

PHENOMENAL AND WICKED

**Attrition and Reinforcement in the
New Zealand Expeditionary Force at Gallipoli**



John Crawford and Matthew Buck

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Cover photograph: Graves at Gallipoli, 1915. *Alexander Turnbull Library, F-16359-1/4.*

FOREWORD

Ahakoā te tōiriiri o Karipori ki te hinengaro o te motu, he āhua tūmeke tonu te paunga o te kotahi rau tau kātahi ka whai wāhi mātou ki te tatau tika tokohia o ō tātou hōia tūturu nei i tū toa ki te kūraenga.

Ko ngā rangahau whakawhana kei *Phenomenal and Wicked: Attrition and Reinforcement in the NZ Expeditionary Force at Gallipoli* e whakatau mārika ana e 16,000 kaimahi (nui ake) o te Ope Taua o Aotearoa i pakanga ki Karipori, he tata taurua te rahi i tērā kua whakapaetia whānuhia, hāungai kē ki tō ināiane tonu.

He tino whakamārama tō ēnei rangahau mō te utu tangata o te urunga atu o tō tātou motu ki te kauhanga maikiroa i Karipori me te take mō tōna pānga nui ki tō tātou hītori.

Oho rawa ana te motu i tōna pānga tuatahi ki ngā motuhenga tūkino o te pakanga ahumahi. Ko te mea pōuri e whakaaturia ana e tēnei rangahau, kei kō rawa atu ō tātou mate ki Karipori i te rahinga aituā pākaha i taturia kētia e o tātou kaiwhakahaere tōrangapū, o tātou ngārahu, i roto i ngā whakamahere mō te pakanga.

He putanga a *Phenomenal and Wicked* i te mahi tahi a Te Manatū Taonga, te Ope Kātua o Aotearoa, Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga me Tatauranga Aotearoa. I whāia e ngā kairangahau matua/kaituhi nō Te Ope Kātua o Aotearoa, e John Crawford rāua ko Matthew Buck, tētahi ara rangahau mai i Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga ki te Maharatanga Pakanga o Ahitereiria kia tuituia he kōrero māna e whakatika ngā whakapae pōhēhē kua roa e whakakotiti ana i te aronga o te motu ki tō tātou wāhi ki Karipori.

Hon. Ron Mark
Minita mō ngā hōia

FOREWORD

Given the resonance of Gallipoli in our national psyche, it is somewhat extraordinary that it has taken a hundred years for us to be able to authoritatively quantify the number of our soldiers who actually served on the peninsula. The ground-breaking research set out in *Phenomenal and Wicked: Attrition and Reinforcement in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force at Gallipoli* conclusively establishes that at least 16,000 New Zealand Expeditionary Force personnel fought at Gallipoli, nearly twice as many as has been widely believed until now.

This research provides us with much better understanding of the human cost of our country's participation in the ill-fated Gallipoli campaign and why it has had so much impact on our history. New Zealand was shocked by its first experience of the brutal realities of industrialised warfare. Sadly, as this work shows, our losses at Gallipoli were much heavier than the already grievous level of casualties allowed for in the pre-war planning of our political and military leadership.

Phenomenal and Wicked is the result of cooperation between the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, the New Zealand Defence Force, Archives New Zealand and Statistics New Zealand. The two lead researchers and authors, John Crawford and Matthew Buck from the New Zealand Defence Force, followed a research trail from Archives New Zealand to the Australian War Memorial to piece together a story that corrects faulty assumptions that for decades distorted how we saw our nation's involvement at Gallipoli.

Hon. Ron Mark
Minister of Defence

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During the research for and writing of *Phenomenal and Wicked: Attrition and Reinforcement in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force at Gallipoli* we made much use of the research and expertise of other historians, archivists and statisticians. Especially useful to us was the meticulous work done on New Zealand's Gallipoli casualties by Richard Stowers. We would also like to particularly recognise the advice and support received from the other members of the Gallipoli Working Group: Neill Atkinson, David Green and Dr Ian McGibbon from the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Vernon Wybrow and David Knight from Archives New Zealand and Amanda Hughes and Giles Reid from Statistics New Zealand. We also would like to thank David Green, Dr Ian McGibbon, Dr Chris Pugsley and Chris Roberts for reading and commenting on the draft of the monograph. David Green also kindly volunteered to do an initial copy edit and Anna Rogers carried out an expert final copy edit. This project was particularly reliant on the careful gathering of data from a range of archival sources preserved at Archives New Zealand in Wellington and at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra. In this aspect of the work we were greatly assisted by our colleague Evgeniya Krysova and by Jared Linnell, Josh King, and Caitlin Watters, who were at different times employed as research assistants on the project. We would also like to acknowledge the support and assistance we received from John McLeod, the Director of the Heritage, Commemorations and Protocol (HCP) Group of the New Zealand Defence Force, our other teammates in HCP, and the contribution made to the success of the project by the staff of the Defence Library.

John Crawford
August 2019

Matthew Buck

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INTRODUCTION

For almost a hundred years it has been commonly accepted that 8556 individual New Zealanders served at Gallipoli as members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF). This total was provided in the preface to Major Fred Waite's *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli*, the demi-official history of the NZEF's contribution to the Gallipoli campaign published in 1919. The preface, entitled 'The New Zealanders of Anzac', was written by General Sir Ian Hamilton, the former commander of the British and Dominion forces at Gallipoli. It has generally been assumed that Hamilton was provided with this figure by the New Zealand military authorities, who would have had access to authoritative sources and statistics that are no longer available. This assumption and whether Hamilton ever intended this figure to refer to the total number of participants, however, are both seriously open to question.

The phrase Hamilton actually used was that the 'Total strength landed...[of the NZEF at Gallipoli was]... 8,556 all ranks'.¹ His phrasing is ambiguous because it is not clear whether 'total strength landed' referred to the total number who served at Gallipoli, or was meant to refer to the total 'war establishment' of the units committed to the peninsula. The distinction is important. The war establishment of a unit defined its size and composition when it was brought up to full strength for active service. It was certainly not the sum of the individuals who served in that unit over a given period of time.²

Hamilton did not elaborate, possibly because his main concern lay elsewhere. He noted that during the course of the First World War New Zealand had lost 15,000 killed from a population of only one million, 'whereas the Belgians, justly famous as having fought so long and so valiantly for the freedom of Europe, lost thirteen thousand killed out of a population of seven millions'. Turning to Gallipoli, he also noted that New Zealand had suffered 7447 casualties 'in killed and wounded (excluding sickness)' during the course of the campaign. The

1 General Sir Ian Hamilton, 'The New Zealanders of Anzac' in Fred Waite, *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1919), pp. vii–viii.

2 The war establishments of the NZEF, which were closely aligned to British war establishments and to those of the other Dominion forces, were published as a series of detailed tables in a Special General Order of the New Zealand Defence Force on 24 August 1914 (G.O. 213/1914), although by the time the NZEF sailed the following October it had been subject to mild revision. For example, the war establishment of an infantry battalion, including attached New Zealand Medical Corps and Army Service Corps personnel, was 1010, composed of a headquarters component (84), a machine gun section (18) and four rifle companies (908). Likewise, the war establishment of a mounted rifles regiment was 549, composed of a headquarters (48), machine gun section (27) and three mounted rifles squadrons (474). See file NZEF – Appendices to War Diaries, pp. I–LXII, WA 1/[1i], R23486739, Archives New Zealand (ANZ). All items at ANZ that are searchable on the ANZ Archway search engine have R numbers. Items that have not yet been listed on Archway at the time of writing do not have 'R' numbers.

suggestion, in effect, was that the NZEF had suffered an attrition rate at Gallipoli of 87 per cent. The imputation was clear – New Zealand's commitment to and sacrifice for the Empire during the war, and at Gallipoli in particular, had been exceptional. Hamilton's New Zealand audience would also have understood the implicit message that although Gallipoli had been a defeat, this was not because of any lack of courage, commitment and determination on the part of New Zealanders.

The New Zealand exceptionalism implied by the 8556 figure is probably one of the main reasons why it remained unquestioned. *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli* attracted considerable interest in New Zealand. The figures in Hamilton's preface setting out the Dominion's heavy losses in comparison with the size of the force deployed, and the claim that New Zealand's losses in the First World War were proportionally even heavier than those of Belgium, attracted particular comment.³ These figures appeared in both the first edition of Waite's book and in the second edition published in 1921.⁴ This, apart from the correction of some typographical errors, was the same as the first edition.⁵

There is in fact little or no evidence that Hamilton or Waite had access to statistical records which could have provided an accurate figure of the number of NZEF participants in the campaign. Waite's book, like the other volumes in the series, was written rapidly. Waite appears to have had little if any access to the NZEF's war diaries, and other important records had been lost.⁶ Hamilton's preface for the book was written even more quickly. On 13 August 1919 he received a request from Sir Thomas Mackenzie, the New Zealand High Commissioner in London, for a preface to the Gallipoli volume of the demi-official series. He was 'deeply honoured' and immediately accepted the request.⁷ The preface is dated 17 August 1919 and Hamilton sent it to Mackenzie on 29 August. While he was working on the preface Hamilton visited the British Army of the Rhine, where he happened to meet the last NZEF officer in Germany, Lieutenant-Colonel John Studholme, the NZEF's Assistant Adjutant General. There is no evidence, however, that Studholme provided Hamilton with any material for use when

3 Hamilton, 'The New Zealanders of Anzac' in Waite, p. viii; *Dominion*, 20 December 1919, p. 13; *Press*, 3 January 1920, p. 9.

4 *Otago Daily Times*, 16 September 1922, p. 16; *Press*, 20 September 1922, p. 1.

5 Illegible for Director Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd to Minister of Defence, 12 January 1920, Minister of Defence to Whitcombe and Tombs, 15 January 1920, AD1, 669/1, R23434738, ANZ.

6 Ibid., Waite to Minister of Defence, 30 December 1921, ANZ; Waite, 'A Note by the Author', *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli*, p. 330. Ian McGibbon, "'Something of Them Is Here Recorded': Official History in New Zealand", in Jeffrey Grey (ed.), *The Last Word? Essays on Official History in the United States and the British Commonwealth* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003), pp. 53–68.

7 Hamilton to Mackenzie, 13 August 1919 [copy], Mackenzie to Prime Minister, 2 September 1919, AD1, 669/1, ANZ.

crafting his preface. In any case, Hamilton makes it clear both in the preface and related correspondence that his work was based on limited sources, primarily his detailed diary.⁸

Nevertheless, despite the paucity of reliable records and statistics available to him, Waite clearly believed that Hamilton's 8556 figure was inaccurate. The evidence for this is in an appendix to *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli* in which Waite tabulated the establishment strengths of all the NZEF units committed to the Mediterranean theatre of operations. The tables indicate that Hamilton's total was almost certainly intended to be an establishment strength for the NZEF at Gallipoli rather than a count of campaign participants, and that even in these terms it was incorrect.

From Waite's tables it seems certain that Hamilton derived his figure by adding the 7761 establishment strength of the NZEF's 'Main Body' (the name given to the force of infantry, mounted rifles and support units which sailed from New Zealand at full war establishment in October 1914) to the 795 establishment strength of additional NZEF units which were raised in Egypt in 1915. In doing so, Hamilton failed to take into account an additional set of units which were raised in New Zealand and also subsequently committed to the peninsula. If these New Zealand-raised units were added, Waite calculated, the total establishment strength of the NZEF committed to the Mediterranean theatre, and thus in large part to Gallipoli, was 10,014. There can be no doubt that Waite fully understood that this was an establishment strength and not a statement about the total number of individuals who served in these units during the campaign. He made this plain by appending a note to his final establishment total: 'This does not include reinforcements'.⁹

The papers on the Defence Department's file on New Zealand's First World War demi-official history series also make it clear that Waite was deeply sceptical about Hamilton's figures. Late in 1921, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, the publishers of Waite's volume, decided to produce a revised third edition. Fred Waite agreed to undertake the necessary additional work. From the outset he made it clear that he considered that Hamilton's figures for the number of New Zealanders who served and the losses suffered by Belgium (13,000 killed) were incorrect.¹⁰ The Defence Department obtained figures from the Belgian government which revealed Belgium

8 Ibid. Hamilton to Mackenzie, 29 August 1919 [copy] and enclosure, 'PREFACE'. Later Studholme compiled *Record of Personal Services During the War of Officers, Nurses and First-Class Warrant Officers and Other Facts relating to the NZEF: Unofficial but Based on Official Records* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1928).

9 Waite, pp. 304–5.

10 Minister of Defence to Waite, 12 December 1921; Waite to Minister of Defence, 30 December 1921 and 9 January 1922, Waite to Minister of Defence, 27 April 1922, AD1, 669/1; *Otago Daily Times*, 31 October 1922, p. 9.

had in fact suffered more than 34,000 fatal casualties.¹¹ After setting out his concerns about the Belgian casualty figures in a letter to the Minister of Defence, Robert Heaton Rhodes, Waite continued:

I would like to draw attention also to the figures supplied by Sir Ian Hamilton in regard to the total strength landed and our casualties in killed and wounded.

Total strength landed: 8556 all ranks.

Casualties in killed and wounded (excluding sickness): 7447.

These figures also are quite wrong. I have just been supplied with the following figures by the Officer-in-Charge of War Accounts and Records:

Casualties	Officers	Other Ranks	Total
Killed	77	1850	1927
Died of wounds	21	551	572
Died of sickness	7	197	204
Other causes	-	7	7
Prisoners of war	-	10	10
[Total dead+ POWs]	105	2615	2720
Wounded			6503

[Total casualties, excluding sickness] 9223

The position is that while Hamilton shows a total strength landed of 8,556 our casualties amounted to 9,223, we thus having more casualties than Hamilton shows men landed.¹²

Rhodes immediately passed the letter on to the Defence Department, writing: 'I am enclosing Maj. Waite's memo. With reference to Ian Hamilton's figures of Belgians killed and the number of New Zealanders who landed on Gallipoli'.¹³ Plans for a third edition of *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli* were shelved, possibly because of the deteriorating economic situation in New Zealand. As a result the inaccurate information in Hamilton's preface was never corrected. It is clear from the correspondence about the proposed revised edition that had it gone ahead

11 Richardson to Minister of Defence, 26 July 1922 and related papers, AD1, 669/1.

12 Ibid., Waite to Minister of Defence, 27 April 1922.

13 Ibid., Heaton Rhodes to General Officer in charge of Administration, 29 April 1922.

there would probably have been substantial changes to Hamilton's preface. That his statistics were incorrect is hardly surprising given the sources he had available and the speed with which he completed the work.

Later New Zealand historians did not know that Fred Waite considered that Hamilton was incorrect. They were, however, troubled by the implications of the 8556 figure. Potential problems with Hamilton's total, if not disavowal of it, were discussed in print for the first time by Christopher Pugsley in his seminal work, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story*, published in 1984. Pugsley noted that the war diaries of the various NZEF units and formations that served at Gallipoli recorded at least 14,720 NZEF disembarkations onto the Gallipoli peninsula during the course of the campaign. Nevertheless, he accepted that the 8556 figure was accurate and inferred that the remaining 6000-plus disembarkations were not new arrivals but convalescents who had already served at Gallipoli and were returning after recovering from wounds or sickness.¹⁴ Pugsley was able to show, moreover, a number of individual cases of soldiers who were recycled through the Gallipoli battlefields in precisely this fashion. However, Pugsley's assumption about the identity of the vast majority of those recorded as landing on the peninsula required that virtually no use was made of the thousands of fresh troops who arrived in Egypt from New Zealand during the course of a campaign in which the NZEF was suffering heavy losses.

The 8556 figure was first brought into serious question by Richard Stowers in his detailed account of New Zealand's role in the campaign, *Bloody Gallipoli: The New Zealanders' Story*, published in 2005. Stowers argued that Hamilton's figure made little sense when it is considered that it is only slightly more than the number of NZEF personnel who sailed from New Zealand in October 1914 as members of the Main Body and 1st Reinforcements. Between December 1914 and the end of September 1915 nearly 20,000 NZEF personnel reached Egypt from New Zealand. At the outset of his work he noted that if the figure of 8556 was correct, the NZEF units involved in the campaign suffered a much higher number of casualties, as a proportion of the troops engaged, than the Australian Imperial Force units serving alongside them. This, he thought, was unlikely as the experience of the two forces was so similar. Stowers then studied the Auckland Mounted Rifles muster book, which contains detailed information about casualties suffered by that unit. This suggested to him that this unit's casualty rate was similar to that of the Australians. Stowers then carried out a careful examination of the surviving NZEF Gallipoli war diaries. Based on the information in

14 Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1984), p. 360. When discussing the number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli, it is important to remember that a significant number of NZEF members were not New Zealand-born, and that a substantial number of New Zealanders served with the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) or British forces in the campaign.

the war diaries on the strength of units and comments about reinforcements, he estimated that at least 13,977 NZEF personnel served in the campaign.¹⁵ The details of his estimate are set out below:

Table 1: Stowers' estimates¹⁶

New Zealanders believed landed by 1 May	4444
Reinforcements from transports offshore	522
Third Reinforcements, landed 6 May	839
New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade	1482
Otago Mounted Rifles, landing completed 28 May	478
Fourth Reinforcements, landed 8 June	1761
Māori Contingent, landed 3 July	477
Fifth Reinforcements, landed 7 August	1974
Sixth Reinforcements, landed 8 November	2000
Total	13,977

Stowers' work, which was reinforced by his analysis of casualties which showed that many of those who died were from the various numbered reinforcement drafts, led many historians to seriously doubt the validity of the 8556 figure. Two leading New Zealand military historians, Dr Ian McGibbon and Professor Glyn Harper, in publications that appeared subsequent to *Bloody Gallipoli*, estimated that the total number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli was 13,000 or more.¹⁷

In 2013, David Green, an historian with the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, also looked into the question. He came to the conclusion that Stowers' estimate was likely to be much closer to the true figure than Hamilton's. Green was the first to note that Hamilton's figure was not quoted in the text of *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli*, but appeared only in Hamilton's preface to the book. He was also the first to realise that Waite's war establishment appendices

15 Email, Stowers to Crawford, 15 March 2016, NZDF 1325/1, Headquarters New Zealand Defence Force (HQNZDF). Only a handful of NZEF unit muster books have survived.

16 Richard Stowers, *Bloody Gallipoli: The New Zealanders' Story* (Auckland: David Bateman, 2005), pp. 260–1. Stowers recognised that this figure is a minimum as it did not take account of the arrival of numerous smaller reinforcement contingents during the campaign.

17 Ian McGibbon, *Gallipoli: A Guide to New Zealand Battlefields and Memorials* (2nd revised edition, Auckland: Penguin, 2014), p.19; Glyn Harper (ed.), *Letters from Gallipoli: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2011), p. 26.

contradicted Hamilton, and that Hamilton's figure was almost certainly concocted by adding just two of Waite's establishment totals.¹⁸

In 2015 David Green extended his work on this question by analysing the contents of a unit roll book kept by the 6th (Hauraki) Company of the Auckland Infantry Battalion during the campaign. The roll book, which is held by Archives New Zealand in Wellington, lists 453 men, for whom the date when they 'Landed on Gallipoli' is given for 434. The book is lacking the pages for surnames beginning with F and W, but it appears that at least 90 per cent of the original document has survived. The monthly totals of arrivals joining the company during 1915 recorded in the roll book are:

Table 2: 6th (Hauraki) Company arrivals, Auckland Infantry Battalion records¹⁹

April (all landing on 25 April)	204
May	61
June	76
July	8
August (all 5th Reinforcements)	32
November (all 6th Reinforcements)	53
Total	434

Green concluded that a steady stream of new reinforcements joined the 6th Haurakis on Gallipoli. Although not explicitly stated by Green, it should also be pointed out that the replacement total for the company over the course of the campaign, given that it had a war establishment of 227 men, was close to 100 per cent.²⁰ As there was no reason to suppose this company was in any way exceptional, Green supported the view that the total number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli was likely to have been between 13,000 and 14,000. The impact of this work on public consciousness, however, appears to have been limited.

18 David Green, 'How Many New Zealanders Served on Gallipoli?', <http://www100.govt.nz>, added 28 August 2013 and updated 12 June 2015.

19 AD25, 15/24, R19134074, ANZ.

20 Establishments, An Infantry Battalion, in NZEF – Appendices to War Diaries, pp. I–LXII, WA 1/[1i], R23486739, ANZ.

Despite the efforts of Stowers, McGibbon, Harper and Green, the old figure of 8556 continued to be widely used up to and during the centenary of the Gallipoli campaign in 2015.²¹

Nevertheless, the centenary led to increased interest in all questions relating to the campaign and, in particular, how many New Zealanders served on Gallipoli. Informal discussions between New Zealand government historians led to the establishment late in the year of an inter-departmental working group to examine existing evidence relating to the number of NZEF personnel who served in the campaign and to carry out research in an effort to produce as definitive an estimate as possible. The Working Group was chaired by Neill Atkinson, the Chief Historian at the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH), and included David Green and Ian McGibbon from MCH, John Crawford and Matthew Buck from New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF), Vernon Wybrow and David Knight from Archives New Zealand and Amanda Hughes and Giles Reid from Statistics New Zealand.

The results of this initial research effort, undertaken by John Crawford and Matthew Buck, were published in March 2016 in an interim report to the Working Group, entitled 'Enumerating New Zealand Expeditionary Force Service on Gallipoli'.²² The report concluded that more than 16,000 NZEF personnel, and perhaps as many as 17,000, are likely to have served at Gallipoli during the campaign.²³ The approach taken was to estimate the number of NZEF personnel who took part in the initial landing, and then to estimate the number of reinforcements subsequently landed, less returning sick and wounded. It was estimated that approximately 11,000 NZEF personnel served on the peninsula over the period April–May 1915. This included 90 per cent of the principal combat elements of the Main Body and the first three (of an eventual six) reinforcement groups, which had also arrived in Egypt before the commencement of the campaign. There had already been a 10 per cent attrition of the NZEF's effective strength before the beginning of the campaign.

Also reviewed was a large quantity of archival material and handwritten notebooks compiled by a staff officer on the Headquarters of the New Zealand and Australian (NZ & A) Division. The notebooks recorded the arrivals of reinforcements to the NZ & A Division on Gallipoli

21 See for example Matthew Wright, *Shattered Glory: The New Zealand Experience at Gallipoli and the Western Front* (Auckland: Penguin, 2010), pp. 13–14. The 8556 figure was also quoted in the two leading exhibitions about the Gallipoli Campaign that opened in Wellington in 2015: *The Great War Exhibition* in the former Dominion Museum Building; and the *Gallipoli: The Scale Of Our War* exhibition at Te Papa.

22 John Crawford and Matthew Buck, 'Enumerating New Zealand Expeditionary Force Service on Gallipoli. Interim Report for the Working Group, March 2016', accessed on 30 January 2017 at [http://mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/ENUMERATING%20NEW%20ZEALAND%20EXPEDITIONARY%20FORCE%20SERVICE%20INTERIM%20REPORT%20MARCH%202016%20\(D-0651931\).PDF](http://mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/ENUMERATING%20NEW%20ZEALAND%20EXPEDITIONARY%20FORCE%20SERVICE%20INTERIM%20REPORT%20MARCH%202016%20(D-0651931).PDF). This report is reproduced as Appendix I.

23 Ibid, pp. 1, 7–9.

between 2 June and 28 August 1915. The notebooks demonstrated that fresh (as opposed to recycled) NZEF reinforcements arriving on Gallipoli numbered at least 4332 during this period, and thus showed that the old total of 8556 must be a significant understatement of the total NZEF personnel who served.

Additionally, 2429 individual military service files of members of the 6th Reinforcements, which arrived in the Middle East after 28 August 1915, were examined. This survey was undertaken for two main reasons. Firstly, it was a way to understand the reinforcement of the NZEF during the last four months of the campaign, which have received relatively scant scholarly attention. Secondly, it was a test of the hypothesis that a comprehensive review of the military service files of every reinforcement draft reaching Egypt in time to take part in the campaign could provide a definitive picture of the number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli. The 6th Reinforcements survey revealed that this hypothesis is probably incorrect, as almost 20 per cent of the files contained insufficient information to determine whether the man had served at Gallipoli. Nevertheless, the survey established that at least 1860 of these personnel saw service on the peninsula in the final stages of the campaign. It was also noted that it is probable that a majority of the members of the 6th Reinforcements whose service could not be definitively established also served on Gallipoli.

In reaching its conclusion, the interim report noted that considerable uncertainties remained and that much of the reasoning about the early phases of the campaign, for which precise documentation was lacking, rested on assumptions. In large part the remainder of this study is devoted to examining these assumptions in the light of new evidence found since the interim report was published. This includes the discovery of significant new documentation about the reinforcement of the NZEF and the scale of the attrition suffered by the NZEF throughout the campaign.

