee names or the topics the recordings cover. See Fig. 1.

The Wairarapa Archive was founded in 1989, and while some of the recordings in the collection were made before this time, the majority are after this date. In all, there are 371 separate oral histories in the main oral history collection, and several more as individual

records within the archive. The main oral history collection is a broad collection consisting of many topics.

Most of the interviews were recorded on cassette tapes and more recently digitised as a .wav file. The .wav file is the copy made available to researchers while the original cassette tape is kept as the master copy, stored in appropriate conditions. Each of the recordings has with it an abstract of the contents of the interview and a time code of where on the recording each topic is discussed. While the online catalogue is more limited regarding the subjects covered, these abstracts go into much more detail. The abstracts of the content are printed as Microsoft Word .doc files and stored with the digital sound recordings. An amalgamated file of all the oral history abstracts is also in the Wairarapa Archive collection. This makes searching possible for individual topics across all of the recordings without having to open each



Figure 1.  
Box of oral history cassettes in Wairarapa Archive collection. Source: Author

individual file and helps the recordings to be a significant component of the Wairarapa Archive's historical resources.

### STARTING THE RESEARCH

At the end of 2019 a land developer came into the Wairarapa Archive to enquire about a piece of land in Masterton that was about to be developed. I was asked about the history of it. Not knowing much about it at the time except that it had been used by the military as a camp, I informed the developer that I would investigate it further. Having studied military history at university and a long interest in the subject, I was very interested to find out as much as I could.

Starting with published material, I found that the land was used as a camp by some of the United States Marine Defense Battalions from 1942-1945. At that time, New Zealand was in a prime position as a base of operations for servicemen to recoup and retrain before heading back out into the Pacific, and camps like Solway were created or used to house them.

While it soon became apparent that while there was a plethora of published information relating to the United States Forces in New Zealand during the Second World War (often with emphasis on the camp at Kapiti), there was very little about the United States Marines and their time in Masterton. For example, in his

book, *The Yanks are Coming: The American Invasion of New Zealand 1942-1944*, Harry Bioletti makes just one reference to Masterton, saying "there were recuperation and training camps at Solway Park and the Memorial Grounds in Masterton."<sup>7</sup> Similarly, in *History of the Third Defense Battalion Fleet Marine Force U.S. Marine Corps*, Theodore Walker details the campaigns that the 3<sup>rd</sup> Defense Battalion were involved in, with Masterton covered in just one sentence that said, "camp Solway was at the site of Masterton's showgrounds made available to the Marines by the City of Masterton."<sup>8</sup> A third publication, *Condition Red: Marine Defense Battalions in World War II* by Major Charles D. Melson had even less detail, simply reporting "after a stay in New Zealand, the battalion returned to Guadalcanal."<sup>9</sup>

I then moved to the archives and found some records in the Wairarapa Archive about the Camp Solway site and its use during wartime, including some records on the United States Marine Corps who were camped there from February to September 1943. I discovered one photograph, a memoir of a Marine with a section on Masterton, general ephemera and some period newspapers. The newspapers contained articles and notices on entertainment put on for and by the Americans, pieces on when they arrived and when they left, and the areas they were training in, with notices warning

the public to avoid the areas due to live firing exercises. There were also engagement and marriage notices involving Marines and Masterton women.

The more that I looked into it, the more interesting the topic became for me until I decided that this would make an excellent publication. This is how *Our New Zealand Home: The USMC in Wairarapa* was born, but for it to be a publication of reasonable length, more material was required. While the records I had found proved to be very useful, they did not tell the full story of the visitors. A further search of records held at Archives New Zealand provided more background information around things like camp infrastructure and communications. However, what was missing was the social history of the period from the points of view of both the Americans and the people of Masterton. While there was enough for a book, albeit a smaller book, it would be a rather sterile account, devoid of anecdotes and recollections. It would take another type of record to "complement the existing written record with information gleaned from interviews to fill in the gaps in that record."<sup>10</sup>

The Wairarapa Archive Oral History collection, specifically the abstracts, were the next source I checked. This contains a record where all oral history abstracts are amalgamated into a 2348-page file that allows key words to

be searched across all abstracts, helping researchers to identify and access oral histories based on the search criteria used. From this I found that out of the 371 recordings held in the collection, nearly ten percent of them specifically referred to the United States Marine Corps in Masterton during the war and were recorded over a 20-year period. While the more recent recordings followed a particular structure and recording environment, the older ones did not necessarily follow the same configuration and would often have vague references to the topic alongside the time signature. For example, "370, WW2, American Marines in Masterton from Guadalcanal."<sup>11</sup> See Fig. 2. on next page.

Very few of the oral histories in the Wairarapa Archive have been transcribed to date, so each of the oral histories that mentioned the United States Marines being in Masterton or Wairarapa had to be listened to in order to evaluate and compare the contents. This is where some of the issues around the use of oral histories became apparent.

### PROBLEMS WITH QUALITY OF RECORDINGS

In *Talking History: Oral History Guidelines* by Sharon Veale and Kathleen Schilling, the authors outline that oral histories should be recorded in environments that are comfortable and distraction-free.<sup>12</sup> I found that this was not always

Interview with Mr Wayne Leroy Harter, Michael St. Masterton

Date of interview: 21 July 1995

Subject: US Marines in Masterton during World War II

Interviewer: Alyson Thomsen

Mr Harter was born 4/12/43 in Rapid City, South Dakota, USA.

- 012 Came to NZ from Guadalcanal in 1943. He found it cold on arrival. The train from Wellington was very loaded, he had to walk part of the Rimutaka Incline. Marine working party had arrived first to set up camp, tents and messing. Soldiers arrived in summer uniforms. Wayne bought a double eiderdown in Mstn to keep warm.
- 030 Good reception from locals. Solway Camp was for rest, training, taking in replacements. Knew they were coming to NZ but not Masterton. Wayne had talked to NZ. armen at airfield on Guadalcanal and knew a little, given NZ addresses.
- 048 First impression of Wgtn, very like San Francisco. About 1000 men arrived (battalion) and stayed about 5 months. Marines got 2 weeks leave, free travel, went to Christchurch.
- 075 Quite good conditions at Solway. Little pot-belly stoves in each 6-man tent. Most food supplied locally. Some tinned food, beer from PX (Post exchange) at Solway.
- 124 Marines not affected by NZ rationing.
- 130 Father Moore took troops around in his Baby Austin. Marines obtained 44 gal drum of petrol for him as petrol was rationed. Father Moore was reluctant to take petrol.
- 147 Able to get into Mstn frequently. Less leave once training began. Trained in Taranuas, live firing at coast. Wayne was keen on fishing and deerstalking, enjoyed outdoor life, helped decision to live here after war.
- 171 Felt most marines enjoyed NZ. Invitations to visit locals' homes. NZ'ers often wrote to families of marines.
- 220 Marines weren't in Mstn for 1942 Earthquake but remembers locals talking about it. Met future wife (Mary Greenlees) early during stay, at St Patrick's Hall and at local dance.
- 273 Went on leave to Christchurch, met Mary again on ferry. Got engaged before going back to Pacific.
- 307 Plenty of sport and outdoor recreation in Mstn. American Red Cross club for dancing (Queen St) Concerts put on by local Maori. Still meets Maori who were children taught singing by Mary during war at Te Ore Ore.
- 380 Mary's mother accepted Wayne but her father was anti-American. Wayne intended to go back to school in US but after first child arrived, decided to make NZ permanent home. Plenty of work available. First job in Mstn was painting St Patricks Church.
- 430 Tape ends.

Figure 2.

Abstract for  
interview with  
Wayne Harter.  
Source: Author

the case with the oral histories in the Wairarapa Archive collection. For example, these had often been conducted by volunteers who would travel to interviewee's homes and record the histories in their kitchen or dining room. As a result, there were instances of noise contamination from traffic on roads, lawnmowers and noises inside the house such as pet birds and other members of the household interrupting to ask if anyone would like a cup of tea. While this does not distract too much from the interview, it is not something that would occur in modern recording sessions which would adhere to strict recording environments to minimise any noise contamination.

I also noticed an example of tape degradation. An interview with Monsignor Nicholas Moore was a very important record in that while it was not referring to the United States forces in a direct sense, he talked at length about purchasing the recreation hall that had been built for the Americans at the Cameron Soldiers Memorial Park where one battalion of the Marines had camped but had become surplus to requirements. He said:

They had left behind them a tremendous series of great buildings that had been built for the Marines for certain purposes, for wartime purposes ... these were the buildings left by the Americans, and the total, we spent about 50,000 pounds on the total building ...

the grounds that St Joseph's was built on, there is 22 acres there, was bought for 2000 pounds. The first building there was a magnificent hall that was built by the Marines there and never used by them. We shifted that from the Cameron, the grounds there, Memorial Park.<sup>13</sup>