What follows is, unavoidably, a rather technical discussion about these sources, but the main points are crystal clear. In the years leading up to the First World War, the New Zealand government was advised that the commitment of land forces to a major European war would result in heavy attrition and because of this it would need to be ready to reinforce its forces from the outset. In the event, attrition greatly exceeded these expectations, leading to a manpower crisis in the small New Zealand Expeditionary Force in September 1915. The human cost of keeping the NZEF in the field proved to be much heavier than anyone, in New Zealand or the United Kingdom, had anticipated.

EXPECTATIONS OF WAR: REINFORCING THE NZEF, 1909–1915

In 1909 the New Zealand Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, asked the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, General W.G. Nicholson, to give his views on how New Zealand's military establishment could be reorganised to meet the requirements of Imperial military defence and cooperation. Ward requested advice on the size of the force needed for local defence, the organisation and command of such a force, and 'the organisation of an Expeditionary Force'. Nicholson rapidly provided a 'Scheme for the Reorganisation of the Military Forces of New Zealand'. The New Zealand government's acceptance of Nicholson's report was part of a major shift in strategic orientation away from purely local defence towards developing a capacity to aid the United Kingdom in critical theatres during a major war. The other British Dominions adopted similar policies.²⁴

Nicholson advised that New Zealand would require a peacetime establishment of 20,000 men (composed of part-time, Territorial Force soldiers), increasing to 30,000 on mobilisation, in order to secure local defence and provide for an overseas expeditionary force of 10,000, comprising a mixed infantry brigade, a mounted rifles brigade, and support units organised and equipped according to British war establishments. Nicholson stressed, however, that 'no organisation of an army can be considered complete which does not include provision for ... making good the wastage of war'. Wastage, the contemporary term for attrition, was defined as reductions to effective strength due to enemy action (killed, wounded, missing and prisoners of war) and as a result of other causes, including disease. Drawing on a study of the attrition experienced in a series of major wars, Nicholson advised that such a force should expect to lose 80 per cent of its infantry, 70 per cent of its mounted rifles personnel and from 20 to 60 per cent of its artillery, engineer, staff and line of communications troops during the first year of a war 'under European conditions'. To replace this attrition, reinforcements equal to 10 per cent of the expeditionary force would need to be mobilised and despatched at the same time as the expeditionary force. Thereafter a steady stream of fresh reinforcements, sent in regular monthly contingents amounting to around 5 per cent

of the war establishment of the expeditionary force, would be needed to keep the front-line units up to strength.²⁵

New Zealand's subsequent detailed planning for an expeditionary force, which was carried out in consultation with the British government, continued to make provision for reinforcements at broadly similar scales. These provisions were put in place when the NZEF was raised in 1914. As previously agreed, the Main Body of the NZEF was accompanied by reinforcements equal to 10 per cent of its establishment. Two months later a new contingent, the 2nd Reinforcements, equal to 20 per cent of the force's strength, was despatched, and thereafter it was intended to send reinforcements equal to 5 per cent of establishment each month.²⁶ It was realised from the outset that these reinforcements would 'probably be required to replace wastage in the field'.²⁷

In late 1914, as a result of the much heavier than expected casualty rate experienced by British troops on the Western Front, New Zealand accepted a British request to increase the rate of reinforcements for mounted rifles to 10 per cent and infantry to 15 per cent of establishment each month.²⁸ When this decision was made public the onerous demands the war would make on the country's manpower resources was apparent to astute observers.²⁹ The number of personnel despatched to the front was also affected by the raising of several new units over and above the initially agreed expeditionary force establishment during the campaign. These units also required monthly reinforcements at the scales indicated above.

There is a variety of published and unpublished archival sources for the strength of the Main Body and the reinforcement drafts sent to Egypt over the course of the Gallipoli campaign. The most authoritative published source is *1914–1918: New Zealand Expeditionary Force: Its Provision and Maintenance*, produced by the Branch of the Chief of the General Staff in 1919. According to *Provision and Maintenance*, the strengths of the NZEF Main Body and its successive reinforcements, up to and including the 8th Reinforcements, were as follows.

25 'Scheme for the Reorganisation of the Military Forces of New Zealand. Prepared and Submitted by the Chief of the General Staff. August 1909', AD 10/7, 16/6, R3885320, ANZ.

26 'New Zealand Expeditionary Force, 1914, Composition', AD1, 23/60, ANZ; Robin to Allen, 12 December 1914, AD10, 16/12, R3885326, ANZ.

27 Godley to Allen, 4 September 1914, AD10 16/12, R3885326 ANZ.

28 'History of Scale of Reinforcements', enclosure to Robin to Allen, 28 July 1917, Allen1, D1/6/5, R22319756, ANZ; Branch of the Chief of General Staff, *War, 1914–1918: New Zealand Expeditionary Force: Its Provision and Maintenance* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1919), p. 6.

29 See, for example, the *Christchurch Sun*, 31 December 1914, p. 6.

24 Ian McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli. Defending New Zealand 1840–1915* (Wellington: GP Books, 1991), p. 186 and passim; Crawford, 'Should we "be drawn into the maelstrom of war": New Zealand Military Policy on the Eve of the First World War', in Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey (eds), *1911: Preliminary Moves. The 2011 Chief of Army History Conference* (Canberra: Big Sky Publishing, 2011), pp. 106–29; Christopher Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience: New Zealand, Australia and Empire in the First World War* (Auckland: Reed, 2004), pp. 52–64.

Table 3: Provision and Maintenance, Main Body and reinforcement strengths embarked from New Zealand, October 1914–September 1915³⁰

Reinforcement	Embarkation Date from New Zealand	Disembarkation Date in Egypt	Strength on Embarkation
Main Body	15 October 1914	3 December 1914	7761
1st Reinforcements	15 October 1914	3 December 1914	738
2nd Reinforcements	14 December 1914	28–30 January 1915	1974
3rd Reinforcements and Māori Contingent	14 February 1915	26 March 1915	2230
4th Reinforcements	17 April 1915	25 May 1915	2261
5th Reinforcements	13 June 1915	24 July – 6 August 1915	2411
6th Reinforcements	14 August 1915	19 September 1915	2364
Balance of 6th Reinforcements, Advance Party NZ Rifle Brigade and 2nd Māori Contingent	18 September 1915	26 October 1915	211
7th Reinforcements	9 October 1915	17–25 November 1915	2450
1st & 2nd Battalions, NZ Rifle Brigade	9 October 1915	17–25 November 1915	2250
8th Reinforcements	14 November 1915	18 December 1915	2576
Total			27,226*

* There were, in addition, a number of medical units and other small drafts despatched from New Zealand during the campaign, but it seems that few, if any, of these men served at Gallipoli.

Other sources, however, while broadly supporting the overall numbers, indicate that caution is necessary, given that the NZEF's published war diary states that the strength of the force in Egypt on 26 December 1914, before the arrival of the 2nd Reinforcements, was 8587 all ranks, which is somewhat below what might be expected from the embarkation data published 1919.³¹ This figure included the 238-strong British Section of the NZEF, which

30 Branch of the Chief of the General Staff, *Provision and Maintenance*, Table X, pp.18–20, and Table XXXV, p. 53.

31 *New Zealand Expeditionary Force (Europe), 1914 War Diary* (Government Printer: Wellington, 1915), 26 December 1914, p. 31.

arrived in Egypt on 24 December 1914.³² The same source gives the strength of the 2nd Reinforcements when it disembarked in Egypt at the end of January 1915 as 1947,³³ and states that the 3rd Reinforcements disembarked with a strength of 2210, including 439 men of the Māori or Native Contingent.³⁴

The discrepancies between the number of personnel embarked and those recorded as being in theatre were caused by a number of factors. There is little doubt, for example, that last-minute changes in arrangements occurred between the drafting of the official reinforcement lists (which were subsequently published) and the actual date of sailing.³⁵ In addition, a number of deaths, desertions and evacuations of personnel occurred while the reinforcements were either en route or after their arrival in Egypt. Other likely explanations for discrepancies are the different accounting systems operated by the NZEF's various administrative branches, variable standards in record-keeping and human error.

The conclusion is nonetheless clear enough: approximately 25,000 NZEF personnel were transported to the Egypt between October 1914 and late November 1915 and were thus potentially available for service on the Gallipoli peninsula.

32 *New Zealand Expeditionary Force War Diary* gives three slightly different figures for the strength of the British Section of the NZEF. The main text variously describes the strength as either 233 or 240, while an appendix gives the strength as 238: pp. 31, 32, and Appendix IV/15, p. ccxxiii. The personnel from the British section, which was composed of men who had enlisted for service with the NZEF in Britain, were drafted to newly established engineer and Army Service Corps units. See Julia Millen, *Salute to Service: A History of the Royal New Zealand Corps of Transport and its Predecessors 1860–1996* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997), pp. 70–1.

33 *New Zealand Expeditionary Force War Diary*, p. 38 and Appendix ix/15, p. ccxxxi; Gibbon, 'New Zealand Expeditionary Force – Personnel, as at 1 June 1915', WA1/1[1j]. R23486740, ANZ.

34 *New Zealand Expeditionary Force War Diary*, 26 March 1915, p. 47.

35 This statement is developed in the discussion of the 6th Reinforcements survey below.

THE STRENGTH OF THE NZEF ON THE EVE OF THE GALLIPOLI CAMPAIGN

The NZEF in 1915 was not large enough to form a complete division. It was, therefore, decided to add one Australian infantry brigade and one light horse brigade to the NZEF to form a division. In January 1915 the New Zealand and Australian Division (NZ & A Division) was established under Major-General Sir Alexander Godley's command.³⁶ The NZ & A Division and the 1st Australian Division together formed the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir William Birdwood.

In order to calculate the strength of the NZEF in Egypt on the eve of the Gallipoli campaign it is necessary to add together the strength of the Main Body, the first three reinforcements and the British Section and then subtract the attrition experienced by the force between its arrival from December 1914 and the start of the campaign.

The total number of NZEF personnel who arrived in Egypt can be calculated with some confidence, but there are, as explained above, some minor differences between different sources for the strength of reinforcements arriving from New Zealand. The available data for attrition, on the other hand, is incomplete. What is known is that by 18 January 1915, the NZEF had lost a total of 115 men through death, desertion, illness and other causes and had received 238 all ranks for a nett gain of 123 compared with the force that sailed in October 1914. This implies that on 18 January 1915 the NZEF had a total strength in Egypt of around 8550.³⁷ After this date the 1947-strong 2nd Reinforcements and the 2210-strong 3rd Reinforcements and Māori Contingent arrived in Egypt.³⁸

While it was in Egypt the strength of the force continued to be affected by attrition and troop movements. Late in March 1915, 201 men suffering from sexually transmitted diseases were sent under escort to Malta.³⁹ The 439-strong Māori Contingent was also sent to Malta on 5 April, while on 1 April a total of 115 officers and men sailed for New Zealand from

36 For a comprehensive order of battle, see 'New Zealand and Australian Division. List of Officers' (n.d.) in Appendices to NZEF War Diaries, VXII–LIII, WA 1/1/[1h], R23486738, ANZ. The List of Officers has the added advantage of showing how few of these officers had previous war experience.

37 *New Zealand Expeditionary Force War Diary*, Appendix IV/15, p. ccxxiii.

38 *Ibid.*, 26 March 1915, Appendix IX/15, p. ccxxxi.

39 *Ibid.*, 26 March 1915, p. 47; A.D. Carbery, *The New Zealand Medical Service in the Great War 1914–1918* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1924), p. 26; Godley to Allen, 28 January 1915, WA252/1/[1], R24048324, ANZ.

Egypt. These men consisted of medical staff, invalids, men discharged for misconduct and those sentenced to imprisonment who were to complete their sentences in New Zealand.⁴⁰

To summarise, between 19 January and early April 1915 the strength of the NZEF in Egypt was reduced by at least 755. The final calculation is set out below:

Table 4: Estimated strength of the NZEF, 6 April 1915

Approximate NZEF strength in Egypt on 18 January 1915	8550
2nd Reinforcements	1947
3rd Reinforcements	2210
Subtotal	12,707
NZEF personnel who died or left Egypt between 19 January and 5 April 1915	-755
Estimated Total Strength of NZEF as at 6 April 1915	11,952

40 *New Zealand Expeditionary Force War Diary*, Order No. 119, Appendix XXIII/15, pp. ccclxxix–ccclxxxi.

PREPARING FOR THE GALLIPOLI CAMPAIGN

The interim report assumed that 90 per cent of the personnel enlisted in the principal combat arms of the Main Body and the 1st and 2nd Reinforcements landed on Gallipoli by early May 1915. A subsequent examination of additional documentary evidence has shown that this assumption was not correct.

In the period before the start of the Gallipoli campaign the commander of the NZEF, Major-General Sir Alexander Godley, decided that it was best for reinforcements to join their units as quickly as possible rather than being held in the depot.⁴¹ The men of the 2nd Reinforcements joined their units during February.⁴² Godley subsequently ordered that the personnel of the 3rd Reinforcements should 'as far as possible ... join their units for training purposes whilst the units are in Egypt'.⁴³

In early April, as the NZ & A Division prepared to embark for the Dardanelles, units were ordered to reduce their strengths to their war establishments and 1st Reinforcements only.⁴⁴ For each infantry battalion this required a reduction in strength to 33 officers and 977 other ranks. The 1st Reinforcement was to be 10 per cent of the war establishment, or one officer and 99 other ranks. The New Zealand infantry battalions, therefore, embarked for the Gallipoli campaign with a strength (including first-line reserves) of exactly 1110 all ranks. An order issued on 3 April 1915 specified that surplus personnel were to be sent to Zeitoun Camp in Egypt, where they were to remain until they were absorbed into the training depot that was to be established or 'until transferred to the base at Alexandria, as required, for dispatch to the front'. Units were to be 'kept up to strength from reinforcements'.⁴⁵

Unit commanders took the opportunity to select the best men from all the troops available in Egypt, while sending those they considered less ready for active service to Zeitoun.

41 Godley to Allen, 6 February 1915, WA252/1 [1], ANZ; Anzac Administrative Staff War Diary, 25 January 1915, AWM4, 1/28/2 pt 2, Australian War Memorial, Canberra [AWM].

42 Malone to Penn, 27 February 1915. John Crawford (ed.) with Peter Cooke, *No Better Death: The Great War Diaries and Letters of William G. Malone* (revised second edition, Auckland: Exisle, 2014), p. 130; W.H. Cunningham, C.A.L. Treadwell and J.S. Hanna, *The Wellington Regiment NZEF, 1914–1919* (Wellington: Ferguson and Osborn, 1928), p. 21.

43 Thoms, DAAG to all brigades and divisional units, 25 March 1915, WA22/3/3, ANZ.

44 New Zealand Infantry Brigade War Diary, to April 1915, WA70, 94/[70e], R23578107, ANZ; David Ferguson, *The History of the Canterbury Regiment, NZEF: 1914–1919* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1921), p. 18.

45 Godley, New Zealand and Australian Division Special Order, 3 April 1915, *New Zealand Expeditionary Force War Diary*, Appendix XXIV/15, p. cccixxxvii.

As a result of this process the NZEF units that embarked for Gallipoli included men who had sailed from New Zealand as members of the Main Body, 1st Reinforcements and 2nd Reinforcements.⁴⁶ For example, 10 men from the 2nd Reinforcements landed at Gallipoli on 25 April as members of the 6th (Hauraki) Company of the Auckland Infantry Battalion.⁴⁷ A few members of the 3rd Reinforcements also joined the invasion force. Ewen Pilling and his friend Frank Adamson, who had arrived in Egypt with this reinforcement late in March, could not stand the thought of being left behind. They went around the New Zealand camp looking for a unit that was short of personnel. Eventually they succeeded in joining the Otago Infantry Battalion on condition that they gave up their sergeant's stripes. Their decision was a fateful one. Adamson was killed within a few days of landing, while Pilling would see much hard service at Gallipoli before being killed on the Western Front.⁴⁸

This practice of effectively reassigning a proportion of the men from one reinforcement draft to another after their arrival in Egypt continued, although to a much reduced extent, throughout the campaign. It is therefore not safe to assume that every individual who arrived in Egypt with a particular numbered reinforcement continued to be present with that reinforcement when it was subsequently despatched to Gallipoli. For the same reason it cannot be assumed that the numbered reinforcements reaching Gallipoli were exclusively composed of men who had sailed from New Zealand with that reinforcement.

46 Cecil Malthus to Hazel Watters, 3 April 1915, Cecil Malthus collection, Christchurch City Libraries/Heritage/Digital, accessed 19 December 2018; *The Wellington Regiment*, p. 22.

47 Service Card, Albert Clarke, No. 12/1174, Personal File [P/F], R21894711, ANZ; 6th Company Muster Book AIB, AD25/14/24, R19134074, ANZ.

48 History-Sheet, Frank Forrester Adamson NZEF P/F, R 2226939, ANZ; *An Anzac Memory: Extracts from the Rough Diary of Lieutenant E.G. Pilling* (Dunedin: Stanton Brothers, 1933), pp. 18–21.

THE GALLIPOLI CAMPAIGN: APRIL – MAY 1915

Conditions at Gallipoli, especially during the early days of the campaign, made the compilation of accurate personnel and unit records very difficult.⁴⁹ With units dispersed and involved in desperate fighting, there was little opportunity to compile statistics. In addition, throughout the campaign NZEF war diaries and surviving related papers generally recorded the arrival of substantial groups of reinforcements only, and not the numerous small groups of returning convalescents and new reinforcements who were fed into units throughout the campaign. A number of other sources, however, help to provide a more complete view of the flow of personnel during the campaign.

On 9 April 1915 the NZ & A Division, less its mounted units, entrained for Alexandria from its camps near Cairo. Its units then boarded transports for Mudros on the island of Lemnos, which was to be the base for the assault on the Gallipoli peninsula. The NZ & A Division formed part of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force (MEF), which was commanded by General Sir Ian Hamilton.⁵⁰ As noted above, the NZEF units that embarked from Egypt for Gallipoli took with them 10 per cent of their establishment as first-line reinforcements. Before the landings on 25 April more than half of this group was used to provide 'hold parties' who were to empty the holds of the transport ships of essential equipment and supplies after the landing and then rejoin their units. The four battalions of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade (NZIB) and the Field Artillery Brigade established hold parties with a total strength of 330. In addition to these hold parties, the New Zealand Infantry Brigade had 154 reinforcements; the field ambulance 20 reinforcements; divisional engineers eight reinforcements; and the signal company 10 reinforcements. In total, 522 first-line reinforcements for NZEF units sailed from Alexandria in April 1915.⁵¹

The strength of the New Zealand units of the NZ & A Division when it sailed for Mudros from Alexandria appears to have been in the region of 6397 out of a total divisional strength of 11,398 embarked.⁵² The distribution of NZEF personnel among the transports is set out below:

⁴⁹ See for example, New Zealand Infantry Brigade War Diary, 16 May 1915, WA70, 94/[70f], R23578108, ANZ.

⁵⁰ Waite, pp. 62–7; Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, pp. 92–102.

⁵¹ Walker, ANZAC special order, 3 April 1915, WA23/2/3, ANZ; *New Zealand Expeditionary Force War Diary*, Appendix XXIV/15, p. ccclxxxix.

⁵² The numbers are approximate, as the nationality of 257 'Reserve Park' personnel sailing with the division aboard the *Sudamark* has not been established. An eyewitness, however, identified them on 5 May 1915 as Australian Army Service Corps personnel who had not yet been needed ashore and 'who expect to be returned to Egypt till the troops get further inland'. Norman Thomas Gilroy Diary, 5 May 1915, MLMSS 2247/Item 2, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

*Table 5: Distribution of NZEF personnel in New Zealand and Australian Division transports, April 1915*⁵³

Transport	New Zealand Units	No. of NZEF Troops
<i>Achaia</i>	Half of Wellington Infantry Battalion (WIB), medical, veterinary and Army Service Corps (ASC) troops and WIB Hold Party (44 men)	539
<i>Itonus</i>	HQ and half of WIB, half of Canterbury Infantry Battalion (CIB), chaplain, ASC troops and WIB Hold Party (44 men)	1022
<i>Katuna</i>	HQ NZ Field Artillery (NZFA) Brigade, 1st NZFA Battery, Auckland Infantry Battalion (AIB) and CIB accompanying AIB and CIB horses, medical, veterinary and ASC troops and NZFA Hold Party (44 men)	346
<i>Lutzow</i>	HQ NZ&A Division, Signal troops, AIB, half of CIB, chaplain, veterinary, ASC and AIB Hold Party (44 men)	1720
<i>Goslar</i>	HQ New Zealand Infantry Brigade (NZIB), Signals, New Zealand Engineers (NZE), ASC and Ambulance troops and CIB Hold Party (88 men)	696
<i>Annaberg</i>	Otago Infantry Battalion (OIB), chaplain, veterinary and ASC troops and OIB Hold Party (22 men)	1042
<i>Seeangbee</i>	NZ Reinforcements (154 New Zealand Infantry and 38 other troops)	192
<i>Australind</i>	NZ Howitzer Battery, Howitzer Battery Ammunition Column and ASC troops	265
<i>Californian</i>	3rd NZFA Battery and NZ Field Artillery Ammunition Column	289
<i>Surada</i>	2nd NZFA Battery, Brigade Ammunition Column, medical and veterinary personnel, ASC troops and NZFA Hold Party (44 men)	286
Total		6397

The total New Zealand infantry strength embarked with the division was 4459, made up of four battalions of 1009 officers and men each; 396 first-line reinforcements (of whom 242 were serving in hold parties); and the New Zealand Infantry Brigade Headquarters of 27. Accompanying the New Zealand units in the division were 1650 horses, 238 wagons and carts, 16 guns with limbers, 48 artillery ammunition wagons, 144 bicycles and motor-bicycles, and eight motor cars. This profusion of transport reflected the mobile operational role intended

⁵³ *New Zealand Expeditionary Force War Diary*, Appendix XXIV/15, pp. ccclxxxix–cccxcv.

for the NZ & A Division, which was expected to advance across the Gallipoli peninsula to Mal Tepe as soon as the heights of the Sari Bair Range had been secured by the 1st Australian Division of ANZAC.

As the NZEF had an estimated strength of 11,952 in early in April, the departure of 6397 personnel for Gallipoli meant that an estimated 5555 men were left behind in Egypt.

NZEF PERSONNEL LANDED DURING THE FIRST DAYS

New Zealand units of the NZ & A Division began landing at Anzac Cove from mid-morning on 25 April 1915 and continued to land over the next few days.⁵⁴ It has generally been assumed that the numbers landed in each unit were close to their full war establishments, but archival evidence suggests otherwise. A report signed by the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General to the NZEF, Captain (later Major) Nathaniel Thoms, entitled: 'Disembarkation of Force from 25th April till 30th April 1915' and completed on or about 1 May, states that only 4527 NZEF troops had landed between these dates, distributed as follows:

Table 6: NZEF troops landed at Anzac Cove, 25–30 April, 1915⁵⁵

Formation or Unit	Officers	Other Ranks	Horses	Date Landed
HQ NZ&A Div	13	27		
HQ NZ Inf Bde	3	2		
Auckland Bn	25	912		
Canterbury Bn	25	912		
Otago Bn	25	912		
Wellington Bn	25	912		
HQ NZFA Bde HQ	4	25		Landed 25th
No 1 Bty NZFA	5	65	16	Landed 30th and 1st
No 2 Bty NZFA	5	65		Landed 27th
Howitzer Bty NZFA	5	93	16	Landed 26th
HQ Div Engineers	2	2		
NZ Field Company NZE	5	139		
Signal Company	5	106		
NZ Field Ambulance	5	120		
Divisional Train	14	69	12	
Total	166	4361	44	

⁵⁴ William Braithwaite, 'New Zealand and Australian Division Private Diary of Events from 9th April 1915', WA10, 8/[76], R24428433, ANZ; Malone Diary entry 25–26 April 1915, *No Better Death*, p. 163.

⁵⁵ Thoms, 'Disembarkation of Force from 25th April till 30th April 1915', nd, but on or about 1 May 1915, General Staff, Headquarters New Zealand and Australian Division, April 1915, AWM 4, 1/25/1, Part 2, AWM.

Thoms' report seems surprising at first sight.⁵⁶ It is consistent, however, with the NZ & A Division's Operation Order No. 1, which was issued by Godley on 19 April. This order outlined the objectives of the division and stipulated that only the division's A Echelon troops were to be disembarked in the first instance. A Echelon consisted of the immediate front-line personnel only. B and C Echelons comprised transport and logistics personnel (of which a substantial proportion were organic to the war establishments of the principal combat units) and the first-line reinforcements, the majority of whom were designated as hold parties assisting with unloading. These echelons were to remain on the troop transports standing out to sea 'until the situation permits the disembarkation of "B" Echelon and such portion of "C" as may be decided at the time'. Over and above these reductions, a small party from the front-line portion of each unit was to 'be left on each Transport to take charge of Regimental Baggage and Stores remaining on board'.⁵⁷

When Thoms wrote his report, B and C Echelons had not yet been given permission to land. One result was that only 3748 of the strength of the NZEF's four infantry battalions were disembarked, 288 fewer than the combined war-establishment of these battalions. It also partly explains why the first-line reinforcements had not been landed.⁵⁸ The low number of artillery personnel and horses present on the peninsula, on the other hand, was largely a consequence of the shortage of artillery positions, particularly for the 18-pounder field guns of the three New Zealand Field Artillery batteries, which were flat-trajectory weapons often unsuited to the steep hills and gullies of the Anzac area. Only the 4th New Zealand Howitzer Battery could find positions for all four of its guns.⁵⁹

56 Ormond Burton, for example, claimed that 1050 all ranks landed with the Auckland Battalion on 25 April 1915. Ormond Edward Burton, *The Auckland Regiment: Being an Account of the Doings on Active Service in the First, Second and Third Battalions of the Auckland Regiment* (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1922), p. 53.

57 NZ & A Div Operation Order No. 1 of 19 April 1915 in HQ NZ&A Div – General Staff – War Diary, 3 April – 30 April 1915, Appendix VII, WA 20, 16/[20g], R23487397, ANZ.

58 It is not clear why the 192 1st Reinforcements (of whom 154 were infantry) who were additional to the 330 designated as 'hold parties' were not landed.

59 New Zealand Divisional Artillery – War Diary, Narrative, 14 August 1914 – 20 December 1915. WA 50, 70/[50bq], R23523687, ANZ. This narrative confirms Thoms' report that only 267 NZFA personnel (out of 999 known to have been despatched from New Zealand by that date) had landed at Anzac by 30 April. Lack of space at Anzac and the need for additional artillery at Helles led to the diversion of the 3rd New Zealand Field Artillery Battery to the Helles sector, where it arrived on 4 May 1915. This battery was not landed at Anzac until 18 August.

A firm indication of the strength of at least part of the NZEF at Anzac did not become available again until 5 May 1915, when the entire New Zealand Infantry Brigade was paraded prior to its embarkation for Cape Helles. The New Zealand Infantry Brigade War Diary entry for this day records the following effective strengths:

Table 7: Strength of NZEF troops embarking for Cape Helles, 5 May 1915⁶⁰

Unit	Officers	Other Ranks
Bde HQ	3	9
Auckland Battalion	15	586
Canterbury Battalion	26	778
Otago Battalion	15	522
Wellington Battalion	24	698
Signal Section	1	22
1 Field Ambulance	4	109
Total	88	2724

The total casualties (killed, wounded or evacuated because of sickness) suffered by the NZEF up to this point have never been fully established. Richard Stowers, however, has shown that 394 had been killed or had died of their wounds by 5 May 1915, almost all of them infantry. Losses were particularly severe in the Auckland Battalion, the NZEF unit most heavily engaged on 25 April, and the Otago Battalion, which took part in a failed assault between 2 and 4 May. Reliable statistics for the wounded are lacking. After the war the New Zealand military authorities estimated that the total number of hospital admissions up to the end of April was 698 – a figure that is broadly in line with the general trend of casualty statistics during the campaign, which recorded deaths and hospital admissions at a ratio of approximately 1:2.⁶¹ Several hundred more wounded are nonetheless certain to have been generated after the failed attack between 2 and 4 May, during which 161 men of the NZEF were killed. Total casualties within the NZEF infantry by 5 May are likely to have been in the region of 1300–1400. The number of NZEF infantry effectives recorded on 5 May, however, was 2664 – 1084

60 War Diary, HQ NZ Infantry Brigade, May 1915, AWM4, 35/17/4, AWM. The private diary of events kept by Lieutenant-Colonel William Braithwaite, a senior staff officer in the headquarters of the New Zealand and Australian Division, records that the NZEF units despatched to Helles on 5 May had a total strength of 89 officers and 2689 men (2778). Private Diary of Events, etc., 9 April – 16 July 1915, WA10, 8/[76], R24428433, ANZ.

61 The War Office, *Statistics of the Military Effort of the British Empire During the Great War. 1914–1920* (London: HMSO, 1922), p. 284. The same source states that there were 372 fatal casualties in the NZEF to the end of April.

fewer than the total of 3748 infantry recorded by Thoms as having landed. This suggests that the New Zealand Infantry Brigade had received at least some of its first-line reinforcements by the time it sailed for Helles on 5 May.⁶²

62 A return provided by the Wellington Battalion on 3 May 1915 stated that its strength on shore at that date was 24 officers and 726 other ranks (total 750). A further two officers and 121 other ranks (plus the battalion's 60 horses) were still 'on transports'. Of these men, the two officers and 93 other ranks were described as '1st Reinforcements'. This indicates that the first-line reinforcements for the Wellington Battalion had not landed by 3 May, but it does not exclude the possibility that they may have landed over the next two days. HQ NZIB War Diary, 1–31 May, 1915, WA 70, 94/[70f], R23578108, ANZ.

REINFORCEMENTS FOR GALLIPOLI: MAY 1915

The task of establishing how many reinforcements the NZEF on Gallipoli received during May 1915 is fraught with difficulty because of the fragmentary nature of the surviving records. The first large contingent of reinforcements was despatched from Egypt on 1 May 1915. It consisted of 1025 Australian and 901 New Zealand reinforcements carried on the transport *Saturnia*, and 880 Australian and New Zealand reinforcements on the *Osmanieh*: a total of 2806.⁶³ It is clear that smaller drafts were also being sent to the peninsula during this month.

In order to get the clearest possible picture the available evidence has been broken into three sections: reinforcements known to have been received at Anzac Cove; the arrival of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles regiments at Anzac; and reinforcements known to have been received at Helles.

REINFORCEMENTS RECEIVED AT ANZAC COVE

On 5 May 1915, Lieutenant-General Sir William Birdwood, the commander of ANZAC, produced a strength return for the corps, detailing the number of troops who had landed and the approximate casualties suffered since the landing on 25 April. The return showed that following the landing of the 21,400 troops of the main invasion force (referred to as the 'Covering Force' in the return), another 2450 troops had landed by 4 May, distributed as follows:

Table 8: ANZAC reinforcements to 4 May 1915

Reinforcements to ANZAC up to 3 and 4 May from:-	
Fatigue Parties	370
Beach Party	120
Reinforcements	130
Hold Parties	1830
Total	2450

63 ANZAC strength return, 5 May 1915, ANZAC Administrative Staff War Diary, May 1915, Appendix II, WA13/9/[13h], R23486806, ANZ. The Australians aboard the *Osmanieh* and *Saturnia* landed at Anzac on 6 May. William Braithwaite, 'New Zealand and Australian Division: Private Diary of Events from 9th April 1915', 5-6 May 1915, WA1/2/[1k], R23486741, ANZ.

The approximately 8000 casualties suffered by the corps up to midnight on 4 May meant that its actual strength was estimated to be 15,940.⁶⁴

The hold parties and reinforcements (1960 men) mentioned in this report almost certainly belonged to the 10 per cent first-line reinforcements, who had sailed as part of the B and C Echelons of the invasion force. It is not known how many of these 1960 men were NZEF personnel, but it is highly likely that a proportion of them were.

The ANZAC Administrative Staff war diary for May records that ANZAC also received 779 men who disembarked in three batches between 3 and 6 May 1915.⁶⁵ The war diary does not specify the identity of these men, but it seems fairly certain that at least 234 were reinforcements for the NZEF. The evidence for this is contained in two embarkation returns for the troopship *Lutzow*, which had taken part in the initial landings and then returned to Alexandria carrying wounded a few days later. A senior NZEF officer, Lieutenant-Colonel James Esson, who had already landed at Gallipoli and then returned to Egypt, was in command of the troops on board.

The first embarkation return for this voyage is dated 30 April and the second supplementary return is dated 2 May 1915. The two returns record 721 men embarking from Alexandria, of whom 234 were NZEF personnel, distributed as follows:

Table 9: NZEF personnel embarking on the *Lutzow*, 30 April–2 May 1915⁶⁶

Unit	Officers	Other Ranks	Date of Embarkation
HQ NZ & A Div	5	65	30 April 1915
No. 1 Section Signal Coy		25	
Auckland Bn	3	72	
Canterbury Bn	2	27	
Otago Bn		1	
Wellington Bn		2	
NZ Medical Corps	2		
NZ Field Ambulance		4	2 May 1915
NZ Infantry Details		25	
NZMC	1		
Total	13	221	234

Only one disembarkation return for this voyage exists, dated 5 May. This mentions that the personnel on board consisted of 'Reinforcements, Stray Men come aboard, and returned men fit for service'.⁶⁷ For this reason it is not possible to determine exactly how many of the 234 NZEF arrivals were reinforcements who had not previously served on the peninsula. Nonetheless, it seems likely that most of these men were new reinforcements who had not previously landed at Gallipoli. A note in the war diary of the General Staff, General Headquarters, MEF confirms that the majority of these men were immediately added to the strength of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade, which embarked from Anzac for service at Helles on the same day.⁶⁸

Other relatively small drafts of men mentioned by the ANZAC Administrative Staff as arriving at Anzac war diary were 132 men (of whom two were New Zealanders) described as being 'from Malta ... recovered, to join units', who disembarked from the *Clan McGillivray* on 6 May. The NZ & A Division Administrative Staff war diary entry for 9 May also mentions that a total

64 Appendix XII, 'Statement showing numbers landed and approximately present strength on land', 4 May 1915. General Staff, HQ ANZAC, May 1915, AWM4, 1/25/2 Part 2, AWM.

65 ANZAC Administrative Staff – War Diary, 1 May – 31 May 1915, WA13/9/[13h], ANZ. The diary records 133 landing on 5 May, 524 on 6 May and 122 on 7 May. Also recorded were 952 reinforcements landed for the 1st Australian Division on 5 and 6 May. It seems likely that these 952 Australians disembarked from the *Osmanieh* and the *Saturnia*.

66 Embarkation returns dated 30 April and 2 May 1915 in folder, 'Disembarkation Particulars', WA23/1 [Box 1], ANZ.

67 'Disembarkation Order', Lt-Col. Esson, 5 May 1915, in folder 'Disembarkation Particulars', WA23/1 [Box 1], ANZ. This order records the disembarkation of 522 men on that date, of whom 38 were NZEF. This corresponds almost exactly with the 524 recording as landing on 6 May in the ANZAC Administrative War Diary. AWM 4, 1/28/6. Admin Staff, HQ ANZAC, May 1915, entry for 8 May.

68 Entry for 3.55 pm on 6 May 1915 in war diary, GHQ General Staff MEF, AWM4, 1/4/2/ Part 1. General Staff, General Headquarters, MEF, AWM.

of 322 officers and men of the 1st, 2nd (NZE) and 4th (Australian Imperial Force) Companies of the Army Service Corps, of whom 231 were NZEF men, had joined the division by this date.

What these various reports make clear is that the Australian and New Zealand forces at Anzac began receiving parties of reinforcements very early in the campaign, and that a few of these men were convalescents returning after previous service at Gallipoli. It is equally clear, however that not all of ANZAC's B and C Echelons were immediately landed. Two of the troop transports that had carried NZEF units prior to the landing, *Lutzow* and *Itonus*, were despatched with three other ships for Alexandria on 27 April, carrying wounded. As the ANZAC Deputy Assistant and Quartermaster General, Brigadier General R.A. Curruthers, explained, 'Hold parties and Military Transport Staff have in most cases stayed on board. As the doctors had no medical attendants the hold parties were doing the work'.⁶⁹ Most of the other troop transports soon followed, as there was an increasingly urgent need to do something about the thousands of men and horses who remained on board, in some cases for more than a month. At the end of April Birdwood was already telling General Headquarters Mediterranean Expeditionary Force (GHQ MEF) that he was unable to land the approximately 6000 horses that had sailed with the corps, not least because of the lack of water at Anzac. After a certain amount of debate with GHQ MEF about what should and should not be retained by ANZAC, Birdwood signalled on 11 May that 17 of the transports would be returning to Alexandria to offload 5251 horses that were accompanied by 3217 men. GHQ MEF insisted that some of these men remain in Alexandria to look after these horses and guard ANZAC's many vehicles and mountain of baggage.⁷⁰

69 Copy of Signal, DA&QMG ANZAC to GOC ANZAC, 28 May 1915, Admin Staff, HQ ANZAC, May 1915, AWM4, 1/28/6, AWM.

70 'List of Transports Returning to Alexandria'. General Staff, HQ ANZAC, May 1915 AWM4, 1/25/2 Part 2, AWM. GHQ MEF was unhappy with this decision as it would effectively immobilise ANZAC on the beachhead. As it turned out, however, horses would not have been useful at Anzac.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE NEW ZEALAND MOUNTED RIFLES AT ANZAC: MAY 1915

By far the best documented reinforcement for the NZEF at Anzac Cove was the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade (NZMRB), which sailed from Alexandria on 9 May on the *Grantully Castle* and disembarked at Anzac Cove three days later, where it was to serve as infantry. Its support units followed on the transports *Kingstonian* and *Melville*.

Table 10: Strength of New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade embarked 8–9 May 1915⁷¹

Unit	Strength
Headquarters NZ Mounted Rifles Brigade	24
Signal Troop	24
Auckland, Wellington and Canterbury Mounted Rifles Regiments	1434 (478 for each regiment)
First-line reinforcements	93
Support units*	383
Total	1958

* Mounted Field Ambulance, Field Troop Engineers, Brigade Ammunition Column, and No. 3 Company Divisional Train

The Otago Mounted Rifles (OMR), a divisional unit, was also despatched to Gallipoli to serve as infantry. Its machine-gun section was sent on 10 May and its 12th Squadron on 15 May.⁷² Also despatched were 50 men to act as a bodyguard at Birdwood's headquarters. The rest of the regiment, which consisted of 370 officers and men, arrived at Anzac Cove on 28 May.⁷³ At the beginning of June 1915 the OMR war diary recorded a strength of about 540 at Gallipoli, not including its machine-gun section, which was brigaded with the other mounted rifles machine-gun sections.⁷⁴ This total is just nine fewer than the war establishment of the unit.

71 New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade War Diary May 1915, WA40/39/[40a], R23487687, ANZ.

72 It is not known how large these two contingents were. Their war establishments were 27 all ranks and 158 all ranks respectively.

73 Otago Mounted Rifles War Diary May 1915, WA44/55/[44k], ANZ; Terry Kinloch, 'Full Cry for the Dardanelles' in Don Mackay (ed.), *The Troopers' Tale: The History of the Otago Mounted Rifles* (Gore: Turnbull Ross Publishing, 2012), pp. 149–58; Waite, p. 327.

74 Otago Mounted Rifles War Diary June 1915, WA44/55/[44l], R23515972, ANZ.

That the regiments of the NZMRB and the OMR did not deploy to Gallipoli at full strength suggests that a significant number of men remained in Egypt. Almost certainly a large proportion of these men were left to care for the mounted rifles' horses and the regimental vehicles and baggage. The Otago Mounted Rifles, for instance, had 800 horses and left one man to look after about every 10. The number of soldiers employed on this duty probably decreased during the course of the campaign, as by the end of June 1915 some 300 Egyptians were employed to look after these horses.⁷⁵

In conclusion, from the available archival evidence, the total number of New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade, supporting elements and Otago Mounted Rifles personnel received on Gallipoli by early June 1915 was 2498.

REINFORCEMENTS RECEIVED AT HELLES

On the night of 5/6 May the four battalions of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade embarked from Anzac Cove for the other Allied beachhead at Cape Helles. There they joined the 3rd New Zealand Field Battery, which had been landed at Helles on 4 May along with four batteries of Australian field artillery in preparation for a renewed offensive against the Ottoman defences in front of Krithia. It has not been possible to establish the strength of the 3rd New Zealand Field Battery when it landed, but it is known that when the battery was transferred to Anzac on 18 August 1915 it had a strength of 97 all ranks.⁷⁶ This Allied offensive, which later became known as the Second Battle of Krithia, began on 6 May 1915. The New Zealand Infantry Brigade joined the battle on 8 May and suffered heavy losses.⁷⁷

Shortly before it went into action, reinforcements for the New Zealand Infantry Brigade arrived from Egypt. They did not join the battalions until after the battle. These reinforcements sailed on the *Saturnia* and seem to have been drawn for the most part from the NZEF's 3rd

75 Otago Mounted Rifles to Base Paymaster NZ and A Division Alexandria, 23 June 1915, Habib Antoon Base Records file, R2110523, ANZ; Mackesy to Camp Commandant New Zealand Base Details Zeitoun, 5 July 1915, A. Anhoury Base Records file, R21100521, ANZ.

76 DAAG New Zealand and Australian Division Arrival Reports, entry for 18 August 1915. WA23/3, 6. ANZ.

77 Contemporary reports estimated NZIB casualties at 771, of whom 120 were killed and 134 missing. NZ & A Division NZG.285, 'Report on the Operations: 6 May – 5 June 1915', June 1915, Admin Staff, HQ NZ & A Division, June 1915, AWM4, 1/55/3 Part 2, AWM.

Reinforcements. Waite recorded the arrival of this transport at Anzac Cove on 6 May and its redirection to Helles.⁷⁸

The New Zealand Infantry Brigade war diary for 8 May 1915 records the arrival at Helles of a total of 839 infantry reinforcements, distributed as follows:

Table 11: New Zealand Infantry Brigade reinforcements arriving at Helles, 6 May 1915⁷⁹

Unit	Officers	Other Ranks
Auckland Infantry Battalion	4	180
Canterbury Infantry Battalion	6	213
Otago Infantry Battalion	5	213
Wellington Infantry Battalion	5	213
Total	20	819

The surviving battalion war diaries are generally not specific about the number of reinforcements received, but other sources broadly confirm the distribution given above. For example, in his private diary, the Wellington Battalion's commander noted the arrival of 200 reinforcements for his unit on 9 May 1915.⁸⁰ The Otago Regiment's history states that a reinforcement for the New Zealand Infantry Brigade of about 900 all ranks arrived at Cape Helles on the morning of 8 May.⁸¹ The Canterbury regimental history, on the other hand, states that on 9 May the battalion's quota of the 3rd Reinforcements was only two officers and 38 other ranks, who had arrived the previous morning.⁸² This is plainly incorrect. The war diary of the Canterbury Battalion states that the strength of the battalion on 11 May 1915 was 32 officers and 852 other ranks – following casualties of 226 killed, wounded and missing on 8 May. As the strength of the battalion on 5 May was 804 all ranks, by 11 May it

78 Waite, p. 327. A letter written in May by Private Francis Davey, a reinforcement for the Otago Infantry Battalion section of the 3rd Reinforcements, generally supports Waite's statement. Davey reported that he left Zeitoun Camp on 30 April and embarked on the *Saturnia* at Alexandria. After a brief stop at Lemnos the ship arrived at Helles on the evening of 5 May. The *Saturnia* did not discharge troops there but sailed on to Anzac Cove, arriving at daybreak on 7 May. Davey briefly went ashore, and then that night 'we were ordered back to the ships' and returned to Helles, where they landed and joined their units. *Timaru Herald*, 22 July 1915, p. 4.

79 New Zealand Infantry Brigade War Diary May 1915, 8 May 1915, WA70/94, [70f], R23578108, ANZ.

80 Malone Diary entry 9 May 1915, *No Better Death*, p.183.

81 Lieut A.E. Byrne, *Official History of the Otago Regiment, NZEF, in the Great War 1914–1918* (Dunedin: Wilkie & Co., 1921), p. 38.

82 Ferguson, p. 43.

had clearly received over 300 reinforcements.⁸³ The New Zealand Infantry brigade returned to Anzac Cove on 20 May.⁸⁴

The grievous losses suffered by the NZEF in the initial fighting at Anzac and Helles confirmed the need for reinforcements. On 11 May, while reporting on the heavy casualties suffered by the New Zealand infantry at Helles, Godley remarked 'How fortunate it is that our policy as regards reinforcements has been so satisfactorily carried out. Had this not been done, our New Zealand units would soon cease to exist. As it is, we should get ample reinforcements, and be well able to keep going'.⁸⁵ A few days later he wrote again, stressing that a proposal to send a complete new mounted rifles brigade should be resisted: 'this would, of course, be quite useless... what we want is a perpetual stream of reinforcements (We cannot have too many)'.⁸⁶

SUMMARY OF NZEF PERSONNEL LANDING AT GALLIPOLI, 25 APRIL – 1 JUNE 1915

From the foregoing, the confirmed NZEF arrivals at Gallipoli up to the end of May 1915 can be summarised as follows:

Table 12: Summary of known NZEF reinforcements, April–May 1915

NZEF Arrivals	Date(s) Landed	Strengths
NZ & A Division, A Echelon	25 April – 1 May	4527
NZEF Reinforcements from Troopship Lutzow	3–6 May	234
First and Second Companies, Army Service Corps NZEF	Up to 9 May	231
NZMRB and OMR	Up to 28 May	2498
NZIB Reinforcements at Helles	8 May	839
3rd Field Battery NZFA	4 May	97*
Total		8426

* Strength recorded on 18 August 1915.

83 War Diary Canterbury Battalion May 1915, AWM4, 35/19/2, AWM. The figure of 804 is the battalion's strength as recorded by the NZIB on 5 May.

84 Waite, p. 131.

85 Godley to Robin, 11 May 1915. AD12/21, R3888169, ANZ.

86 Ibid., Godley to Robin, 30 May 1915.

It is clear, however, that the figure of 8426 landed by the end of May is an underestimate, as it does not take account of other known arrivals, including the 1960 men of the hold parties and reinforcements recorded as having landed at Anzac by that date. As previously stated, there is good reason to suppose that several hundred of the latter may have been New Zealand infantry used to reinforce the New Zealand Infantry Brigade shortly before it sailed for Helles. As will be seen, evidence from later periods in the campaign suggests that numerous other small parties arriving on the peninsula were not recorded in unit war diaries. We suspect that this may also have happened earlier in the campaign.

If it is accepted as likely that the infantry of the NZEF at Gallipoli received something close to its 396 first-line reinforcements, the total number of NZEF personnel that might reasonably be estimated to have landed at Gallipoli by the end of May 1915 is close to 9000. Such a figure would be in accordance with the recorded effective strength of the NZ & A Division, which rose from only 4185 (of whom 2754 were infantry) on 9 May to 11,233 (of whom 9100 were infantry) on 29 May.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that some men of the Main Body and the first three reinforcements who belonged to units or branches committed to the Gallipoli campaign did not for a variety of reasons serve there, at least before the beginning of June. A small number of wireless signallers from the 2nd and 3rd Reinforcements for the Divisional Signal Company, for example, served for several months as wireless operators on transports supporting the campaign.⁸⁸

87 War Diary General Staff, HQ ANZAC May 1915, AMW4, 1/25/2 Part 5, AWM.

88 Roy Finlayson Ellis, *By Wires to Victory: Describing the Work of the New Zealand Divisional Signal Company in the 1914–1918 War* (Auckland: 1st NZEF Divisional Signal Company War History Committee, 1968), p. 6.