This interview had been recorded on 23 April 1983, and between the time of recording and the time it was digitised, the tape and degraded to a point that there was a constant background hiss, and this made for difficult listening and transcription. The background hiss was able to be reduced through filters in audio editing software which made some of the recordings clearer. These files were then saved separately as they are technically modified versions of the original digital surrogate. While the cassette tapes are stored in appropriate conditions at the Wairarapa Archive, it cannot be guaranteed that they were stored in similar conditions before they were donated. *See Fig. 3. on next page.*

The Preservation and Self-Assessment Programme at the University of Illinois states in its risk assessment of cassette tapes that:

The lifespan of a cassette is dependent upon numerous factors: the quality of the original tape, the type and condition of the machine on which it is played, the amount of care the tapes are given, how often they are played, and how they are packaged. Environmental



Figure 3.  
Typical oral  
history cassette.  
Source: Author

conditions--especially heat, dust, and humidity--may also affect cassettes. As this format is greatly declining in popularity, media and equipment obsolescence may become a risk; at the present however, both media and equipment are available in the marketplace. Frequent playback wears on the media and degrades the sound quality with each playback. The compact cassette medium is not considered an archival format due to its very limited projected lifespan of 10 to 30 years and due to its various technological issues. This format is vulnerable, and it should be prioritized for reformatting based on an assessment of its content value. Standard analog audio cassettes are not suitable for preservation work under any circumstances.<sup>14</sup>

Although there is some degradation in cassettes in the oral history collection at the Wairarapa Archive and most of them are older than 30 years, all have been digitised to ensure that these archival records are preserved.

Magnetic tape also does not have a long lifespan and is not ideal for being a storage medium for archival material. I realised this was an issue when I was given a cassette recording of my parents' wedding. This was recorded in the

early 1970s so it was well past its 30-year life expectancy. The sound quality was very diminished, and it was difficult to make out much of the spoken words and organ music. At the completion of the digitisation process and as soon as the last of the recording had been transferred, the tape disintegrated, making any further digitisations of the cassette impossible. This event is now preserved - a poor-quality copy - but backed up and saved in more than one location.

Problems with quality of recordings have been addressed to some extent through advancement in technology. While the original interviews were made with simple tape-recording devices, interviews are now made with digital recording equipment which has separate microphones. This ensures that the sound quality is much higher and voice tracks are clearer. This becomes especially evident when listening to some of the older recordings where each party is some distance from the built-in microphone and their voices tend to blend in with the background noise. *See Fig. 4.*

#### LIMITED POOL OF INTERVIEWEES

Over the course of researching *Our New Zealand Home*, close to 35 oral history interviews were studied. Of these, 26 were selected as they each had something to add to the overall narrative of the United States Marine Corps and

their time in Masterton. Of those 26, 25 were with New Zealanders who were in Masterton at the time. While I was very grateful that there was such a large pool of interviews from which to glean from, a better picture could have been obtained had there have been a wider cross-section of society from which to draw recollections. While almost half of those interviewed were women, all the interviewees were middle-class and of European descent. There were no interviews with Māori or those from different classes. In many cases, those that were interviewed were friends or acquaintances of those doing the interviewing, and at the time there wasn't a great incentive to conduct interviews with a wider range of subjects or generate a more multi-faceted resource of oral interviews from all walks of life. This has meant that whole sections of society are absent in existing recollections of what Masterton and the Americans were like when the Americans were here.

#### SUBJECT BIAS

After reviewing so many oral histories, I could see they gave interesting insight into society at the time as well as local opinions of the American soldiers. For example, the British saying "over-paid, over-sexed and over here" became used to describe the American servicemen in New Zealand, and articles in the newspapers were also critical of these visitors, with church leaders



calling for self-control:

That in view of the moral laxity in the city, which is causing grave concern to the authorities, the Presbytery authorize the moderator to issue a pastoral letter to congregations, and that ministers be requested to preach on the need for personal purity and self-control, and for a better sense of responsibility on the part of the parents in the training and control of their young people.<sup>15</sup>

The resentment against the Americans was for a multitude of reasons, but none of them their fault. American soldiers were paid twice that of a New Zealander, and while on duty in the Pacific they did not have a lot of opportunity to spend their money. This meant that when they arrived in New Zealand, they had substantial back-pay. The reference to them being "over-sexed" is unfair as it was hardly unique to them. For example, during the First World War there were many New Zealand men who were admitted

Figure 4.

Modern digital  
Zoom recorder.  
Source: Author

to hospitals with venereal disease contracted while abroad in foreign countries.