Major Fred Waite, 1918. The author of the New Zealand demi-official history of the Gallipoli campaign, Waite was deeply sceptical of the claim that only 8556 NZEF personnel landed on the peninsula. *Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/1-015022-G*



James Allen, the New Zealand Minister of Defence, pictured in Territorial Force officer's uniform. Allen was well aware of the likely cost of committing New Zealand's forces to a major European war. His son, John Hugh Allen, was killed while serving with a British regiment at Cape Helles in June 1915. *Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/1-001203-G*



Generals Harry Chauvel (left), Sir Alexander Godley (centre) and Sir William Birdwood conversing on Gallipoli. Chauvel commanded the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade. *Australian War Memorial, H15753*



The Wellington Infantry Battalion preparing to board a troopship, October 1914. Very few were to survive Gallipoli unscathed. By late September 1915 the battalion had experienced an attrition rate of more than 170 per cent. *Alexander Turnbull Library, PA1-f-022-6-1*



Evacuation of wounded from Anzac Cove on barges, April 1915. The battle casualties suffered by ANZAC in April and early May 1915 have never been precisely enumerated, but were estimated by Birdwood, who was in command, as totalling 8000 by 4 May 1915. *Australian War Memorial, C02679*



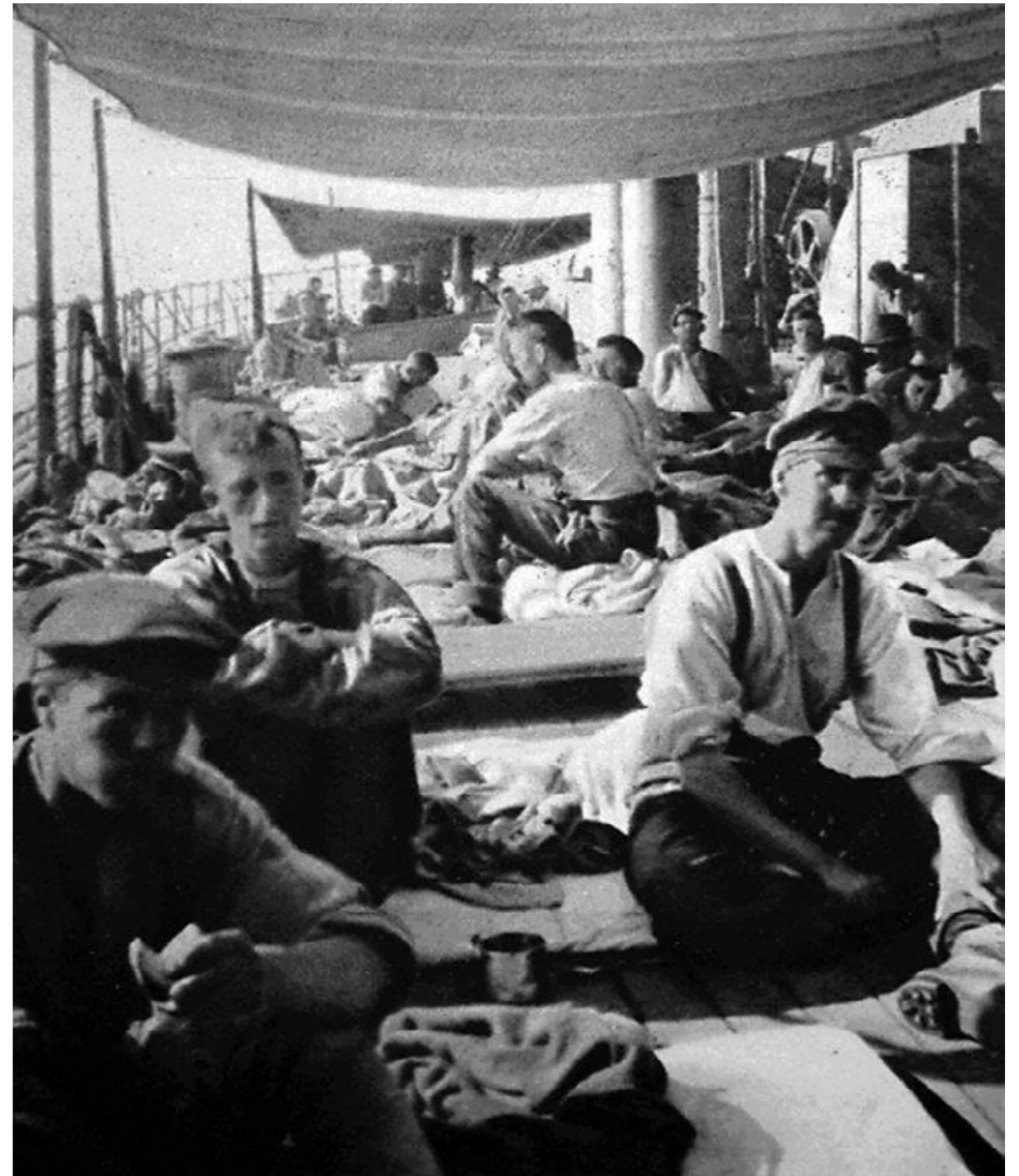
Wounded New Zealand infantry arriving in Alexandria in Egypt, April 1915. By 1 January 1916, 8109 NZEF personnel were recorded as sick and wounded in Egypt, Cyprus, Malta, Gibraltar, the United Kingdom or returned to New Zealand. Another 2588 were listed as dead, missing or prisoners of war. *National Army Museum, 2006.88*



Gallipoli wounded disembarking from the *Willochra* at Glasgow Wharf, Wellington, on 15 July 1915. By 1 January 1916, 3252 mainly sick and wounded had returned, or 12.8 per cent of the 27,902 NZEF embarked with the Main Body and 1st to 7th Reinforcements. *National Army Museum, 2007.996*



Evacuation of wounded from North Beach, Gallipoli, 7 August 1915. The August battles resulted in another 1113 NZEF deaths and around double that number in wounded. By early September only about 1050 New Zealand infantrymen and 200 mounted rifles remained with their units on Gallipoli. *Auckland War Memorial Museum, D531.T9 G169alb p. 6*



Sick and wounded troops crowding the deck of a hospital ship in 1915. Battle casualties at Gallipoli were not dissimilar to those experienced on the Western Front. Sickness rates, on the other hand, rising to 90 per 1000 per month during the dysentery epidemic of June–October, were up to 18 times as high. *National Army Museum, 2007.996*



Lieutenant-Colonel G.H. Stewart, commanding the Canterbury Mounted Rifles, surveys the remnants of his regiment on Lemnos, 14 September 1915. Of the 677 officers and men landed on Gallipoli up to that date, only 39 remained with the regiment. *Alexander Turnbull Library, PA1-o-811-26-3*



Parade of the NZEF 6th Reinforcements along lower Cuba Street, Wellington, in August 1915. The 6th, some 2400 strong, were the last major reinforcement draft to reach Gallipoli before the campaign ended in December 1915. *Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/2-008482-G*



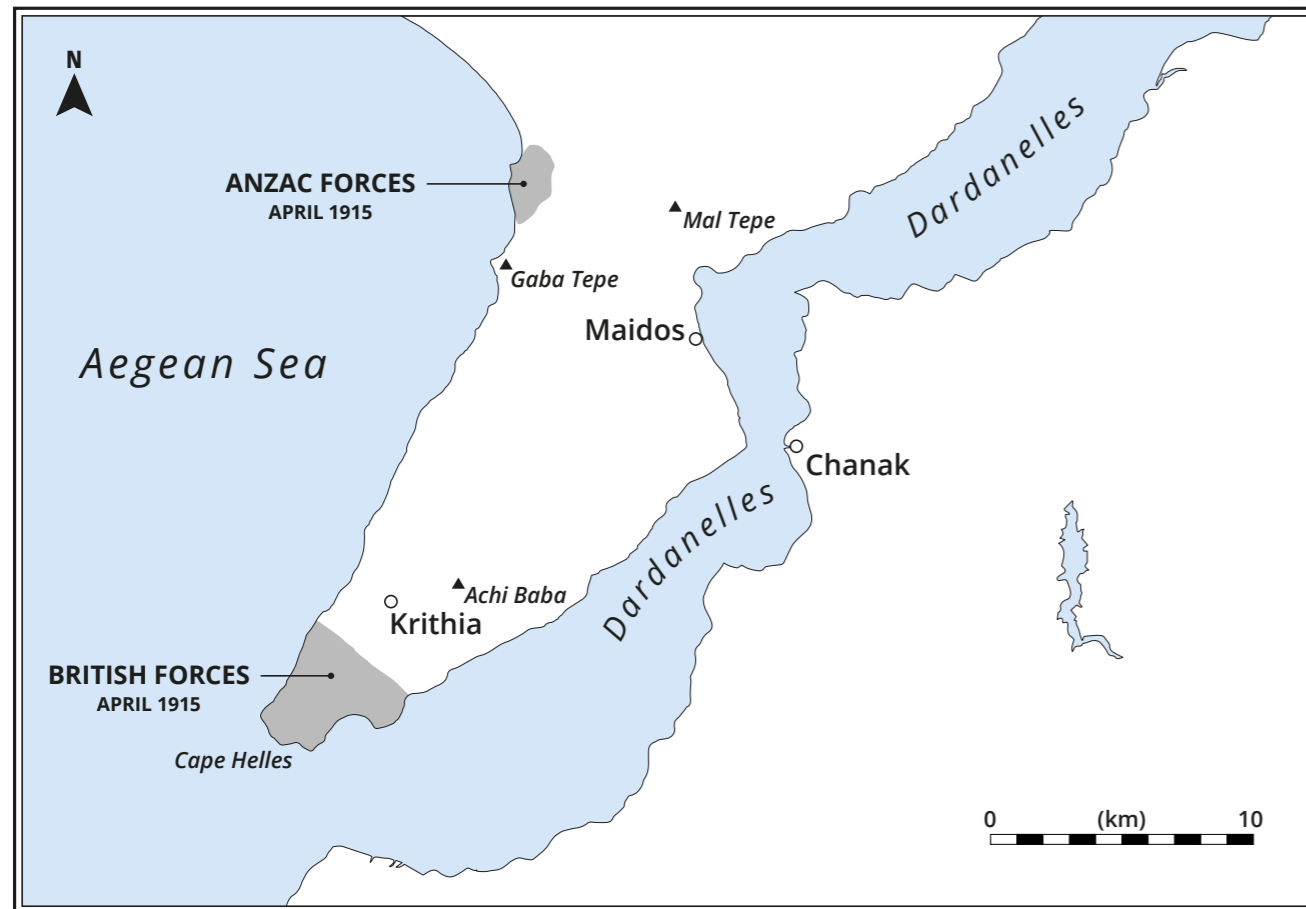
GALLIPOLI CROAKERS.
Our Boy: What's that? Give in—go back! What?

'Gallipoli Croakers', *New Zealand Observer*, 13 November 1915. This cartoon, by New Zealand artist William Blomfield, was published after the secret decision to evacuate the Gallipoli peninsula had already been made. It illustrates that the prospect of defeat was widely sensed and that the narrative of New Zealand exceptionalism, built on the heavy sacrifices of the NZEF, was already in the course of construction.

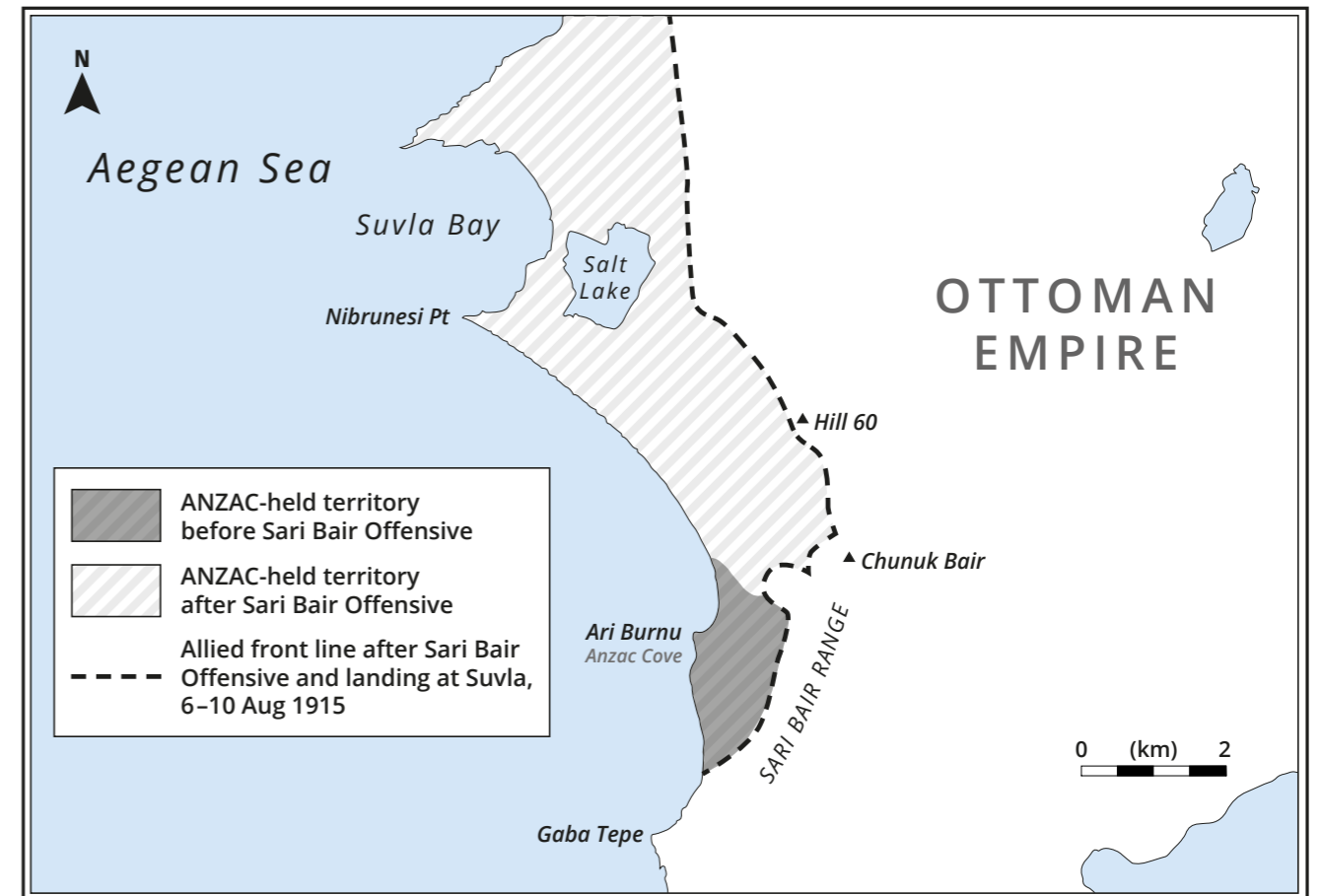
Map I: The Eastern Mediterranean



Map II: The Gallipoli peninsula



Map III: Anzac Cove and surrounding area



REINFORCEMENTS FOR GALLIPOLI: JUNE TO AUGUST 1915

The summer months of 1915 had a devastating effect on the effective strength of the NZEF on Gallipoli. While there were no major offensive operations during June and July, a dysentery epidemic caused by the breakdown of sanitary arrangements in the overcrowded beachhead decimated ANZAC ranks. By the end of June ANZAC was evacuating the equivalent of a brigade (about 4000 men) of dysentery cases every month.⁸⁹ The NZEF's participation in the August Offensive, which began on the night of 6/7 August and continued until the 10th, moreover, caused massive battle casualties. In all 880 NZEF personnel, of whom the majority were infantry, were killed, while 22 were taken prisoner. Further heavy casualties were suffered as a result of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade's participation in the battles to take Hill 60 on 21/22 and 27/28 August 1915. In these battles another 211 members of the NZEF lost their lives. Total fatal casualties for the three months are shown by Richard Stowers to have been 1617.⁹⁰ As Godley explained to James Allen, in August 1915, Gallipoli was 'desperate country to fight in, and the wastage and casualties of both Officers and men is bound to be huge'. Finding replacements, not just for the force at Gallipoli but for new units, he reiterated, would amount to 'a heavy drain on the resources of men in the country, but I have no doubt you will manage to find them somehow'.⁹¹ Statistics for the sick and wounded are less certain. Post-war estimates were that the number of hospital admissions over the June–August period were 3027.⁹² The total casualties of the NZEF in this period were therefore probably approximately 4600.

Maintaining the fighting capacity of the NZEF under these conditions could be achieved only through the supply of large numbers of reinforcements. Fortunately, an excellent series of records have survived which provide a detailed picture of how this was managed. As part of the review of archival material relating to the NZEF at Gallipoli, John Crawford closely examined surviving NZEF administrative records from the campaign. In particular, he focused on the records of the NZ & A Division's Assistant Quartermaster and Adjutant General (AQM), Lieutenant-Colonel James Esson, and his assistant, Captain Thoms, a New Zealand Staff Corps officer serving in the NZEF as the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General (DAAG). The AAG and his deputy were responsible, among many other things, for keeping track of unit strengths.

89 Carbery, p. 59 and passim.

90 Stowers, pp. 105–225

91 Godley to Allen, 14 August 1915, WA252/1/[2], R24048325, ANZ.

92 Great Britain. War Office, *Statistics of the Military Effort of the British Empire during the Great War 1914–1920* (London: HMSO, 1922).

While undertaking this work Crawford located a group of notebooks compiled by Thoms which contained handwritten reports about the arrival and departure from Gallipoli of NZ & A Division personnel and the strength of the division's units. The DAAG compiled these reports on a daily basis for the division's headquarters, the ANZAC headquarters and the Deputy Adjutant General (DAG) and Deputy Quartermaster General (DQMG) of the MEF.⁹³ These reports had not been consulted by other historians and proved to be a key source of information. The survival of these arrival and departure reports is most fortuitous, as only a small proportion of the records generated by the A (Adjutant General's or Administrative) Branch of Headquarters NZ & A Division during the Gallipoli campaign has been preserved.⁹⁴

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NATHANIEL WILLIAM BENJAMIN BUTLER THOMS, CBE, DSO, MC, mid



Captain Nathaniel Thoms (third from left wearing a hat) on Gallipoli in 1915. Archives New Zealand, AAAA W5897 25268 Box 1. Lieutenant Walter Moore's Diary 1914–1916. R24350264

Nathaniel Thoms was born in England on 5 April 1880. He served with the British forces in the South African War between 1900 and 1902. In 1911 he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the New Zealand Staff Corps (NZSC). He was among a significant group of British officers brought out to New Zealand by Godley to help with the establishment of the new military organisation in the Dominion. Thoms was commissioned in the NZEF as a captain on 15 August 1914. He landed on Gallipoli at the start of the campaign and was promoted to

93 Notes inside the cover of WA23/3, 5, ANZ.

94 The incomplete but still significant collection of Headquarters NZ & A Division A Branch papers for the period late June to early August that have survived indicate how much material from this branch has been lost. WA23/2, box 3, 33/2A–C, ANZ. Among these papers is an embarkation report from the 3rd Echelon MEF in Alexandria to the DAG MEF informing the forces on Gallipoli of plans to despatch a party of reinforcements. Such reports would have been generated routinely, but this report appears to be the only one to have survived in the New Zealand archives for the period July–December 1915. The figures in this report do not correspond closely with the numbers recorded by Thoms as landing at Anzac Cove in the first 10 days of August, but this is not surprising as the 3rd Echelon paper only deals with plans to despatch a particular body of reinforcements. 3rd Echelon Alexandria to DAG, 31 July 1915, 'Embarkation folder, NZA 97', WA23/2, Box 3, ANZ.

major in September 1915. He was the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General of the New Zealand and Australian Division. This important staff post on the headquarters of the division was responsible for personnel matters.

Thoms proved to be an excellent staff officer. He received the Military Cross (MC) and was mentioned in despatches (mid) for his outstanding service at Gallipoli. He held various command and staff posts with the New Zealand Division on the Western Front during 1916 and 1917. Thoms continued to distinguish himself. He was mid on two further occasions and made a Member of the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) in August 1917 in recognition of his valuable work and 'exceptional courage and keenness'. A severe wound suffered on 4 October 1917 during the Battle of Passchendaele ended his active service. Major Thoms continued to serve in the NZSC after the end of the First World War and rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Regarded as an exceptionally capable officer, he was in 1929 selected to attend the elite Imperial Defence College in the United Kingdom. In March 1931, before he had completed his course, he was compulsorily retired from the NZSC as part of wide-ranging budget cuts prompted by the Great Depression. Thoms commanded the Shanghai Volunteer Corps from 1931 to 1934. He was made a Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (CBE) in recognition of his outstanding leadership of the corps when the city was invaded by the Japanese. Lieutenant-Colonel Thoms died in Kenya on 24 May 1957.



A formal portrait of Thoms probably taken in the 1920s. On his right sleeve are four chevrons each of which denotes a year of service overseas with the NZEF. Archives New Zealand, AALZ, Series 25044, R24184664.

Source: Personnel Files of Nathaniel William Benjamin Butler Thoms, R7825798 and R24207816, ANZ.

The arrival and departure reports are in three handwritten notebooks compiled by the DAAG which have the Archives New Zealand references WA 23/3/, Items 4a, 5 and 6. The notebooks contain copies of reports on arrivals, departures and unit strengths. The arrival reports record the landing of reinforcements for the NZ & A Division on Gallipoli between 2 June and 28 August 1915. The notebooks distinguish between returning sick and wounded rejoining the division from hospital, those rejoining the division after temporary service elsewhere, and newly joined reinforcement drafts. In a small number of cases (fewer than 4 per cent) the category of reinforcement or the man's unit affiliation was unclear.

A survey of these reports produced the following breakdown of NZEF reinforcement categories between 2 June and 28 August 1915:

Table 13: Summary of DAAG Arrival Reports for NZEF units, 2 June–28 August 1915

Unit	Hospital Return	Other Return	New Reinforcement	Unclear	Total
AIB	225	14	605	7	851
CIB	232	750	562	52	1596
OIB	195	789	568	44	1596
WIB	196	24	590	32	842
AMR	68	5	233	8	314
CMR	68	0	170	9	247
OMR	45	2	163	3	213
WMR	60	0	233	5	298
NZ Medical Corps	31	5	87	4	127
NZ Māori	13	0	484	0	497
NZFA	43	99	373	7	522
NZE	63	0	302	16	381
HQ NZIB	33	0	0	0	33
HQ NZMRB	14	0	3	0	17
NZ Chaplains	3	1	1	0	5
HQ NZ & A Div	10	4	5	0	19
NZ Signals	9	2	35	1	47
NZ ASC	7	0	0	1	8
Div Train*	3	6	23	1	33
TOTAL	1318	1701	4437	190	7646

* Divisional Train Regimental Orders show that for this period at least one officer and 19 other ranks can safely be identified as NZEF personnel joining the New Zealand companies of the Divisional Train.⁹⁵

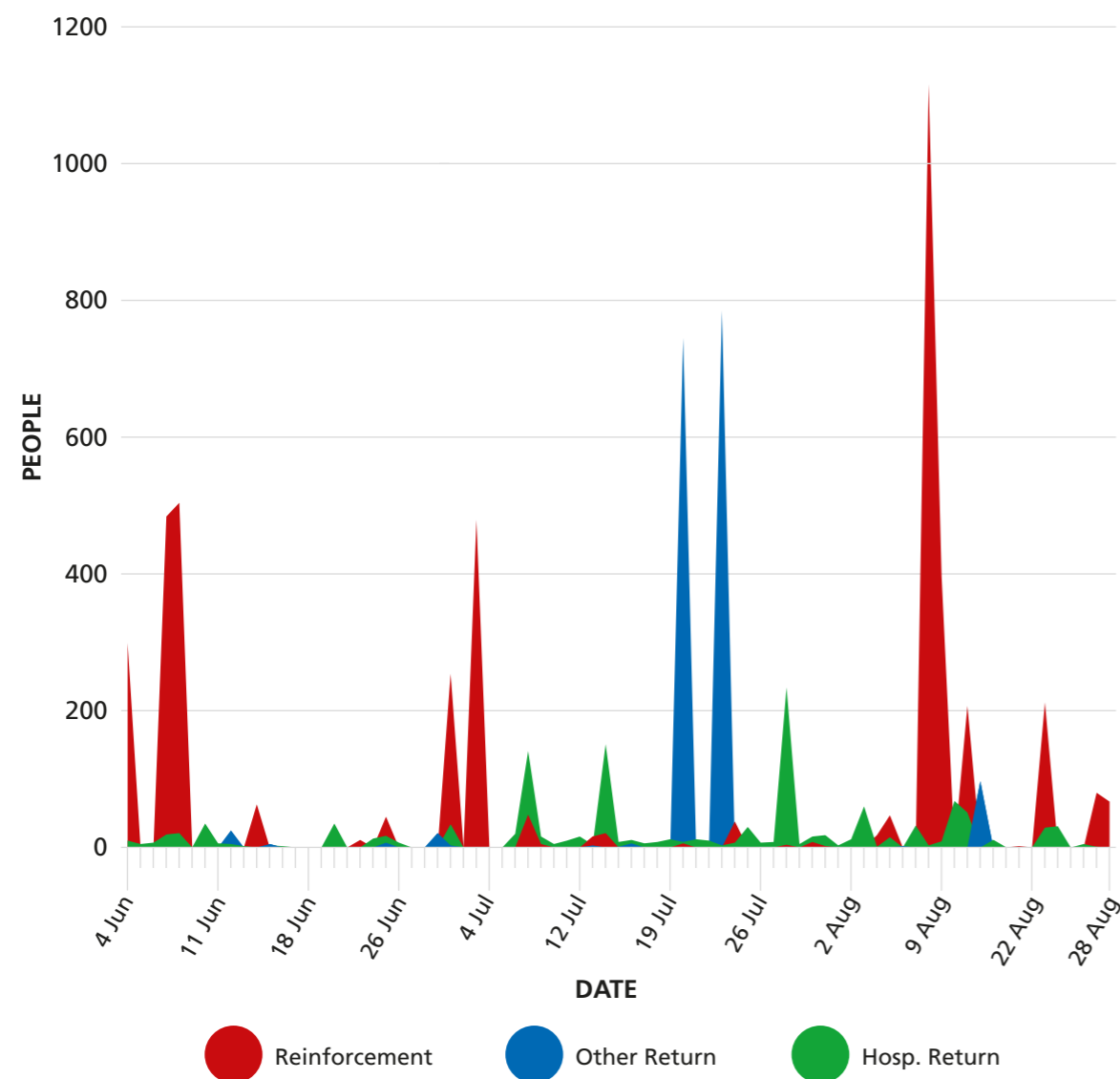
The results indicate that of the approximately 7646 arrivals of all kinds received by the NZEF, 4437 (58 per cent) were supplied by new reinforcement drafts. A further 1318 arrivals (17 per cent) were personnel returning from hospital. The total fighting strength added to the NZEF at Anzac was therefore 5755. The 'Other Return' arrivals were troops temporarily detailed

95 DAAG New Zealand and Australian Division Arrival Reports, June–August 1915, WA23/3, 5, ANZ; Regimental Orders Divisional Train New Zealand and Australian Division, 14 July 1915, WA110/2, ANZ. A recheck of the manuscript reports following the publication of the interim report identified some minor errors, which have been corrected.

for tasks beyond divisional control who subsequently returned to the division. They were not, therefore, new personnel and cannot be added to the total of new reinforcements received by the NZEF during the campaign. The largest groups of this category were the 1539 officers and men of the Canterbury and Otago infantry battalions who were sent to Lemnos for a rest in early July 1915.

Figure 1 shows the pattern of arrivals recorded by Thoms on Gallipoli over the three months covered by his notebooks:

Figure 1: NZEF arrivals at Gallipoli recorded by the DAAG, NZ & A Division, 2 June – 28 August 1915



The graph clearly shows that the NZEF on Gallipoli received significant new reinforcements on nine different dates: three times in early June, to insert a new unit (No. 2 Field Company New Zealand Engineers) and make up for some of the infantry losses of the April and May battles; twice more in early July to compensate for attrition suffered by the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade and insert another new unit (the New Zealand Māori Contingent); and then a large surge during the August Offensive followed by two smaller reinforcements of mounted rifles in preparation for the two battles for Hill 60. The final spike at the end of August involved the insertion of another new unit (No. 5 Field Battery New Zealand Field Artillery). Also graphed are men who had been evacuated sick or wounded returning in a more evenly distributed series of separate small drafts, and the return of the Canterbury and Otago infantry battalions after brief periods of rest on Lemnos.⁹⁶

Of the new reinforcements, 2325 (52 per cent) were received by the four battalions of New Zealand Infantry Brigade. Of these, 2095 were received in just two drafts, which arrived on the peninsula on 7/8 June (987) and 8 August (1108) respectively. An examination of the military service files of the officers who landed with each draft, in addition to a survey of the published regimental histories and unpublished war diaries of these battalions, established that these two drafts were composed almost exclusively of the 4th and 5th Reinforcements of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade respectively.⁹⁷

It should be noted that the DAAG's detailed reports appear to show that the 4th Reinforcements had experienced a pre-landing attrition rate similar to previous Reinforcements. In addition to the 987 all ranks received on 6/7 June, Thoms recorded the arrival of a further 62 officers and men in several smaller groups up to the end of July. It is highly likely that these men were also drawn from the 4th Reinforcements. The total of 1050 infantry reinforcements during June and July is 12 per cent fewer than the 1187 infantry who embarked from New Zealand with the 4th Reinforcements. There was no such attrition for the 5th Reinforcements. Thoms recorded a total of 1213 new infantry reinforcements during August, whereas 1208 infantry sailed from New Zealand with the 5th Reinforcements.⁹⁸ It is likely that the pre-landing attrition rate was much lower in this case because there was only a 16-day interval between the arrival of the 5th Reinforcements in Egypt on 24 July and their deployment to the peninsula on 8 August.

96 It should be noted that not all dysentery cases were evacuated. Those with milder symptoms remained on the beachhead before returning to their units. These men would not have been recorded in the DAAG's reports.

97 Reports in the war diaries are also confirmed in W.G. Braithwaite, 'New Zealand and Australian Division: Private Diary of Events from 9th April 1915', 6 June 1915, WA1, [1k], ANZ.

98 This also suggests, of course, that some of the infantry received during August were not 5th Reinforcements but other men who, for some reason, had not yet been sent forward from Egypt.

The majority (219) of the 302 New Zealand Engineers reinforcements were received at Gallipoli on 4 June 1915. These men were members of No. 2 Field Company, New Zealand Engineers, a new unit which had been raised in New Zealand on 17 April. Subsequent reinforcement drafts of 15, 20 and 47 were received on 5, 9 and 16 August. The largest New Zealand Field Artillery new reinforcement drafts were 58, 48, 26, 158 and 80, which were received on 14 June, 8 July, and 5, 9 and 27 August 1915 respectively. The last of these drafts were the members of No. 5 Field Battery, another new unit sent from New Zealand. The Māori Contingent arrived as a single reinforcement of 479 on 3 July and received only five new reinforcements over the rest of the reporting period.⁹⁹

A total of 799 new reinforcements were received by the New Zealand Mounted Rifles regiments over the reporting period, 772 of them in four drafts on 1 July (254), 9 August (201), 16 August (105) and 23 August (212). In the interim report it was assumed that the New Zealand Mounted Rifles would have received their 1st, 2nd and 3rd reinforcements by the end of May – about 965 men, if a 10 per cent pre-landing attrition rate is assumed. It seems almost certain, however, that the 264 mounted rifles who arrived by the end of July were the only reinforcements for the whole of May, June and July, apart from the 93 first-line reinforcements who had landed with the brigade. This is despite the heavy attrition suffered by the brigade during this period. Although there were no major Allied offensives, the brigade was involved in several sharp actions, including the defence of Anzac against heavy Ottoman attacks on 18/19 May and 29/30 June, and it had also suffered from day-to-day attrition caused by routine trench warfare and dysentery. A casualty return in the brigade war diary on 31 July 1915 gives an idea of the scale of this attrition:

Table 14: Casualty return for the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade, 31 July 1915¹⁰⁰

NZMRB Casualties up to 31 July 1915	Killed	Wounded	Sick
Officers	8	11	34
Men	85	310	409
Total	93	321	443

⁹⁹ These figures again suggest that allowing a 10 per cent wastage rate for units and reinforcements embarking from New Zealand is generally appropriate. The Māori Contingent was recorded as leaving New Zealand with a strength of 518.

¹⁰⁰ HQ NZMRB War Diary, July 1915, WA40/40/[40e], R23487691, ANZ

The time period over which these 857 casualties were recorded is not specified, but it is highly likely they were the casualties experienced by the three regiments of the brigade and the brigade headquarters since landing in May. Also recorded in the war diary on 31 July, however, were 216 all ranks who had 'returned' to the brigade over the same period, which meant that the total reduction in strength which had occurred since the brigade landed was actually 641 all ranks. Because the brigade and its first-line reinforcements numbered 1551 on landing, the strength on 31 July should have been 910.¹⁰¹ The actual strength recorded on that date was 1204 all ranks, suggesting that approximately 294 other men had arrived. This is close to the figure of 264 reinforcements of all ranks for the brigade and its three regiments recorded by Thoms as landing between 2 June and 31 July 1915.¹⁰²

The relatively small but nonetheless noticeable discrepancy between the number of reinforcements sent to the mounted rifles recorded by Thoms, and the number implied by a comparison of the strength return with the casualties reported by the brigade, is indicative of a need for caution when considering the DAAG's figures and other 'real-time' statistics generated during the campaign. This impression is reinforced by a survey of the military service files of the 94 NZEF officers who were named by Thoms as being new reinforcements on Gallipoli. This survey revealed that six of these officers (6.4 per cent of the sample) were not new reinforcements as Thoms supposed, but officers with previous Gallipoli service.¹⁰³ It is not known how Thoms compiled his arrival reports, but he almost certainly relied on returns supplied by the ships delivering the troops, which could contain errors, rather than personal knowledge of the officers and men. Although 6.4 per cent of a small and probably atypical sample is not an especially high error rate, and is of questionable statistical significance, it demonstrates once again the need for a conservative approach when estimating the number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ See Table 10 above.

¹⁰² Surveys of the officers named by Thoms and of a random sample of 3rd Reinforcement mounted riflemen also seem to indicate that the mounted rifles began receiving reinforcements at a much later date than was assumed in the interim report. By 6 August 1915 the strength of the brigade had fallen to 1118 all ranks. The attached Otago Mounted Rifles (401), Māori Contingent (454) and Mounted Signals (30) brought the total strength up to 2003 all ranks. HQ NZMRB War Diary August 1915, WA40/40/[40f], R23487692, ANZ.

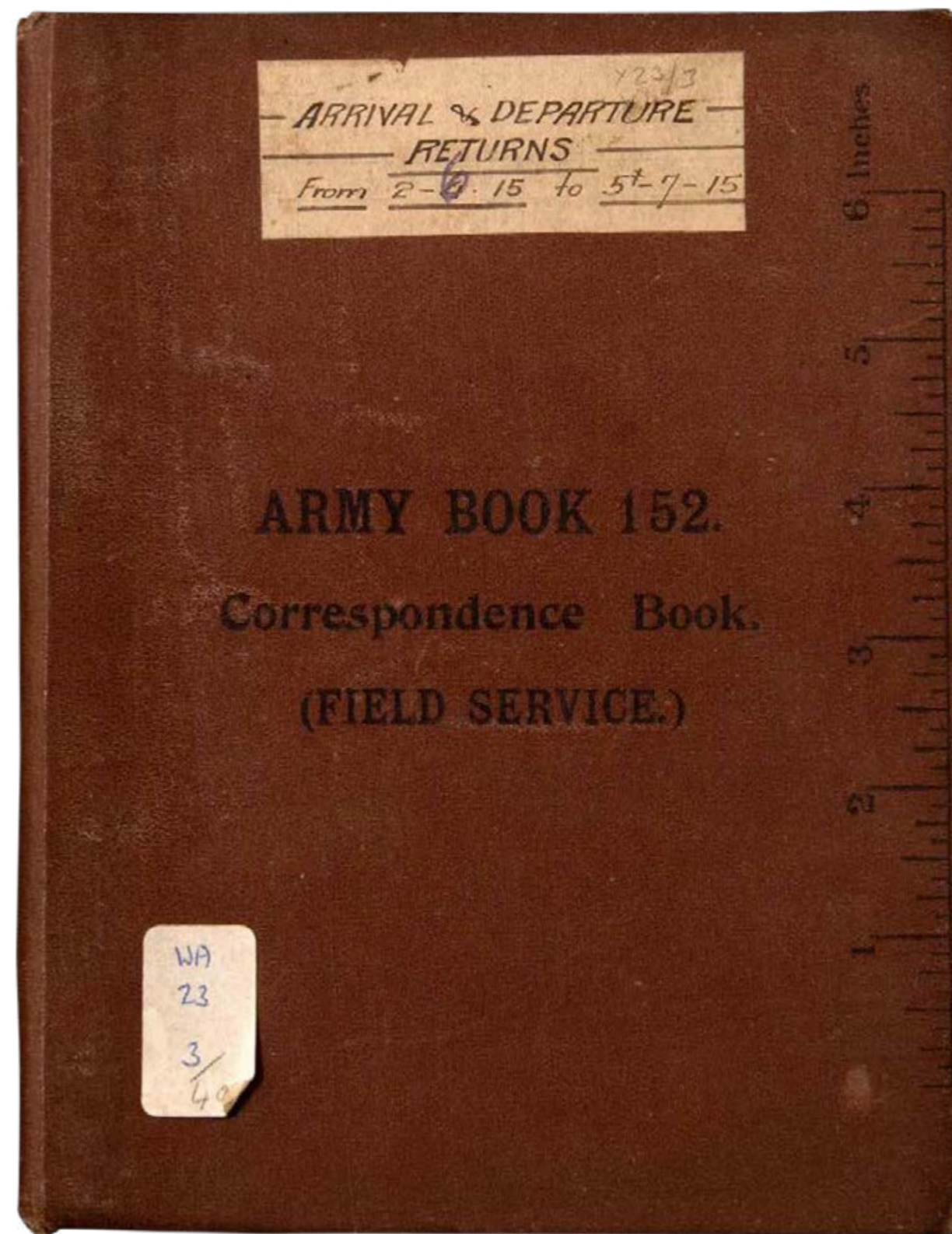
¹⁰³ These officers were Major Charles Newton, Captain Charles Hercus and Captain John Simpson of the NZMC; Major Francis Hume and Captain Clyde McGilp of the NZFA; and one infantry officer, Lieutenant Douglas Dron. Although deficiencies in the personal files of these officers make it difficult to assess why they were wrongly categorised, papers on their files suggest that in general there were lengthy periods between their first and second arrivals at Gallipoli. Lieutenant Dron, for example, sailed with the 3rd Reinforcements and is listed by the DAAG as a reinforcement officer arriving on 8 August. In fact, Dron had landed at Gallipoli on 9 May and been wounded the following month. In August he was returning from hospital after recovering from his wound.

¹⁰⁴ Officers were atypical compared with other ranks in terms of their distribution, as they were more likely to be temporarily detached from their units for a variety of other duties.

The conclusion is that the approximate number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli up to 28 August 1915 was:

Table 15: NZEF personnel serving on Gallipoli up to 28 August 1915

Time Period	NZEF personnel landing on Gallipoli
25 April to 31 May 1915	8426 +
2 June to 28 August 1915	4437
Total	12,863 +



Front cover of DAAG New Zealand and Australian Division Arrival Reports, June–July 1915, which show how Captain Thoms clearly set out the identity and status of New Zealand and Australian Division troops arriving at Anzac Cove. WA23/3, 4a, ANZ.

ARRIVAL REPORT

NZTA Division
6/6/15

DATE OF ARRIVAL	UNIT	OFFICERS	RANKS	Date of Officers Promts	Remarks
6/6/15	Auckland Battalion	Lt DEVEREAUX	GB	20/11/14	Returned from hospital.
"	Canterbury Battalion		2		
"	Wellington Battalion		1		
"	M. Rifles		1		
"	Dracs		1		
"	M. Rifles		1		
"	2nd Air Div		1		
"	Sig Co		1		
"	NZ BWS		1		
"	1st ALH		3		
"	2nd ALH		3		
"	3rd ALH		1		
"	8th ALH		2		
"	9th ALH		3		
"	13th B. AIF		3		
"	16th B. AIF		2		

Muss Thomas Capt
DAMP
NZTA Division

Arrival Report, 6 June 1915.

ARRIVAL REPORT

NZTA Division
7-6-15

DATE OF ARRIVAL	UNIT	OFFICERS	Date of Officers Promts	OTHER RANKS	REMARKS
7/6/15	AUCKLAND Battalion	Major GRANT. G.A	1-9-14	263	(Donk (only))
"	"	2/Lt. MEWETT. J.E.	15-10-14		
"	"	2/Lt. MERRINGTON. A.R.	13-11-14		
"	"	Lt. ALDRIDGE. A.G.	24-7-14		
"	"	2/Lt. KNIGHT. C.L.	13-3-14		
"	CANTERBURY Battalion	Lt. WRIGHT. H.M.	15-8-13	211	
"	"	Lt. STONE W.G.	25-7-12		
"	"	2/Lt. TONKIN J.F.	5-12-11		
"	"	2/Lt. GALLOWAY G.	23-10-14		
"	N.Z. Field Ambulance	Major FYFFE WK	12-2-12		(NZMales)
"	Auckland Battalion			8	From Hospital
"	Canterbury Battalion			4	
"	Dracs			5	
"	M. Rifles			2	

Muss Thomas Capt DAMP
NZTA Division
7/6/15

Arrival Report, 7 June 1915.

ARRIVAL REPORT

NZTA Division
8-6-15

Date of Arrival	UNIT	OFFICERS	Date of Post Promotion	OTHER REMARKS
8/6/15	OTAGO Bn	Maj. TURNBULL W.M.C.	1-9-14	1
	WELLINGTON Bn			1
	CANTERBURY Bn			4
	AUCKLAND Bn			3
	AUCKLAND M.R.			1
	CANTERBURY M.R.			3
	WELLINGTON M.R.			5
	SIGNAL Troop			1
	13 Bn AIF			4
	14 " AIF			5
	15 " AIF			1
	16 " AIF			1
	FIELD Troop			1
	Div Hq			1
	1st ALH			1
	2nd ALH			1
	Qd. ALH			2
	10th ALH			2
	OTAGO Bn	Lieut NICHOLSON RN	25-5-13	240
	"	Lieut WAITE GB	25-3-14	
	"	Lieut GILMAN G.I.	1-11-14	
	WELLINGTON Bn	Lieut CUTHILL JE	3-11-15	254
	"	Lieut CARRINGTON A.I.	17-11-14	
	"	Lieut BAIN J.S.	19-11-13	
	"	Lieut WELLS E.L.	15-6-17	
	AUCKLAND Bn	Lieut HUME A.G.		
	Cent. Bn	Lieut ROTHOFF A.F.	13-12-14	34 Reinforced

FROM HOSPITAL

Arrival Report, 8 June 1915.

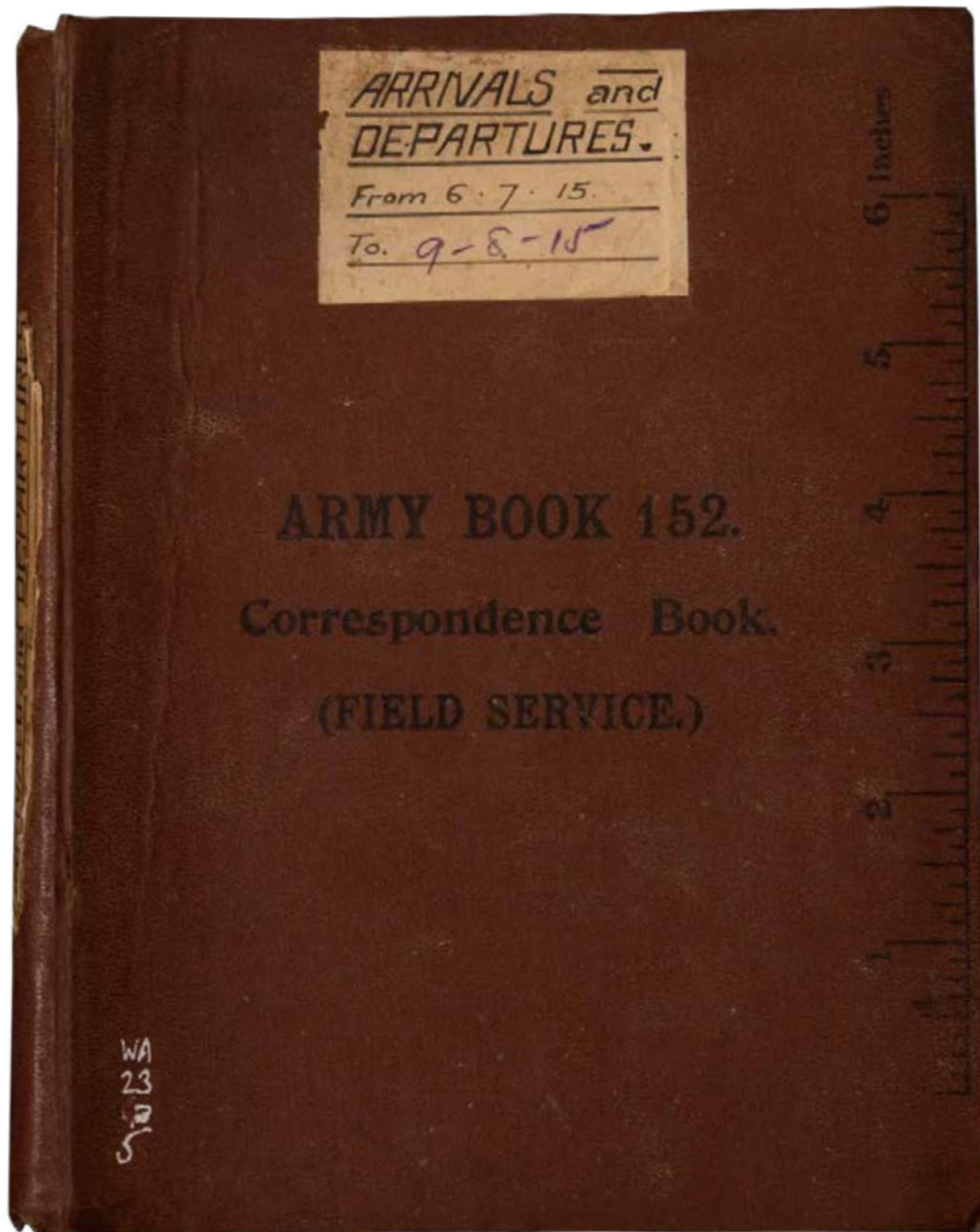
ARRIVAL REPORT

NZTA Division
14-6-15

Date	Unit	Officers	Other Remarks
14/6/15	Hon By.	2 Lt. WARNOCK H.P.	17/4/15 57 Reinforcement from NZ
	Wellington Bn	Lt MUNRO K.	17/4/15 1 DO.
	Canterbury Bn	Lt STITT AD	11/4/15 1
	Otago Bn		1

M. J. THOMAS

Arrival Report, 14 June 1915.



Front cover of DAAG New Zealand and Australian Division Arrival Reports, July–August 1915, which cover the days just before and during the August Offensive. The most significant arrival was the 5th Reinforcements for the New Zealand Infantry Brigade. WA23/3,5, ANZ.

ARRIVAL REPORT N.Z. & A. Division 5th August 1915

Unit	Officers	Privates	Non-Infantry	Animals	Notes
Warren M.R.	Lieut TAYLOR, H.P. ✓	6			Reinforcement
8 th B.L.I.		50			Retd from Hosp
3 rd " "	2 nd Lieut ALLEN, N.A. ✓	173			Reinforcements
		19			17 Retd from Hosp 2 Stragglers
10 th " "	Lieut THROSSSELL, H.V.S ✓	90			Reinforcements
A.M.R.		7			Retd. from Hosp.
C.M.R.		7			" " "
N.Z.F.A.		26			Reinforcements
N.Z.E.		15			"
1 st A.I.H. Co. (Aust)		16			"
		369			

R. M. Thomas Call
S.M.P.

Arrival Report, 5 August 1915.

ARRIVAL REPORT NZ & A. Division 6th August 1915

Unit	Officers	Date of Promotion	Ranks	Animals	Guns	Vehicles	Remarks
3 rd ALH	Major HELSHAM	✓	48	-	-	-	Reinforcements arrived 2/8/15
2 nd ALH	Lieut CHEESMAN R.S.	✓		-	-	-	
"	" RIGHETT A	✓	40	-	-	-	"
3 rd "	" BARNETT C	✓	110	-	-	-	"
14 th Bn A.I.B.			45	-	-	-	"
9 th ALH	Lt. Col. MIELL A	✓		-	-	-	Retd from Hosp.
NZFA	Lieut MORTON	✓		-	-	-	" " HELLES
	" CHRISTIE	✓		-	-	-	" " "
	7		243				

MWD Thomas Cabb
D.A.H.C.

Arrival Report, 6 August 1915.

ARRIVAL REPORT NZ & A. Division 7th August 1915

Unit	Officers	Date of Promotion	Ranks	Animals	Guns	Vehicles	Remarks
Div. H.Q.	Capt. Hon. A. HERBERT	✓	-	-	-	-	Retd from Hosp.
"	2 nd Lieut LEVIEN, N	✓	-	-	-	-	Reinforcements (see above) Retd from Hosp.
1 st ALH Bde			12	-	-	-	" " "
3 rd " "			16	-	-	-	" " "
NZ M.B.			12	-	-	-	" " "
NZ Infy Bde			15	-	-	-	" " "
NZ F.A.			1	-	-	-	" " "
NZ Engrs.			2	-	-	-	" " "
NZ M.C.			1	-	-	-	" " "
16 th Bn A.I.B.	2 nd Lieut HUTTON, A.F.	✓	12	-	-	-	" " "
4 th A.I.B.			48	-	-	-	" " "
	3		107				

J. Wilson Lt Col
A.B. & Q.M.G.
NZ & A Division

Arrival Report, 7 August 1915.

ARRIVAL REPORT NZ & A Division 8.8.15

Unit	Officers	Date of Arrival	Ranks	Remarks
13 th Bn AAIB	2 nd Lieut SCOBIE, W. F.	-		Reinforcement dated 6.8.15
Aux Bn.	Lieut McCORMISH, J. D.	-		"
	" JACK, A. D.	-	280	"
	" MACLEAN, E. W.	-		Ret'd from Hosp.
Canby Bn.	Major REVE, R. A.	-		" " "
	Lieut. LE MOTTEE	-		" " "
	" DRON, D. A.	-	255	Reinforcements
	" DOBSON, D.	-		"
Otago "	Capt GUNGAN, W.	-	273	"
	Lieut HUNT, F. L.	-		"
	" MORRE, J.	-		"
	" WRIGHT, A. H.	-		"
	" CLARKE, T. H.	-		"
	2 nd Lieut THOMPSON, J.	-		"
Wgton. Bn.	6	-	280	"
NZFA	Lieut CARRINGTON, C.	-		"
	JEFFERY, J. G.	-	3	"
Otago M.R.		-	4	"
Aux "		-	1	"
Wgton "		-	3	"
Maori Contgt.		-	1	"
	20	-	1100	
Animals, Guns, Vehicles - NIL.				
				Lt. Col. A.Q.M.G.

Arrival Report, 8 August 1915.