Some of the interviews also included barbed comments around American servicemen becoming engaged and married to New Zealand women. The local media at the time focused on how New Zealand girls were being foolish and impulsive by fraternising with the visiting servicemen. While the arrival of the United States forces ensured there was some protection for the country when war broke out with Japan with New Zealand's troops fighting overseas, many New Zealanders did not like them being here. The arrival of men from the United States Marine Corps and United States Army into the country was originally a relief to many, as in early 1942 there was a real fear that Japan would invade, but some locals soon felt that the visitors had outlived their welcome.

The oral histories still reflect some of these feelings of resentment, even though they were recorded nearly fifty years later. For example, there was evidence of comments from the male interviewees on the unfairness of the United States men being on better rations than the civilians. One male resident said:

That was a sad thing then, they were getting fruit for the Americans soldiers while our babies couldn't have fruit, because of rationing you see. And oranges, the yanks had all they wanted but our children

had to go without.<sup>16</sup>

There were also comments indicating jealousy over the attention the Marines received from the New Zealand girls and jibes at their fondness for milk, hunting and chewing gum. Resentment around the Americans and their abundance of money was a common feature in many of the male interviews. The New Zealand men realised they could not compete with the resources the Americans had, with one saying:

They had the money too you see, and they could splash it around and buy silk stockings for the girls. This was something, the girls they couldn't get silk stockings, they would have done anything to get silk stockings.<sup>17</sup>

Another interview covers a similar theme:

They arrived here with lots and lots and lots of money and they had loads of New Zealand money and American money as well and the stores - they were loaded with goodies which of course none of us had seen for a long while.<sup>18</sup>

However, the women often had an altogether different experience, even if the opinions of the New Zealand men did not go unnoticed. They were often at the receiving end of the attention and gifts from the American visitors, with one interviewee stating, "they had chocolates, they had candy, stockings, all the things. Giving the girls good times while they [the New Zealand men] were over there [overseas] fighting, they

[the New Zealand men] didn't think it was a bit fair."<sup>19</sup> Another interviewee said:

...we had a neighbour next door who got very friendly with one of them [American Marines] that was in supplies, and she did very nicely thank you very much. We got a bit of a spinoff from that because they had stuff that we couldn't get. We got, I suppose it was Spam, we got all sorts of bits and pieces. We got food I know that, but we used to have some great parties..<sup>20</sup>

In the same interview, the interviewee talks about the Americans being in New Zealand and their behaviour, but from an entirely different perspective to that often reported at the time.

Oh and of course the girls you know the girls thought the Americans were lovely. Of course, their uniforms were lovely compared to the poor New Zealanders battle dress. But I don't think they did much different to what soldiers anywhere would do when they were in a strange country.<sup>21</sup>

To better understand what Masterton was like during 1943 when the United States Marine Corps were camped here, the oral histories are an excellent resource, with much of what was said not replicated anywhere else. But while the men and the women tend to say the same things about the Americans, they are from very different perspectives. To use just one perspective would give a warped view of society at the time, whereas using both gives a more

balanced view and better insight into how the Masterton public perceived the Americans.

## FACTUAL DISTORTION

Since the interviews were made with residents five decades after the events themselves, recollections can become distorted and confused. While some of the recollections are clear as being related to the United States Marines, others are not so focused. For example, in some interviews the interviewees recall that the Americans helped with the cleanup of the Wairarapa earthquakes. But this event occurred in June and August 1942, well before the Americans arrived. There were however New Zealand troops there at the time, camped in the same place that Americans would later be in the Solway Showgrounds, and they would have been the ones that helped with cleanup and garrison duty around the damaged areas. Over the decades residents' memories have blended these two events and they now would associate the troops around at the time of the earthquake as American.

Another scenario which was recalled incorrectly was type of equipment that the Marines had. The Marines that were in Masterton were two defense battalions. Their role was primarily air defence with some anti-ship defence roles as well, so their equipment included 40mm guns and heavy machine guns. Some

residents swear that there were tanks in Masterton belonging to the Americans that were camped here. Tanks were never a part of the equipment issued to the defense battalions, as they would have been ineffectual against aircraft and ships some distance out to sea. It is likely that these heavy vehicles were seen in Wellington or in the outskirts of the region where the Marines did some of their training in preparation for redeployment into the Pacific, but they were never used by any of the men stationed here as their equipment inventories prove.

#### THAT ONE INTERVIEW

While I was spoilt for choice in terms of oral histories mentioning the Americans in Masterton during the Second World War that help with some of the smaller details and to “fill in the gaps”, most are opinions from the public that did not give the full story of what it was like for the Americans staying there. Even though many of the public formed close bonds with the visitors, with some even billeting them in their houses, there were no personal testimonies from the Marines themselves explaining what it was like to live in Masterton for a few months, and what their camp conditions were. However, there was one interview that is brimming with detail that filled in the gaps and also formed a main segment of the overall narrative in my book

*Our New Zealand Home: The USMC in Wairarapa*. The Wairarapa Archive is lucky to have such a record.