ARRIVAL REPORT NZ & A Division 9th August 1915

Unit	Officers	Date of Arrival	Ranks	Remarks
NZFA	Lieut. FORSYTHE, G. H.	-		Comprise 1 st Bty Ranks Amun. Col. Honr. Bty. & 5 th Bty Ranks. They were sent forward as Reinforcements irrespective of these units.
	2 nd Lieut. DEUGHTY, H. H.	-	154	
	Lieut. CARRINGTON, C.	-		
	JEFFERY, J. G.	-		
NZ Engrs.		-		
1 st Bn Coy.		-	20	Reinforcements
Sig "		-	18	"
Aux M.R.		-	16	Reinforcements
Canby "		-	16	"
Wgton "		-	16	"
Otago "		-	15	"
1 st Bn M.R.	One (Major)*	-	14	Returned from Hosp.
Aux. Bn.		-	2	"
Canby "		-	1	"
Otago "		-	4	"
Wgton "		-	2	"
14 th Bn AAIB		-	4	"
	3	-	282	
Animals, Guns, Vehicles - NIL				
Supplementary Otago M.R. 4 Officers 134 Other Ranks Reinforcements				
				Lt. Col. A.Q.M.G.

Arrival Report, 9 August 1915.



HEADQUARTERS.

NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIAN DIVISION.
Anzac Cove, Gallipoli Peninsula,
11th May, 1915.

My dear Robin,

Thank you very much for your letter of March 19th. The Minister will, no doubt, have shown you my long letter to him which I wrote a few days ago, describing our fighting up to date. It has been very severe, and both Officers and men have done extraordinarily well. The Officers have been quite excellent, and the valour of the men beyond all praise. They had a very hard time for the first few days with no sleep or rest, and for the first two days very little food and water. Since then they have been well fed, but the strain and fighting has been absolutely incessant, and they have not had much sleep or rest. On the top of the fighting here, our Infantry Brigade was demanded to go south to join the 29th Division at Cape Helles, and take part in an attack there two days ago. I hear it did extremely well, and advanced most gallantly under a very heavy shrapnel fire. I am afraid its casualties are again heavy. How fortunate it is that our policy as regards reinforcements has been so satisfactorily carried out. Had this not been done, our New Zealand units would soon cease to exist. As it is, we should get ample reinforcements, and be well able to keep going.



HEADQUARTERS.

NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIAN DIVISION.

2.

The Howitzers have been absolutely invaluable, and the whole Army Corps depends on their fire - When I say Army Corps, it consists at this minute of only about 11,000 men, owing to casualties, and to the mounted troops not having yet arrived; they are coming, I am glad to say, on foot, very shortly.

I have asked for the Maoris to come also from Malta, and hope that they will.

Our Engineers have also done extraordinarily good work, and we are now busy getting on even terms with the Turks and Germans as regards trench mortars, bombs, periscopes, and all other paraphernalia of modern warfare.

I enclose a copy of my report to the Army Corps on our landing.

Wishing you the best of luck, and with best remembrances to your family,

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Al Godley

During 1915 Godley corresponded regularly with the commander of the military forces in New Zealand, Brigadier-General Alfred Robin. In these letters he describes the heavy fighting during the first weeks at Gallipoli. Godley to Robin, 11 May 1915, p. 1. AD12/21, R3888169, ANZ

Godley to Robin, 11 May 1915, p. 2.



AMS
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HEADQUARTERS,

NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIAN DIVISION.
Anzac Cove, Gallipoli Peninsula,
30th May, 1915.

My dear Robin,

Thank you very much for your letter of 31st March.

Many thanks for making the arrangements I asked you to as regards reinforcement officers. We are hoping to get the Fourth Reinforcements now quite soon.

I expect you are glad that the Samoan reliefs have taken place. It really is too bad, the way that some of the men have behaved since they came back. I hope you will send all of them that are coming here simply as ordinary reinforcements. The Minister writes to me that there was an idea of sending another mounted brigade; this would, of course, be quite useless, and what we want is a perpetual stream of reinforcements (we cannot have too many), instead of any fresh units.

I am glad to hear that you think people are beginning to realize that the military administration of the gift goods, and the canteens, is not quite as villainous as they took for granted it was.

Trentham really seems to be a splendid place now, and you will soon have it a second Aldershot.

I haven't really much news to give you from here.



HEADQUARTERS,

NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIAN DIVISION.

2.

We lead a comparatively uneventful life, only varied by occasional sorties, or occasional Turk attacks. Our Artillery and Engineers have both done perfectly excellent work. Sykes' and Symon's batteries of eighteen pounders have fired a tremendous lot, and done very well, and Falla's howitzers have been absolutely invaluable. All three have commanded their batteries real well. Standish's battery, for which there is no room here, has gone to Cape Helles. Our sappers have done a great deal in the way of mining, especially in one Post, where they have countermined successfully several of the enemy's shafts, and where they are now engaged in making a grand gallery, which we hope is going to blow the Turk trenches opposite it sky high.

The Infantry Brigade has been in reserve here, doing nothing except digging roads and communications and beach fatigues, since they returned from Cape Helles, where they did extraordinarily well; I sent the Minister a copy of Johnston's report. They have, of course, lost a great many Officers, but we have made them up by promotions from the ranks, and absorptions from supernumeraries, and they are quite a useful fighting unit today, but only 2,700 strong. They go into the trenches here today.

Russell's Brigade has been in the trenches since it arrived, and has done very well. The C.Y.C. Squadron rushed a



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Turk trench a couple of nights ago very successfully, with the loss of only one killed and five wounded, and have occupied it since. As I write they are being heavily attacked, but are holding their own well.

Our Administrative Branch is getting rather short-handed. Chaytor, I am very sorry to hear, is dangerously ill at Malta - I am afraid that septic poisoning must have set in from his wound; I have had to send Esson to Alexandria, to see to things there; and Thoms has had to go there, sick. Reid is therefore acting as A.A. and Q.M.G., with only one helper, Bentinck, 8th Lancers, who I got from Egypt. Kettle, one of the Motor Reserve Officers, is Provost Marshal, vice Brown, appointed to command the Canterbury Battalion, and Anderson, the other Motor Officer, has been appointed Staff Officer to the G.R.E. of the Army Corps, where his engineering knowledge makes him useful. Bowler is Provost Marshal to the Army Corps. Brown did extraordinarily good work as Provost Marshal of the Division, and also appears to be a very capable Commanding Officer.

It is difficult to forecast how long we shall be bottled up here. Though I am not particularly optimistic, at the same time it does look as if the Turkish resistance was weakening a bit, and, though they are rapidly, and heavily,

Godley to Robin, 30 May 1915, p. 3.



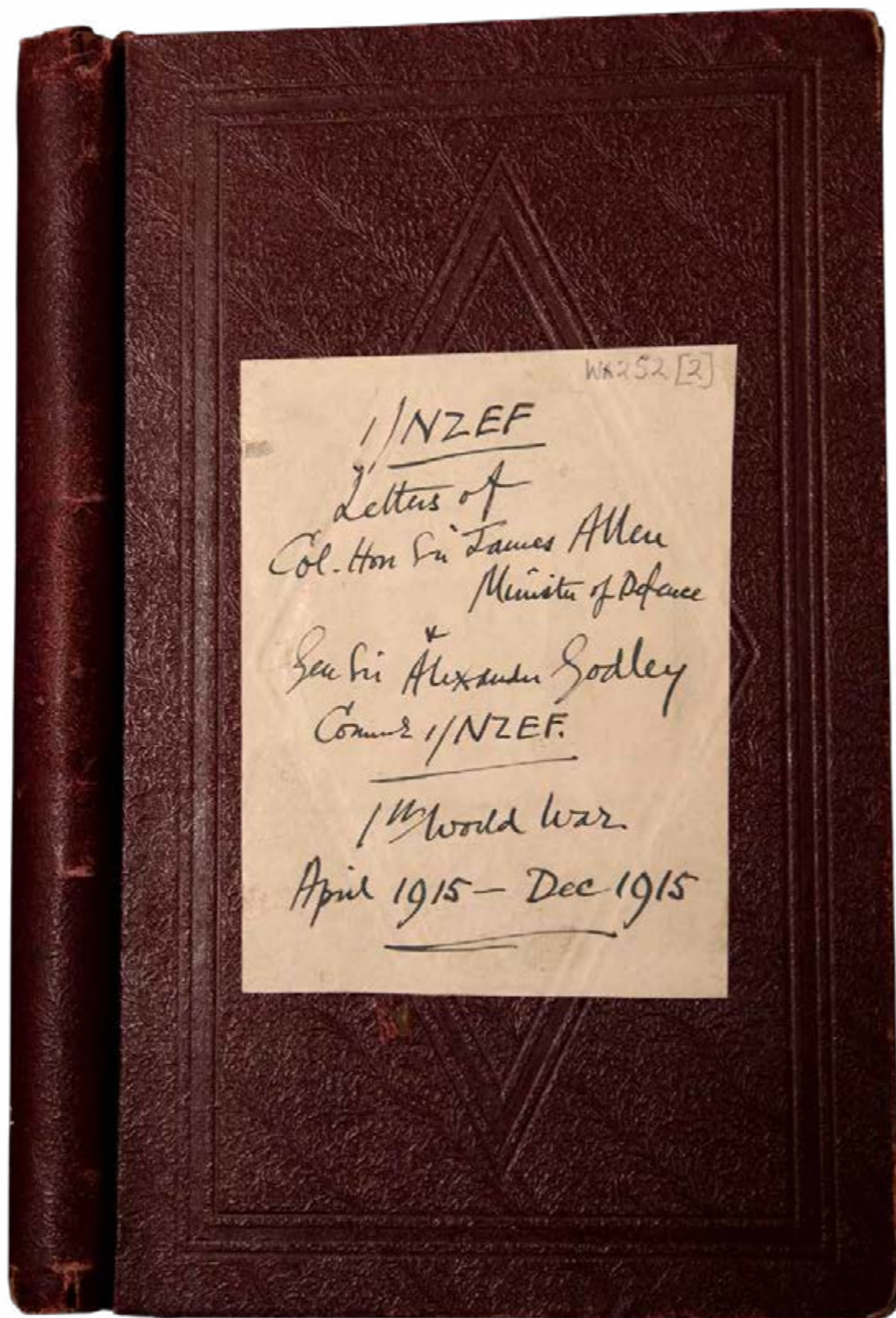
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reinforced, the severe knocks we have given their first line troops more than out-weighs this, and if we got reinforcements in decent strength, I believe we may yet reach Constantinople within the next few months; especially if Bulgaria comes in, and the Russians manage to make some impression on the Bosphorus. The prisoners that we have taken all say that most of the Turkish soldiers are rather sick of it, and are half-hearted about the fighting, but I am bound to say that their attacks do not bear this out; they have been made with great energy and determination, and it has taken us all our time to hold our own. During the Armistice the other day, for burying their dead, we saw at least a couple of thousand killed, and, counting those killed that they took away behind their own lines, and, estimating an ordinary proportion of wounded, they must have had at least six or seven thousand casualties. They attacked one of the Posts in my section again the night before last, and got into the trenches, and we had great difficulty, and a great many casualties, in turning them out.

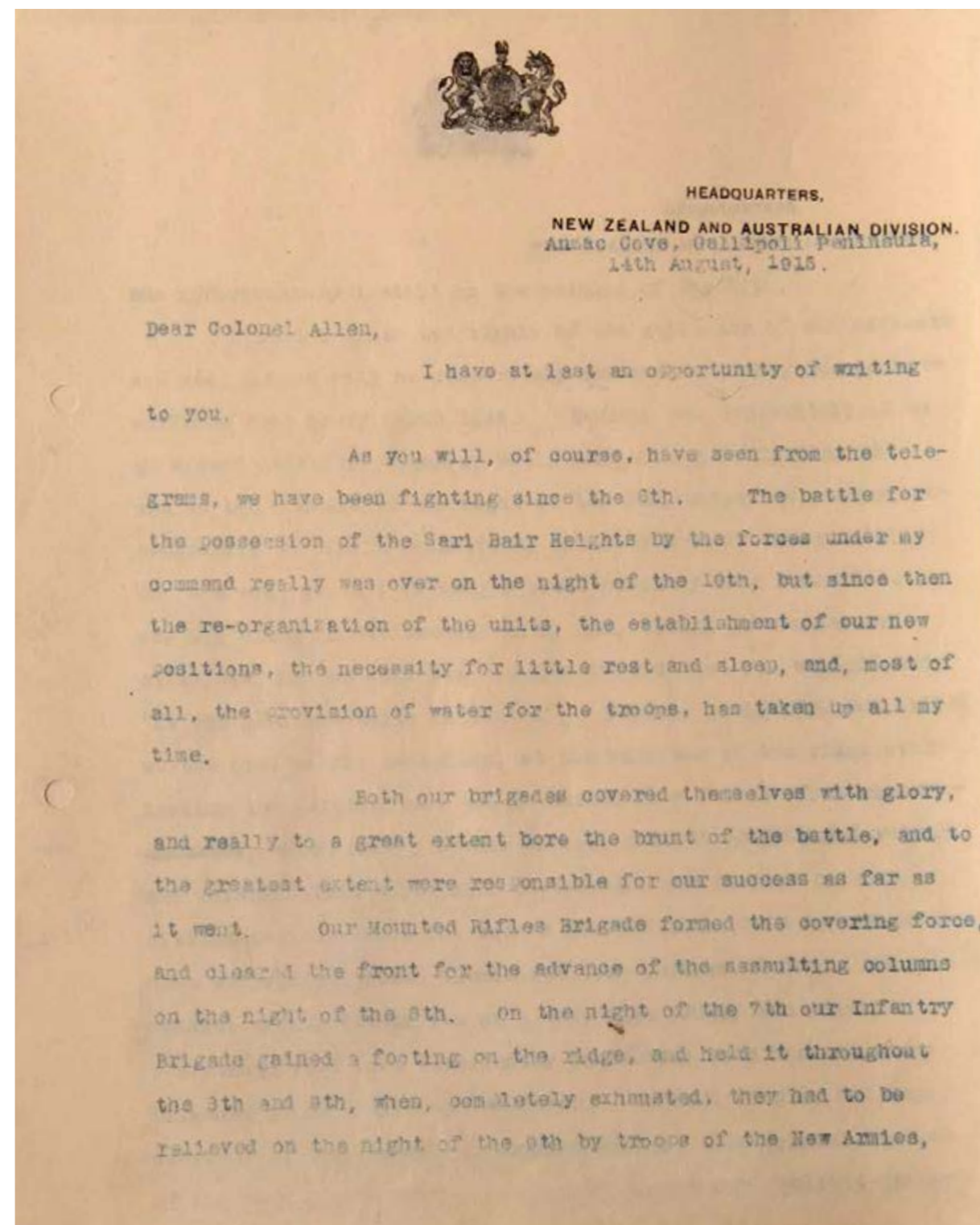
Our wounded are beginning to come back, also some of the venereals, so I hope that, with the 4th Reinforcements, we shall soon be again nearly up to strength.

Yours very sincerely
Alex Godley

Godley to Robin, 30 May 1915, p. 4.



Front cover of correspondence between Major-General Sir Alexander Godley and Colonel Hon. Sir James Allen, 2 April – 18 December 1915. The pair exchanged detailed letters throughout the war. WA52/1[2], R24048325, ANZ



1915, p. 1. In this letter Godley outlines the operations of his division during the August Offensive at Gallipoli.



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who unfortunately lost it on the morning of the 10th.

I cannot speak too highly of the gallantry of all officers and men, and am only so desperately grieved that they should have suffered such heavy casualties. Bauchop was desperately (I am afraid mortally) wounded, while most gallantly leading his men to the assault on the night of the 8th, under the most extraordinarily difficult conditions, and in a country where nothing but the most gallant of troops could possibly have succeeded. I saw him after he was brought down, and, though he was hardly conscious, all he said was "I hope we did what you wanted" and "It was glorious while it lasted". Malone, similarly, was killed at the head of his battalion, at the very top of the ridge overlooking the Bardsnells, and is buried in a Turkish fort ~~which he captured~~, which only a leader of most exceptional ~~great~~ valour and determination would have captured; I can imagine no more fitting resting place for such a gallant soul. Both he and Bauchop have throughout proved themselves born leaders of men. Russell's conduct of his attack was of a very high order, and Johnston's operations were most excellently conducted; both handled their brigades to my entire satisfaction. Colonel Findley and Major Overton, of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles, also Colonel Chapman of the Auckland Mounted Rifles, fell in the most gallant manner,

full stop

Godley to Allen, 14 August 1915, p. 2.



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and both Moore and Moir, of the Otago Battalion, were splendid in the way they led their men.

But this is a desperate country to fight in, and the wastage and casualties of both officers and men is bound to be huge. I am at my wits end now to know how to find officers for these regiments and battalions, and I am afraid it is quite out of the question that we can send anybody from here to command the new battalions that you are raising. I hope that it will be possible to produce a sufficiency of officers to replace these heavy casualties, and also for the new battalions, and the necessary reinforcements for both. It is a heavy drain on the resources of ~~the men out~~ the country, but I have no doubt you will manage to find them somehow.

The last lot of reinforcements (the fifth) arrived while the fight was actually in progress, and Johnston tells me that, as they arrived to join the brigade, they were at once dispatched to capture a Turkish trench, which they did most gallantly, and without the slightest hesitation, and held it to the end of the battle. They were Auckland men.

In the middle of the battle I received a cable, ~~saying~~ ~~used as for an explanation~~, saying that Lord Kitchener desired an explanation from me of having asked you direct for reinforcements.

Godley to Allen, 14 August 1915, p. 3.



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I have no papers here, and cannot at present think or recollect exactly to what it refers. The only thing I can think of is, that, in a cable, it may have been something to do with my having called your attention to the fact that no reinforcements for the Field Ambulance were included in one lot of drafts. As I have said to you before, it appears to me to be my duty to let you know whether your forces are being properly kept up to strength, and properly reinforced, but I am put in a difficult position if, by so doing, I incur the displeasure of the Secretary of State. I have been most careful, as far as I know, not to ask for anything officially, except through the usual military channels, and I cannot at present understand what it is that has gone wrong this time.

I received your letter of 16th June just before the battle was beginning; it was the first I had received since the 20th May, so I expect some are probably missing. I know that some of our mails have been lost - one lighter load went to the bottom between Lemnos and here.

I am very sorry at Colonel Manders, the A.D.M.S., having been killed. He was shot in the head by a bullet alongside me at Divisional Headquarters, and I miss him very much. Begg is at present acting in his place, and doing very well, and, as far as I can see at present, I think I shall probably ask to have his

Godley to Allen, 14 August 1915, p. 4.



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appointment confirmed.

The Maoris were heavily engaged, and fought, as I expected they would, in a manner fully worthy of the traditions of their race, but they were much handicapped for lack of leadership. The two Officers in command of companies are quite useless, and did not give the men a fair chance. In Dancey's case I think it is purely ignorance, and there is a certain amount of excuse for him - In Pitt's case I can find none, and he is in my opinion a singularly unsuitable officer to command troops of any kind in the field. I shall probably arrange to have them both relieved of their commands, and will have to get them replaced somehow or other.

I must stop now, as I still have so much to do, and have before me the nightmare of having to write a proper report of the operations of the force under my command. I enclose herewith a rough and bald preliminary account which I wrote in a hurry for Sir Ian Hamilton.

I have just sent off some of our men as scouts and sharpshooters to General Sir Frederick Stopford, the Commander of the 9th Corps on our left, and have had a letter from him to say he is very grateful to have them.
Yours very sincerely,

Godley to Allen, 14 August 1915, p. 5.

REINFORCEMENTS FOR GALLIPOLI: SEPTEMBER–DECEMBER 1915

After the August battles, which ended with the bitter fighting for Hill 60, the NZEF held part of the expanded Allied beachhead, including a set of new positions on the slopes below Chunuk Bair, and continued to suffer heavy attrition from disease and, to a much lesser extent, enemy action.¹⁰⁵ In mid-October General Sir Ian Hamilton was recalled and replaced as commander of the MEF by General Sir Charles Monro. On 31 October Monro recommended that the peninsula be evacuated. After much discussion this recommendation was accepted by the British cabinet.¹⁰⁶ In a meticulously planned and extremely well-executed operation the Allied forces at Anzac were evacuated without loss over the nights of 13/14, 18/19 and 19/20 December.¹⁰⁷

In mid-September, before the final evacuation, the NZEF's infantry and mounted rifles brigades had been temporarily relieved by newly arrived units of the 2nd Australian Division. This allowed both brigades to be evacuated to Lemnos on 13 and 14 September for badly needed rest, reorganisation and reinforcement. They were followed by small parties of New Zealand engineers who were also in need of respite. Preceded by small advance elements arriving on 7 November, the New Zealand Infantry Brigade returned to Gallipoli on 9 and 10 November, followed by the New Zealand Mounted Rifles on 11 and 13 November and the Engineers on 20 November. With the exception of the engineers, by the time they returned all these units had been heavily reinforced.¹⁰⁸ Before the major elements of the NZEF returned to the peninsula, one new NZEF unit, No. 6 Howitzer Battery, was deployed to Gallipoli in mid-October.¹⁰⁹

Precise figures for the strength of the NZEF before the evacuation to Lemnos have not been located, but there are a number of approximate indicators. ANZAC general staff war diaries record that on 6 and 7 September the 'fighting strength' of the New Zealand infantry component of the NZ & A Division was 'approximately' 1200, and that of the mounted rifles brigade only 225.¹¹⁰ A day later, on 8 September, these numbers had fallen to 1150 and 200

respectively.¹¹¹ By 13 September, on the eve of their departure for Lemnos, the New Zealand Infantry Brigade was recorded as having a fighting strength of only 1050.¹¹² By this date the mounted rifles had already gone to Lemnos, leaving behind only three officers and 50 of their fittest troopers to man five machine-gun sections which were helping to defend the newly won positions. The New Zealand Infantry Brigade was likewise instructed to leave eight officers and 350 NCOs and other ranks on the peninsula, including the whole of the Māori Contingent, which then numbered around 140. Therefore approximately 800 infantry other ranks must have embarked on 14 September.¹¹³ In early October around 275 survivors of the 350 infantry who had been left at Gallipoli were also sent to Lemnos.¹¹⁴

These approximations are corroborated by the surviving unit diaries and other records. In the case of the Canterbury Infantry Battalion, nine officers and 230 other ranks embarked for Lemnos, leaving three officers and 82 other ranks behind (of whom 30 were soldiers attached from the Māori Contingent).¹¹⁵ The Wellington Battalion embarked with 11 officers and 188 other ranks, leaving two officers and 24 men behind.¹¹⁶ According to the history of the Otago Regiment, its strength on leaving the peninsula was only 130 men.¹¹⁷ As Fred Waite noted, despite 'having absorbed the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Reinforcements, these one-thousand-strong battalions of the landing were now pathetically weak – the strongest not total[ing] more than 300 men.'¹¹⁸ According to the diary of Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Hart, the commanding officer of the Wellington Battalion, the total strength of the brigade when it embarked was 815.¹¹⁹ On 6 September, Hart summarised the combat casualties his battalion had suffered during the campaign. Its total losses were 234 killed, 319 missing and 742 wounded.¹²⁰

Early in November 1915, Hart conducted a similar exercise in relation to officers. He noted that when the battalion landed it had 29 officers, and up to 25 August another 28 had joined as reinforcements or been promoted from the ranks. During that period 14 officers had been killed and 30 wounded. At the beginning of November he had 30 officers who

111 Ibid., Appendix 17.

112 Ibid., Appendix 27.

113 'New Zealand and Australian Division Divisional Order No. 21, dated 10 September 1915, in NZ & A Division, War Diary, 1 September – 30 September 1915, Appendix 94. WA20, 17/[20m], R23487403, ANZ.

114 'Fighting Strength of Troops at ANZAC', entries for 2 and 3 October 1915, in War Diary General Staff, HQ ANZAC, October 1915, AWM4, 1/25/7 Part 2, AWM.

115 Entries for 12–15 September 1915, War Diary Canterbury Battalion, September 1915, AWM4, 35/19/6/, AWM.

116 Entries for 14 and 15 September 1915, War Diary, Wellington Battalion, WA73, 106/[73], R23587443, ANZ.

117 Byrne, p. 69. No records of the strength of the Auckland Battalion during this period appear to have survived.

118 Waite, p. 261.

119 Herbert Hart diary entry, 14 September 1915, *The Devil's Own War*, p. 76.

120 Herbert Hart diary entry, 6 September 1915, *The Devil's Own War*, p. 75.

105 Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, pp. 317–28, 336–38; Anna Rogers, *With Them Through Hell: New Zealand Medical Services in the First World War* (Auckland: Massey University Press, 2018), pp. 81–98.

106 Jenny Macleod, *Great Battles: Gallipoli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 64–5.

107 Waite, pp. 278–93; Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, pp. 337–43; Herbert Hart diary entries, 11–20 December 1915, *The Devil's Own War*, pp. 86–91.

108 General Officer Commanding New Zealand and Australian Division, 'Report on Operations 1st September – 31st October 1915', 1 November 1915, WA10, ZMR 10/4/23, R24428743, ANZ; Waite, pp. 259–66.

109 General Officer Commanding New Zealand and Australian Division, 'Report on Operations 1st September – 31st October 1915', 1 November 1915, WA10, ZMR 10/4/23, ANZ.

110 'Fighting Strength. Troops at ANZAC, 6-9-15', Appendix 13 to War Diary General Staff, ANZAC, September 1915, AWM4, 1/25/6 Part 3, AWM.

were sick or wounded in Egypt or elsewhere, while six officers had been returned to New Zealand and struck off the strength of his unit. He concluded that on 1 November he had only seven officers available for service out of the 57 who had taken part in the campaign.¹²¹ This analysis suggests, yet again, that the NZEF personnel who landed in the early days were only a fraction of the total who would eventually serve at Gallipoli.

The situation in the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade (including the Otago Mounted Rifles) was similar. Whereas on 5 August 1915 the strength of the brigade was 83 officers and 1466 other ranks, its embarkation strength on 13 September was just 20 officers and 229 other ranks.¹²² The Wellington Mounted Rifles, for example, had a total strength of 84. In that regiment, 'of the original 500 stalwarts who [first] landed on Gallipoli, only twenty-four were left' when it embarked for Lemnos.¹²³ The Canterbury Mounted Rifles were in an even worse state by the time they embarked for Lemnos. The regiment's record book contains the following summary of its personnel strength and losses:¹²⁴

*Table 16: Canterbury Mounted Rifles personnel strength and losses
May–September 1915*

Canterbury Mounted Rifles	Officers	Other Ranks
Landed on Gallipoli, 12 May 1915	26	459
Reinforcements on various dates	6	186
Total Arrivals	32	645
Killed in Action	5	108
Died of Sickness	2	10
Missing	1	45
Evacuated to Hospital Sick or Wounded	23	443
Total Losses	31	606
CMR Strength, 13 September 1915	1	39
Machine gunners remaining at Anzac		12
Total to Lemnos	1	27

121 Herbert Hart diary entry, 1 November 1915, *The Devil's Own War*, p. 79.

122 Entries for 1–13 September, 1915, in HQ NZMRB War Diary September 1915, WA40, 40/[40h], R23487694, ANZ.

123 A.H. Wilkie, *Official War History of the Wellington Mounted Rifles Regiment: 1914–1919* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1924), p.68.

124 Extract from CMR unit record book reproduced in C.G. Powles (ed.), *The History of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles 1914–1919* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1928), p. 66. The record books maintained by NZEF units are an important source of data, but unfortunately few have survived.

Clearly, the terrible losses incurred during the August Offensive had left the units of the New Zealand and Australian Division pitifully weakened. It was the high rate of serious sickness at Gallipoli, however, which was the primary reason why the attrition rate during the campaign was so elevated. During the first week of September 1915, for instance, when ANZAC had a total strength of just over 25,000, nearly 2200 men were evacuated sick. These figures equate to an attrition rate due to sickness of more than 90 per 1000 per week. On the Western Front late in 1915, the evacuation rate due to sickness was less than five per 1000 per week.¹²⁵

Godley stressed to Allen and others in New Zealand his force's desperate need for reinforcements.¹²⁶ The general was also convinced that his manpower problems were being exacerbated because too many sick and wounded men were being retained in Egypt rather than returned to Gallipoli.¹²⁷ The low rate of returning sick was of particular concern. A post-war British survey of 2319 cases found that dysentery casualties occurring at Gallipoli took an average of 75 days of treatment before they were sufficiently recovered to return to duty.¹²⁸ This reality became clear to units during the last months of the campaign. The war diary of the NZ&A Divisional Signal Company, for instance, noted on 14 September that 'Lieut[enant] Lamb left for Lemnos with 12 men from HQ and No. 2 Section. Cannot really spare these men but they are most unfit & if they do not get a rest will be invalided shortly, in which case [we] shall not see them again for at least 3 months'.¹²⁹

Lieutenant-General Sir John Maxwell, who commanded the forces in Egypt, rejected Godley's implied criticisms and took exception to the way in which he had put them forward.¹³⁰ Seeking evidence to support his argument, in late September Godley ordered all the elements of his division to report on the number of officers and men who had been evacuated sick or wounded since the beginning of the Gallipoli campaign, and the number who had returned by 23 September 1915. These returns are a unique snapshot which shows not just the scale of these casualties, but how few had returned to their units.¹³¹ Table 17 summarises these returns for the NZEF elements of the NZ & A Division.

125 Carbery, pp.108–9.

126 Godley to Allen, 3 September 1915, WA252/2, R24048325, ANZ; Godley to Liverpool, 13 September 1915, WA252/8, R24048331, ANZ.

127 Godley to ANZAC, 2 September 1915, WA23/2, 13, ANZ; Godley to Allen, 10 October 1915, WA252/1[2], ANZ.

128 Major-General Sir W.G. Macpherson et al. (eds), *History of the Great War Based on Official Documents. Medical Services. Diseases of the Great War. Vol. 1* (London: HMSO, 1923), p. 77.

129 War Diary, NZ&A Divisional Signal Company, September 1915, AWM4, 35/15/4, AWM.

130 Maxwell to GOC ANZAC, 24 September 1915, Officer Commanding Australian and New Zealand Base Details Zeitoun to Headquarters Australian and New Zealand Training Depot and related papers, WA23/2, 13, ANZ.

131 Thoms to NZIB and other formations at Mudros, 22 September 1915 and related papers, WA23/2, 13, ANZ.

Table 17: NZEF officers and men evacuated during the campaign because of sickness or wounds who were present with their units on 23 September 1915

Unit	Officers evacuated sick or wounded since 24/4/1915	Officers Returned to unit by 23/9/1915	Other Ranks evacuated sick or wounded since 24/4/1915	Other Ranks Returned to unit by 23/9/1915	% Officers Returned to unit	% Other Ranks Returned to unit
NZMR HQ	7	2	23	4	29%	17%
Signal Trp	0	0	24	4	-	17%
AMR	29	3	404	17	10%	4%
CMR	33	4	434	53	12%	12%
WMR	25	2	501	103	8%	21%
OMR	19	4	no data	no data	21%	no data
NZIB HQ	8	4	23	2	50%	9%
AIB	49	9	1793	502	18%	28%
CIB	47	14	1297	121	30%	9%
OIB	54	17	1177	397	31%	34%
WIB	44	14	1511	436	32%	29%
HQ NZE	3	1	6	0	33%	0%
Fld Trp	5	0	59	4	0%	7%
2nd Fld Coy	3	0	198	8	0%	4%
Signal Coy	3	1	98	4	33%	4%
HQ NZFA	3	1	14	2	33%	14%
1st Bde NZFA	0	0	2	0	-	0%
2nd Bde NZFA	2	0	22	0	0%	0%
1st Bty	2	0	56	8	0%	14%
2nd Bty	5	1	92	12	20%	13%
3rd Bty	6	1	81	22	17%	27%
4th (How) Bty	6	1	93	15	17%	16%
5th Bty	0	0	12	0	-	0%
6th (How) Bty	0	0	4	0	-	0%
NZ Māori	14	1	243	32	7%	13%
NZ&A Div Train	11	3	204	54	27%	26%
NZMC	34	9	429	61	26%	14%
Total	412	92	8800	1861	22%	21%

The wide variations in the figures supplied by units doubtless reflected wide variations in the quality of the records they had managed to retain. They also differ quite substantially from the separate statistics for troops returning from hospital kept by Thoms over the period June to August 1915. This variation arose partly because the reporting units excluded individuals who had returned and then been evacuated for a second time and had yet to return, whereas Thoms simply recorded all arrivals. Nevertheless, the general finding is quite clear – less than a quarter of the 9212 NZEF personnel evacuated because of sickness or wounds since the beginning of the campaign had returned and were still present with their units in the last week of September 1915.

Similar returns from the same source submitted by the Australian units of the division support this finding and appear to show that the NZEF experience was not atypical. The Australian 4th Infantry Brigade and the 1st and 3rd Light Horse Brigades serving in the division reported that of 9089 officers and men evacuated sick or wounded since 25 April 1915, only 2602 (29 per cent) were currently present with their units. The details are summarised in Table 18.

Table 18: Percentage of Australian Imperial Force (AIF) officers and men of the NZ & A Division evacuated because of sickness or wounds who were present with their units on 23 September 1915

Unit	Officers evacuated sick or wounded since 24/4/1915	Officers Returned to unit by 23/9/1915	Other Ranks evacuated sick or wounded since 24/4/1915	Other Ranks Returned to unit by 23/9/1915	% Officers Returned to unit	% Other Ranks Returned to unit
3rd ALH Bde HQ	3	1	21	4	33%	19%
Signal Trp	1	0	25	5	0%	20%
8th ALH	24	8	505	157	33%	31%
9th ALH	23	8	590	172	35%	29%
10th ALH	26	5	612	208	19%	34%
1st ALH Bde HQ	2	1	12	2	50%	17%
1st ALH	25	6	524	141	24%	27%
2nd ALH	17	7	450	116	41%	26%
3rd ALH	21	4	458	133	19%	29%
Signal Trp	0	0	30	5	-	17%
HQ 4th Inf Bde	6	3			50%	
Signals	3	1	35	9	33%	26%
13th Btn	45	8	1456	440	18%	30%
14th Btn	32	2	1573	632	6%	40%
15th Btn	31	7	1126	158	23%	14%
16th Btn	30	7	1183	352	23%	30%
Total	289	68	8600	2534	24%	29%

These figures show conclusively that the NZ & A Division could not have continued as a fighting organisation if it had been forced to rely exclusively on returning sick and wounded to replace casualties.

Reconstructing an accurate picture of the reinforcement of the NZEF over this period is complicated by a number of factors, not the least of which is that few details have survived about how this process was managed on Lemnos. The situation on the Gallipoli peninsula itself, however, can be reconstructed with much more confidence thanks to the discovery of additional detailed returns compiled by the administrative organs of the NZ & A Division. For the sake of clarity, the following discussion covers the reinforcement evidence relating to Gallipoli and Lemnos separately.

REINFORCEMENTS AT GALLIPOLI: SEPTEMBER – 22 NOVEMBER 1915

A series of returns compiled by Captain Thoms provide a comprehensive overview of the pattern of reinforcement of the NZEF on Gallipoli between 1 September and 22 November 1915, after which recording appears to have ceased. The format of these records differs from those held in Thoms' notebooks from earlier in the campaign, but they give a similar detailed picture of who was arriving on the peninsula.¹³² These records, insofar as they relate to NZEF personnel, are summarised in Table 19 below. The returns, which were compiled on an almost daily basis, record the arrival of 5385 NZEF personnel at Gallipoli.

Table 19: Arrival of NZEF personnel of the NZ & A Division on the Gallipoli peninsula, 1 September–22 November 1915

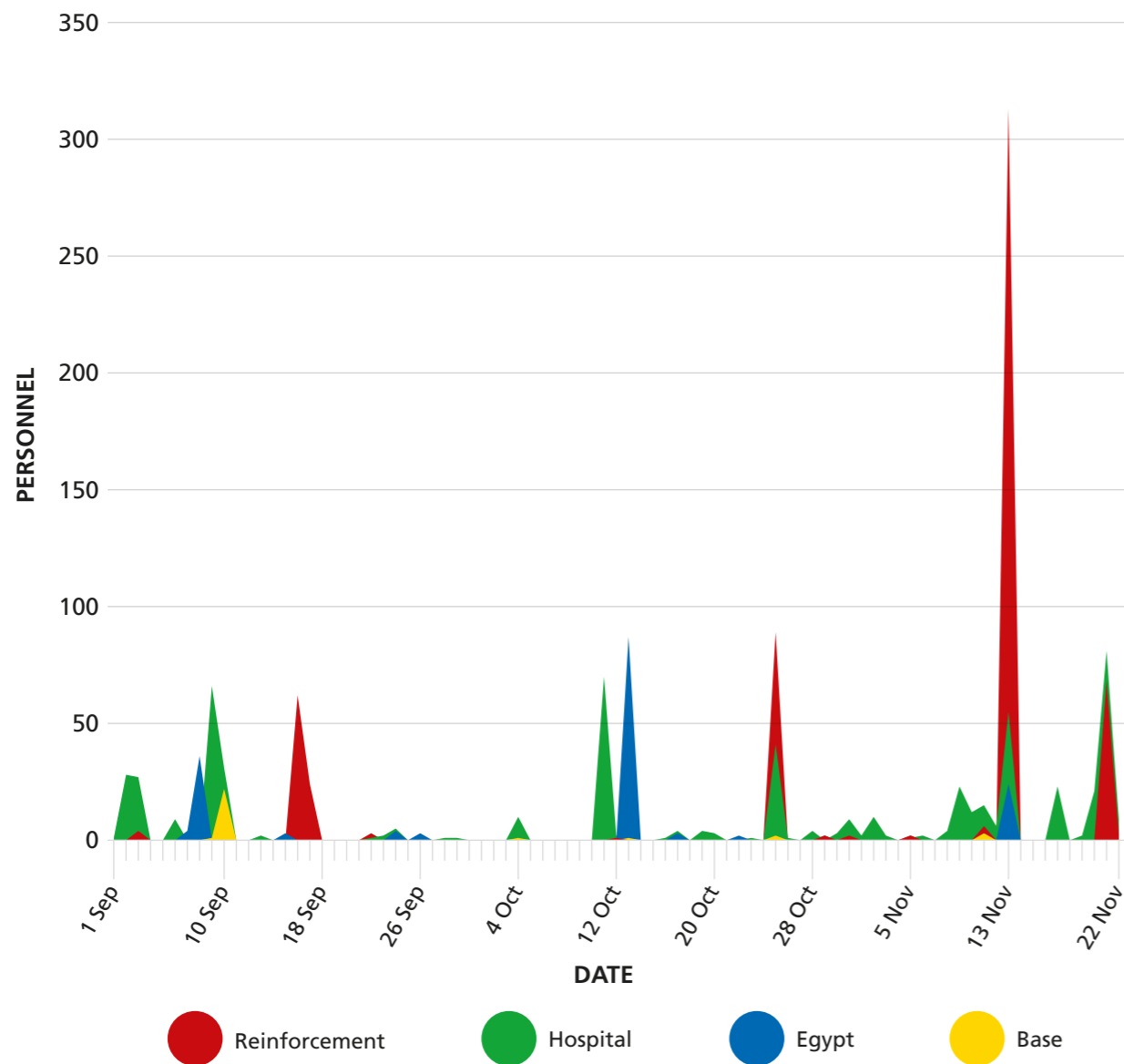
Unit	Number of Personnel Arriving at Gallipoli from:						Total
	Base	Egypt	Hospital	Lemnos	Rfts	Unclear	
1st Fld Coy NZE			1	68	23		92
2nd Fld Coy NZE				25	20		45
AIB			63	549	1		613
AMR		1	12	299	69		381
CIB			62	614			676
CMR			21	403	69		493
Div Am Col		1					1
Div Sig Coy				11			11
Fld Trp NZE				13			13
HQ 2nd Bde NZFA		36					36
HQ NZ&A Div	6	3	10	19		1	39
HQ NZFA			1				1
HQ NZIB	1		1	3			5
HQ NZMR			3	4			7
NZ ASC		23					23
NZ Chaplains						2	2
NZ Fld Amb			7	102			109
NZ Māori			6				6
NZ Mtd Fld Amb			2	38			40
NZ Ordnance			8	2			10
NZ Sigs			1	32	12	1	46
NZ&A Div Train	22	3	18		13		56
NZE			63		98	1	162
NZFA		97	169	1	77		344
NZMC			7	5	25	3	40
OIB			50	573	2		625
OMR		3	24	313	98		438
Unclear				1		3	4
WIB	1		53	552	1		607
WMR			13	376	71		460
Total	30	167	595	4003	579	11	5385

¹³² The records are held in Personnel Arrivals and Departures, NZ Division, casualty reports (Gallipoli), Sep–Nov 1915, WA 9/5/4, ANZ.

The total of 5385 NZEF personnel is approximate because an unknown number of the 95 NZ & A Division Headquarters Staff and the Divisional Train troops recorded in the table were AIF personnel.

Figure 2 presents the same data over time, with the exception of the personnel returning from Lemnos:

Figure 2: Arrivals of NZEF personnel at Gallipoli, 1 September – 22 November 1915



The largest category recorded in the returns are the 595 personnel described as ‘returning from hospital’, who arrived on the peninsula either as distinct groups or alongside the reinforcements. Of these, 229 were recovered infantrymen, 73 mounted riflemen and 170 gunners. The remaining 123, of whom more than half (65) were sappers, were men belonging to the smaller units of the NZEF on Gallipoli.

Also displayed on the chart are three groups of personnel described as arriving ‘from Egypt’ who also almost certainly had not previously served on the peninsula. The first of these groups, arriving on 8 November, was composed of one officer and 35 other ranks of the newly created Headquarters unit of the 2nd New Zealand Artillery Brigade. This new unit, which had been raised in New Zealand, was followed on 13 October by six officers and 81 other ranks of the 6th (Howitzer) Battery New Zealand Field Artillery, another new unit raised in New Zealand which had arrived in Egypt with the 5th Reinforcements in late July and early August 1915. The last significant group to arrive from Egypt comprised two officers and 21 men of the New Zealand Army Service Corps. Most of the remaining 21 personnel arriving from Egypt were officers and the occasional other rank who may or may not have been new to the peninsula.

The second largest category was the 579 men described as ‘Reinforcements’. The figure above clearly shows that the vast majority of these men arrived in five main groups. The first of these groups, arriving on 16 September, were 62 officers and men of the 1st and 2nd Field Companies New Zealand Engineers and the NZ & A Divisional Signal Company. The second group arrived on the following day and consisted of 24 officers and men of the New Zealand Medical Corps (NZMC). The third group, arriving on 25 October, consisted of another 76 New Zealand Engineers personnel and 13 personnel for the NZ & A Divisional Train.

By far the largest group was the fourth, which arrived on 13 November. Of the 313 reinforcements who arrived on that day, 304 were intended for the four New Zealand mounted rifles regiments. It is almost certain that these men were drawn from the 5th Reinforcements of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles. During his search for reinforcements to rebuild his shattered brigades in early September, Godley demanded a precise return from the base organisation at Zeitoun of the number of troops retained in Egypt. This return revealed that there were virtually no fit New Zealand infantry or mounted rifles troops available to reinforce his rifle strength, apart from 305 troopers of the 5th Reinforcements.¹³³

¹³³ Godley to HQ ANZAC, 2 September 1915 and related papers, WA23/2, 13, ANZ. Godley also demanded the release of Australian reinforcements for his division; every mounted rifleman not required to tend to the horses; 20 officers and 171 men of the 4th Training Battalion (which was composed exclusively or convalescent New Zealand infantrymen); and numerous other artillery, engineer, Army Service Corps and even Military Police troops.

The final large reinforcement of 71 men, which arrived on 21 November, was principally composed of 68 other ranks for the New Zealand Field Artillery. It should be noted that only four personnel, all of them officers, arrived over this period to reinforce the infantry units of the NZEF. Almost all reinforcements for the infantry were sent to Lemnos rather than directly to Gallipoli.

REINFORCEMENTS RECEIVED ON LEMNOS

The returns summarised above also recorded the arrival of 4003 troops from Lemnos, of whom 92 per cent (3686) were men of the New Zealand infantry and mounted rifles brigades who arrived in five main groups between 7 and 13 November 1915. Given that the two brigades had been withdrawn to Lemnos in September and October with a strength of only around 1389 infantry and mounted riflemen, they had evidently been heavily reinforced.¹³⁴ There is overwhelming evidence that the great majority of the 2572 increase in strength experienced by the two brigades while on Lemnos was provided by the 6th Reinforcements.¹³⁵ Godley's earlier efforts to extract every available soldier from Egypt ensured that by the time the 6th Reinforcements arrived in Egypt on 19 September, there were virtually no other troops available to reinforce the brigades on Lemnos.

Shortly after they arrived at Mudros on Lemnos, the 6th Reinforcements were inspected by Godley, who later informed Allen that they were 'a splendid lot, I think the best that I have seen yet. They looked specially fit and well as, after great difficulty I managed to rescue them from Egypt, and they were only there for about five days, and, therefore, had no opportunity of deteriorating there'.¹³⁶

There were not enough men in the 6th Reinforcements, however, to bring the units up to full strength before they re-embarked for Anzac. The Wellington Mounted Rifles, for instance, returned to Gallipoli with a total strength of only 376.¹³⁷ In part this is due to ongoing loss

¹³⁴ This figure includes the 249 mounted riflemen and 815 infantry sent to Lemnos in September, plus approximately 50 mounted riflemen and 275 infantry sent to Lemnos from Gallipoli in October.

¹³⁵ Waite, pp. 265–6. Waite states that the NZMR received 'a draft of 30 officers and 1060 men'. It was even reported in the newspapers. An officer of the 6th Reinforcements, writing from Zeitoun Camp in Egypt on 24 September, stated that the infantry reinforcements were about to embark for Lemnos to reinforce the New Zealand units resting there and that the mounted rifles and artillery elements of the 6th Reinforcements would also shortly depart for the island. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 10 November 1915, p. 7.

¹³⁶ Godley to Allen, 10 October 1915, WA252/1[2], R 24048925, ANZ.

¹³⁷ The war diary of the Wellington Mounted Rifles, on the other hand, suggests that the strength embarked was only 362. War Diary, Wellington Mounted Rifles, 10 November 1915, WA42/49/[42g], R23513517, ANZ.

of men through sickness while the brigades were on Lemnos. During October, for instance, the Canterbury Infantry Battalion had 116 personnel evacuated from the island because of sickness.¹³⁸ Factors such as this make it difficult to establish the precise identity of troops who returned to the peninsula in November.

In the interim report of the Working Group, the estimated number of 6th Reinforcements who joined NZEF units on Lemnos was based on an examination of 2435 military service files (out of a total of 2575 known to have sailed with the 6th Reinforcements and 6th Reinforcements Details). The survey found that at least 1860 of these men were either Category 1, with strong direct evidence of service at Gallipoli, or Category 4, with strong indirect evidence of service on Gallipoli. It was also found that a further 336 personnel serving in infantry and mounted rifles units were in Category 3, with insufficient data to show where they served. As these men were also highly likely to have served at Gallipoli, the estimated total of 6th Reinforcements who served at Gallipoli was 2196. After the interim report was written, a review of this data showed that that a minimum of 1868 6th Reinforcements served on Gallipoli. There was no change to the Category 3 figure, so the total revised estimate is now 2204. The breakdown by unit type is as follows:

Table 20: Revised 6th Reinforcements survey results

Unit Type	Categories 1 and 4	Category 3	Total Estimate
Infantry Units (AIB, CIB, OIB and WIB)	1015	97	1112
Mounted Rifles Units (AMR, CMR, OMR, WMR)	723	239	962
Other Units (NZASC, NZE, NZFA, NZMC, etc.)	130	(118)*	130 (248)*
Total	1868	336 (454)*	2204 (2322)*

* The figures in brackets are the totals if other (non-infantry and mounted rifles) Category 3 personnel are included, but there is much less confidence that these men served on Gallipoli.

A number of NZEF war diaries for the later stages of the Gallipoli campaign have been lost, but those which survive support the findings of the 6th Reinforcements survey. The New Zealand Infantry Brigade's war diary for September 1915, for example, noted that on 29/30 September the '6th Reinforcements arrived'.¹³⁹ The Canterbury Infantry Battalion's war diary

¹³⁸ Ferguson, p. 71.

¹³⁹ New Zealand Infantry Brigade War Diary, 29–30 September 1915, WA70/94 [70M], R23578115, ANZ.

for September 1915 similarly records the arrival of a total of 258 personnel from the 6th Reinforcements during the unit's stay on Lemnos.¹⁴⁰ Herbert Hart's diary also confirms the arrival of the 6th Reinforcements on 30 September, '250 strong for each battalion', meaning that approximately 1000 men were added to the strength of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade.¹⁴¹ This implies that something very close to the entire infantry component of the 6th Reinforcements, which sailed from New Zealand with a strength of 1097 all ranks, was absorbed into the brigade.

These are unlikely to have been the last men to join the New Zealand Infantry Brigade before it returned to Gallipoli. In the entries for 9 and 10 November 1915, the war diary of the ANZAC Administrative Staff records that a total of 91 officers and 2357 other ranks of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade disembarked on the peninsula.¹⁴² There is circumstantial evidence that some of these men were drawn from the approximately 275 survivors of the 350 infantry brigade personnel who had been left at Gallipoli when the rest of the brigade was evacuated to Mudros in September. The HQ ANZAC war diary records that this group was also evacuated to Mudros on 3 and 8 October 1915.¹⁴³ The additional 358 men needed to make up the 2448 who returned to Gallipoli with the brigade in November, it must be assumed, were the scrapings of earlier reinforcement contingents hitherto retained in Egypt and/or returning sick and wounded.