When the Americans were here, many formed relationships with local girls. Some married quickly and went to live in America, but others were not allowed to elope so fast, with some fathers saying that they would allow the marriage, but only after peace was declared and the Marine returned to Masterton. One Marine, Wayne Harter, met a local girl and was told as much by her father, and did return after the war, and was married. They would live out their lives in Masterton, and in the 1990s when the Wairarapa oral historians were conducting many of their interviews, he would feature in one of them. Having the oral history with Wayne Harter added significantly to the detail of the Marine’s camp at Solway. Even the early morning routines were described, and in a rather informal way which made the material entertaining to read.

Conditions were pretty good.

Once we got settled in and started to get things organised, everybody got a stove in their tent, and we could keep ourselves a little bit warm in the winter months. But, mind you, we could always get out and run which we usually did in the mornings. First thing in the morning when we got up, we’d fill the old stove full of wood and coal and so on and toss in a heap of kerosene and throw a match in it and there would be a horrible explosion and the ringing of explosions all over the camp and

then we would go out for a run and by the time we got back of course the fire would be roaring and be nice and warm you see.<sup>22</sup>

Wayne Harter also mentions how they thought they would be received by the people of New Zealand.

Coming to a place like this, you don’t really know how you’re going to be accepted in any particular country. But the fact that they spoke English here was a good start, and then when we got to know the people and find out how friendly they were. They’d take you out and take you into their homes and take you out shooting and fishing and then I mean, it really dawned on us that we were in heaven here, particularly coming out of a warzone.<sup>23</sup>

Throughout Wayne’s interview he revealed many details of his time spent in Masterton that helped to fill the gaps in other interviews. Without it, the narrative for *Our New Zealand Home: The USMC in Wairarapa* would have been rather one-sided, with just the New Zealand perspective. With any account of history all viewpoints are needed to tell the full story.

#### THE DANGERS OF BEING UNPREPARED

There is a discipline to recording oral histories that the interviewer must adhere to. The Oral History Association advised: In preparing to ask informed questions, interviewers should become familiar with the person,

topic, and historical context by doing research in primary and secondary sources, as well as through social engagement with individuals and communities and informal one-on-one interactions.<sup>24</sup>

While there were several oral histories that I was able to draw from, there was always room for more. As part of my research, I met a man who remembered the Marines from when he was a child. I arranged to have an interview with him and record his recollections. I quickly realised that the types of questions that I asked governed the responses I got. For example, my question “Do you remember when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour?” was answered with a simple “yes” instead of the detailed answer I was expecting. This forced me to rethink my question, which I then changed to “how did you feel when you learned that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbour?” From this, I received an entirely different response which went into detail about how New Zealand felt vulnerable with all its troops overseas and how relieved its citizens were when the United States troops arrived.

Oral histories can be a fantastic resource, but their planning and recording takes skill and preparation. See Fig. 5. on next page.

Figure 5. *Our New Zealand Home* cover – The book was made possible because of oral histories. Source: Author



**CONCLUSION**

Oral histories are a resource that are often overlooked by historians. This is unfortunate, as many of the recollections contained within oral histories can only be found there. They really can be the definitive record that will “fill in the gaps”.

With written recollections such as autobiographies, the author has time to evaluate what they are writing about and omit details they might think are irrelevant. However, these very details could be what a future historian is seeking. Oral histories have the advantage of being less considered, and more open to showing what the interviewee is thinking or feeling about what they experienced at the time. While there may be evidence of confusion

around dates, locations and so on by the people being interviewed, sound research around the topic will help to indicate which of the recollections are accurate and which are not.

Advances in technology have ensured that the quality of recordings has improved significantly. The founding of oral history associations also ensures that recording processes can be structured and administered in such a way the recordings will be of archival quality, in terms of both audio clarity and content.

Oral histories are a valuable resource. Past and present recordings will always be helpful for future historians as another means of researching the past and helping them to tell the full story.

**ENDNOTES**

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3. *ibid.*, p.35.
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17. Wairarapa Archive Oral History 855, Russell Smith.
18. Wairarapa Archive Oral History 1229, Douglas Falloon.
19. Wairarapa Archive Oral History 431, Doris Heger.
20. Wairarapa Archive Oral History 487, Daphne Hutchinson.
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22. Wairarapa Archive Oral History 484, Wayne Leroy Harter.
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