On 6 October 1915 the war diary of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade recorded the arrival of reinforcements consisting of 30 officers and 1060 other ranks.¹⁴⁴ As the 6th Reinforcements officially included only 1006 personnel for the four mounted rifles regiments, this suggests that the balance belonged to earlier reinforcement contingents and/or were returning convalescents.¹⁴⁵ The war diary of the Auckland Mounted Rifles supports this impression. It records the arrival of 219 new personnel on 3 October 1915, of whom 192 were 'reinforcements from Egypt' for the other ranks, five were officers or NCOs, 18 were from the

140 Canterbury Infantry Battalion War Diary 29 September 1915, WA77/121 [77j], R23623770, ANZ; Canterbury Infantry Battalion War Diary, 1 October 1915, WA77/121 [77k], R23623771, ANZ.

141 Herbert Hart diary entry, 28 November 1915, *The Devil's Own War*, p. 78.

142 Entries for 9 and 10 November, War Diary, HQ ANZAC Admin Staff, HQ ANZAC, November 1915, AWM4, 1-28-12, AWM. This figure is higher than the numbers reported by Thoms. However, Thoms' returns seem to have inadvertently excluded the return of some 140 men of the Māori Contingent with the rest of the New Zealand infantry in mid-November.

143 HQ ANZAC War Diary, Appendices 6–17, General Staff, HQ ANZAC, October 1915, AWM4, 1/25/7 Part 2, AWM.

144 New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade War Diary, 5 October 1915, WA40/40/[40i], R23487695, ANZ.

145 *Provision and Maintenance*, Table X, p. 18.

band and four were 'Main Body' men.¹⁴⁶ The war diary of the Canterbury Mounted Rifles for this period is missing, but those of the Otago Mounted Rifles and the Wellington Mounted Rifles record receiving 187 and 218 reinforcements respectively of all ranks on this date.¹⁴⁷

To summarise, from the foregoing review of the known archival sources, corroborated by the 6th Reinforcements survey results, the estimated number of individuals who had served with the NZEF on Gallipoli by late November 1915 is as follows:

Table 21: Provisional estimate of the number individuals serving with the NZEF at Gallipoli, 25 April to 22 November 1915

Time Period	NZEF personnel landing on Gallipoli
25 April to 31 May 1915	8426+
2 June to 28 August 1915	4437
Reinforcements sent direct to Gallipoli, September – 22 November 1915	579
Other new personnel sent from Egypt to Gallipoli, September – 22 November 1915	c. 162
Reinforcements sent to Lemnos and then to Gallipoli	c. 2090
Total	c. 15,694

This provisional figure should be regarded as a minimum because the documentation of reinforcements at the beginning and end of the campaign is incomplete. The discovery of a major new piece of evidence, however, has allowed a much more comprehensive picture of the movement of New Zealand troops to and from the front to emerge.

146 War Diary Auckland Mounted Rifles, 3 October 1915, WA41/45/[41h], R23494189, ANZ.

147 War Diary Otago Mounted Rifles, 3 October 1915, WA44, 56/[44s], R23515980, ANZ; War Diary Wellington Mounted Rifles, 3 October 1915, AWM4, 3/5/5, AWM. The OMR diary specifically refers to the new arrivals as '6th Reinforcements'.

THE NZEF TROOP DISTRIBUTION TABLE

Although they are an important source of information about the number of personnel on Gallipoli, files relating to the costs of maintaining the NZEF have not been used by historians. When the NZEF was established, the New Zealand government agreed with the British authorities that the Dominion would meet the full cost of the force. In subsequent negotiations in mid-1915 it was agreed that New Zealand would pay an agreed *per diem* (daily) amount for each member of the NZEF who was overseas. This sum varied according to where the personnel were located and to which command they were assigned. The daily charge began when a soldier disembarked from his troopship from New Zealand at his final destination and ceased when he embarked for New Zealand.¹⁴⁸ A *per diem* rate of six shillings for each member of the NZEF was due from New Zealand for its personnel serving with the MEF at Gallipoli, on the adjacent islands or in Egypt.¹⁴⁹ Until the end of 1915, however, New Zealand continued to meet the actual costs incurred by NZEF troops in Egypt who were not part of the MEF.¹⁵⁰

As part of the process to establish how much New Zealand owed the War Office for the Gallipoli campaign, a return showing the location of New Zealand troops was prepared in April 1916 by the NZEF Headquarters in London. The information gathered was set out in a detailed table, entitled 'Distribution of Troops (All ranks) in NZ Expeditionary Force from 1st December 1914 to 1st March, 1916'.¹⁵¹ The sums involved were substantial and it was, therefore, essential that the calculations be as detailed and as accurate as possible. The preparation of such returns was difficult and time-consuming; collecting accurate figures for the number of sick and wounded appears to have been particularly challenging.¹⁵²

Australia had also agreed to meet the costs of the AIF and had a very similar agreement for *per diem* charges for each soldier as New Zealand. In 1916 the MEF's 3rd Echelon Headquarters prepared a return showing the disposition of AIF personnel during the Gallipoli

campaign.¹⁵³ The Australian authorities compared the MEF's original figures and additional material provided by the British with their own records. They found that the British figures were almost exactly the same as their data. The AIF was, nonetheless, very conscious that its records were substantially based on information provided by the British. To get around this problem, AIF personnel were despatched to the headquarters holding the relevant Gallipoli campaign records. There they examined the British documents relating to the embarkation of troops to Gallipoli, the number of AIF personnel serving with the MEF in Egypt, and other significant points. At the end of this process the Australian government was happy to accept the MEF's figures as the basis for determining how much money Australia owed Britain.¹⁵⁴

Notwithstanding a number of caveats which are discussed below, the analysis of NZEF troop distribution over time that resulted from an examination of the April 1916 document can only be described as revelatory. This data is shown in Table 22 below and is also represented as a chart in the accompanying figure. Covering the period 1 December 1914 to 1 March 1916, the table shows the cumulative number of troops who had arrived in theatre from New Zealand, and where they were believed to be located on the first day of each month. The data includes the numbers of effective NZEF troops in Egypt who were assigned to the MEF and those who were not; the number of effective NZEF troops deployed outside Egypt with the MEF; the number who had died, or were missing or prisoners of war; the number who were in various hospitals; and the number who had left the theatre to return to New Zealand.

Using the data set out in Table 22 it is possible to establish with a good degree of certainty the total number of NZEF personnel who were serving or had served at Gallipoli on a monthly basis. For each month the number of NZEF troops in Egypt not in the MEF, the number of NZEF MEF personnel in Egypt, the total number of deaths recorded on 1 May 1915 (before the casualties at Gallipoli began to be recorded) and the number of personnel returned to New Zealand by 1 May 1915 are subtracted from the total number of troops received from New Zealand. For 1 June 1915, for example, the calculation is: 15204 – 4097 – 1718 – 10 – 354 = 9025. The results of these calculations for each month of the campaign are set out in Table 24. Overall, the NZEF Distribution Table provides conclusive evidence that less than 40 per cent of the 25,326 troops despatched from New Zealand during the course of the campaign were retained in Egypt and thus, indirectly, that somewhere between 16,000 and 17,000 men left Egypt for service at Gallipoli.¹⁵⁵

148 Esson to Robin, 17 January 1914 [sic; 1915], AD1, 39/223, R22432290, ANZ; Robin to Allen, 1 May and 1 June 1915, Allen to Robin 12 May and 2 June 1915, Bonar-Law to Liverpool, 5 August 1915, Allen to Liverpool, 11 June 1915 and related papers, AD1, 23/60/28, R22430506, ANZ.

149 New Zealand High Commissioner London to Prime Minister, 30 June 1916, Officer in Charge War Expenses to Director of Supplies and Transport, Headquarters New Zealand Military Forces, 25 July 1917, AD1, 23/60/28, ANZ.

150 War Office letter dated 25 April 1917, enclosure to Long to Liverpool, 15 May 1917 and related papers, AD1, 23/60/28, ANZ.

151 'Distribution of Troops (All Ranks) in NZ Expeditionary Force from 1st December 1914 to 1st March, 1916', amended copy dated 20 April 1916, Smyth Commanding HQ NZEF London to DAG 3rd Echelon Alexandria, 11 April 1916; Smyth to High Commissioner for New Zealand, 11 April 1916, AD78, 23/1, R10701482, ANZ

152 Colonel for PDMS to DAG 3rd Echelon MEF, 19 February 1916, undated [but 29 September 1916] handwritten note, AIF Administrative Headquarters London, AWM252, A76, AWM.

153 Sellheim Commandant AIF Headquarters Egypt to Official Secretary High Commissioner for Australia, London, 16 March 1916 and related papers, AWM252, A76, AWM.

154 Crosland to Military Record Officer, Administrative Headquarters AIF, London, 24 August 1916, handwritten minute to Jolliffe [?], 29 September 1916, Chief Paymaster AIF Headquarters to Staff Paymaster Headquarters AIF Egypt, 17 June 1918, Staff Paymaster Egypt to Chief Paymaster AIF London, 3 September 1918, Chief Paymaster to Commandant Administrative Headquarters AIF, 20 November 1918 and related papers, AWM252, A76, AWM.

155 Smyth to New Zealand High Commissioner London, 11 April 1916 and enclosure, 'Distribution of Troops (All Ranks) in New Zealand Expeditionary Force from 1st December, 1914 to 1st March 1916', AD78, 23/1, R10701482, ANZ; Crosland to New Zealand High Commissioner London, 21 April 1917 and enclosures and related papers, AD1, 23/6/28, ANZ.

Table 22: 'Distribution of Troops (All Ranks) in NZ Expeditionary Force from 1st December 1914 to 1st March, 1916', amended copy dated 20 April 1916

Date	Total Troops from NZ	NZ Troops in Egypt Not MEF	NZ Troops in MEF Overseas	NZ Troops in MEF in Egypt	Sick, Wounded, Convalescent. MEF and Otherwise Egypt	Sick, Wounded, Convalescent. MEF and Otherwise Cyprus	Sick, Wounded, Convalescent. MEF and Otherwise Malta	Sick, Wounded, Convalescent. MEF and Otherwise Gibraltar	Sick, Wounded, Convalescent. MEF and Otherwise England	Deaths Missing Prisoners	Returned to NZ
1/12/1914	8499	8433								4	62
1/01/1915	8739	8584			85					8	62
1/02/1915	10713	10493			121					8	91
1/03/1915	10713	10491			123					8	91
1/04/1915	12943	12517			189					10	227
1/05/1915	12943	2167	7203	1515	1637		57			10	354
1/06/1915	15204	4097	5082	1718	1802		331	1	1288	247	638
1/07/1915	15297	2069	5983	1752	1864	17	432	1	1653	888	638
1/08/1915	15297	1086	5996	1804	1842	13	655	1	1639	1041	1220
1/09/1915	17708	2209	2854	1790	2807	2	1087	19	2927	1780	2233
1/10/1915	20104	3578	3557	2145	2172		829	18	3139	2433	2233
1/11/1915	20315	2497	5556	1672	1848		377	49	3402	2510	2404
1/12/1915	25326	8842	5488	50	1622		343	19	3327	2588	3047
1/01/1916	27902	10022	7083	50	1028	2	309	4	3514	2638	3252
1/02/1916	27902	3210	163	14477	1112	2	185		2469	2711	3573
1/03/1916	31023	4693	151	16022	1500		128		2215	2741	3573

Figure 3: 'Distribution of Troops (All Ranks) in NZ Expeditionary Force from 1st December 1914 to 1st March, 1916', amended copy dated 20 April 1916

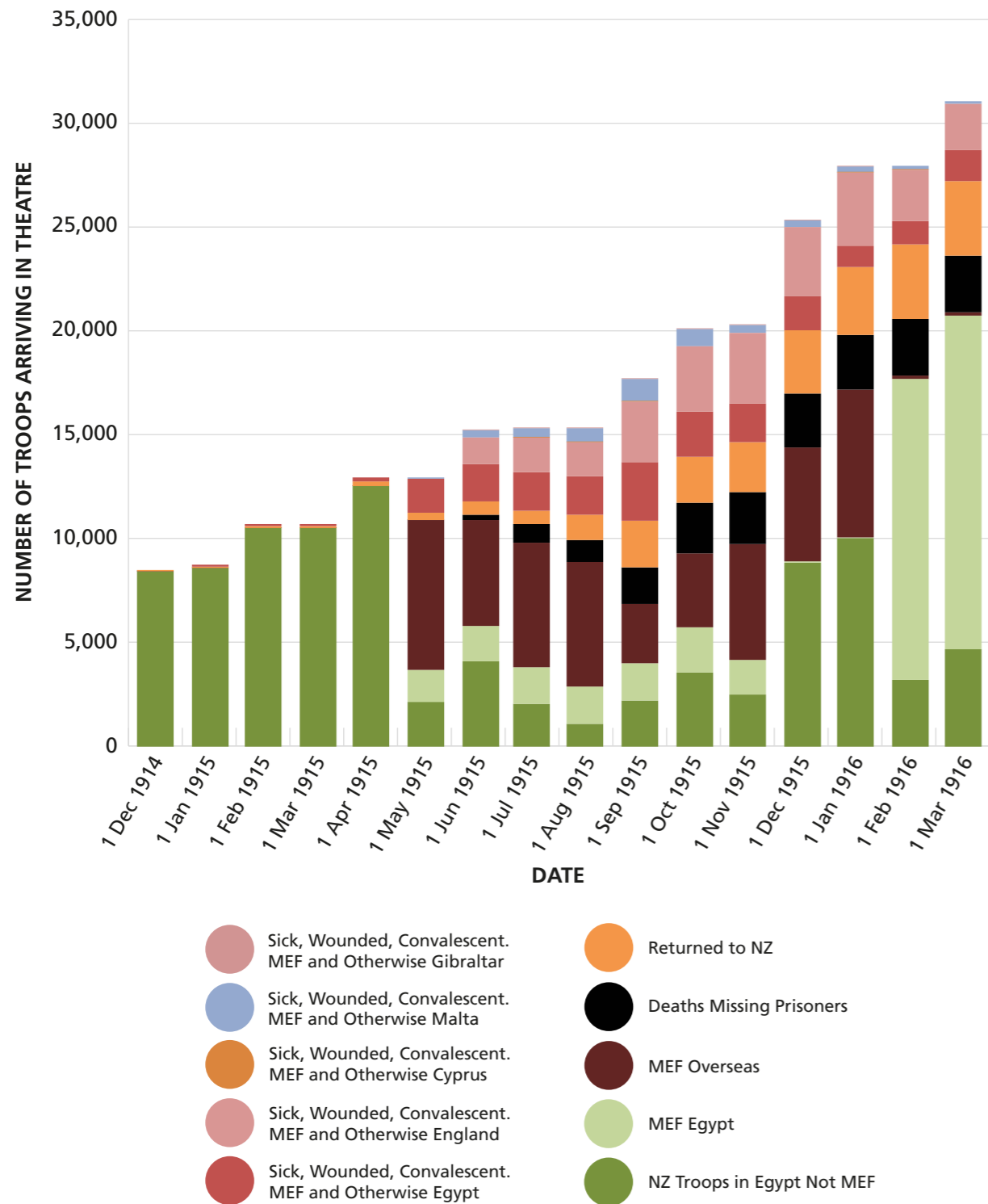


Figure 3 shows the evolving distribution of the NZEF over the course of the campaign. After a major build-up of NZEF troops in Egypt, by 1 May the majority of these men had been transferred to Gallipoli. Thereafter, despite the influx of reinforcements from New Zealand, NZEF troop numbers in Egypt (indicated by the two shades of green) remained lower than the numbers being committed to the peninsula. Once at Gallipoli, a large proportion of these troops either died or became sick or were wounded, in which case they were evacuated to hospitals in Egypt, Malta and the United Kingdom, or were sent back to New Zealand. It is evident that up-to-date information about these casualties was slow to reach the military authorities in Egypt, particularly during the early phases of the campaign. The 1 January 1916 column also shows that the evacuation of all NZEF personnel back to Egypt in late December had either not been communicated to administrative staff by that date, or that the 1 January figure was intended to show the situation a few days earlier.

The final figure for the number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli evidently lies somewhere between the 1 December 1915 and 1 January 1916 columns. The 1 December column indicates that of the 25,326 NZEF military personnel who had arrived in Egypt by that date, 16,434 were in hospital there or had left Egypt and were now either dead, in hospital elsewhere, returned to New Zealand or still serving at Gallipoli. The 1 January 1916 column indicates that of the 27,902 men who had arrived in Egypt by that date, 17,830 had subsequently re-embarked, mostly for Gallipoli.

One of the reasons for having high confidence in the Distribution Table is that the figures for troop arrivals in theatre tally almost exactly with the tables of troops despatched from New Zealand which were published in *Provision and Maintenance* in 1919. Table 23 shows this concordance and where the slight variances occur. They are so close that it is reasonable to deduce that the two sets of tables were compiled from very similar sources.

Table 23: Comparison of Distribution Table (1916) with Provision and Maintenance Tables (1919)

Date	Distribution Table (1916): Cumulative total of troops arriving in theatre	Provision and Maintenance (1919): Reinforcement Tables	Remarks
1/12/1914	8499	Main Body (7761) + 1st Rfts (738)	
1/01/1915	8739		+ British Section NZEF (240) raised in the UK
1/02/1915	10713	+ 2nd Rfts (1974)	
1/03/1915	10713		
1/04/1915	12943	+ 3rd Rfts (1712) + 1st Māori Contingent (518)	
1/05/1915	12943		
1/06/1915	15204	+ 4th Rfts (2261)	
1/07/1915	15297	+ No. 1 Stationary Hospital (93)	
1/08/1915	15297		
1/09/1915	17708	+ 5th Rfts (2411)	5th Rfts arrived in July 1915 and should have been included in the 1/08/1915 total. They did not reach Gallipoli, however, until 7/8 August.
1/10/1915	20104	+ 6th Rfts (2364) + NZ Ambulance (32)	
1/11/1915	20315	+ 6th Rfts Details and others (211)	
1/12/1915	25326	+ Rifle Bde (2250) + 7th Rfts (2450) + 2nd Māori Contingent (311)	2nd Māori Contingent arrived in October 1915 and should have been included in the 1/11/1915 total
1/01/1916	27902	+ 8th Rfts (2576)	
1/02/1916	27902		
1/03/1916	31023	+ 9th Rfts (3123)	
Total	31023	31025	A transcription error is likely to have occurred in the Distribution total

As noted above, there is less confidence in the figures for dead, sick and wounded in the table, as the transmission of data about these casualties appears to have lagged somewhat behind the real situation during the campaign.

The 16,000–17,000 figure cannot be made more precise, for a number of reasons. The first is that some hundreds of personnel (426 according to the Distribution Table) were either dead (10), sick (189) or had embarked on ships returning to New Zealand (227) by 1 April 1915, a tally which would have increased by an unknown number by the beginning of the campaign on 25 April. The second main reason is that a small but unknown number of the dead, sick and returned to New Zealand in the subsequent columns did not serve at Gallipoli. Similarly, a small proportion of those listed as 'MEF Overseas' were not landed on the peninsula, but served aboard ships or on Lemnos only. Finally, a few cases men who returned to New Zealand early in the campaign re-enlisted in time to serve again on the peninsula, and were thus counted twice or more in the Distribution Table.

It should also be pointed out that the figures given for deaths (excluding the 10 deaths recorded up to 1 May 1915) are clearly far too low at the beginning of the campaign, although they rise from 237 on 1 June 1915 to 2578 on 1 December 1915 and finally 2731 on 1 March 1916. This figure is close to the generally accepted figures for New Zealand fatal casualties at Gallipoli, which range from 2701 (Pugsley) to 2721 (McGibbon) and 2779 (Stowers).¹⁵⁶ The total death figure for 1 March 1916 should (but may not) include 32 personnel lost in the sinking of the *Marquette* on 23 October 1915 and the six members of the New Zealand Rifle Brigade killed in Libya on Christmas Day 1915.

Table 24 below compares the figures for those listed as being outside Egypt with the MEF or as sick, wounded, dead or returned to New Zealand in the Distribution Table, with the corresponding cumulative estimates of those who served at Gallipoli derived from the other archival sources. The Distribution Table totals, in this instance, have been adjusted to exclude the 364 who had died (10) or returned to New Zealand (354) by 1 May 1915 and who could not have served at Gallipoli.

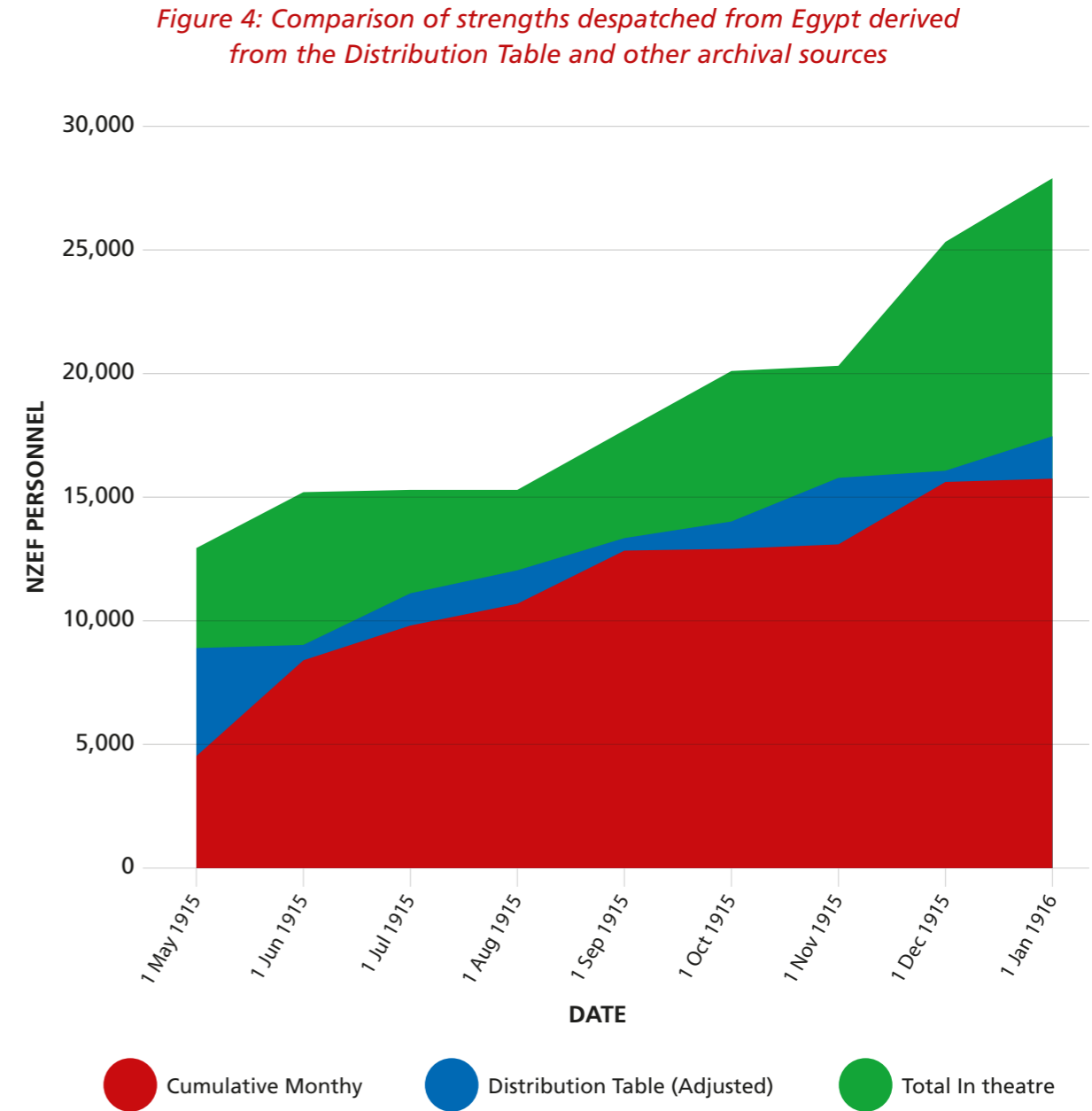
¹⁵⁶ Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, p. 360; McGibbon, *Guide*, pp. 15 and 119; Stowers, pp. 274–5.

Table 24: Comparison of estimates of NZEF Gallipoli service derived from the Distribution Table (1916) with data from other archival sources, June 1915–January 1916

Date	Other archival sources (A)	Distribution Table (adjusted) (B)	Difference (B-A)
1 May 1915	(6397+)*	8897 -	2500
1 June 1915	8426 +	9025 -	599
1 July 1915	9833+	11,112 -	1279
1 August 1915	10,714	12,043 -	1329
1 September 1915	12,863 +	13,345 -	482
1 October 1915	12,956 +	14,017-	1061
1 November 1915	13,212 ++	15,782 -	2570
1 December 1915	15,694 ++	16,070 -	376
1 January 1916	15,694 ++	17,466 -	1772

* '+' or '++' indicates that the numbers are considered to be underestimated, '-' indicates numbers likely to be overestimates.

These comparative statistics, showing the numbers deployed according to the adjusted Distribution Table (blue), deployments recorded in other archival sources (red) and the total number of NZEF troops arriving in theatre (green), are illustrated here in graphic form:



As discussed, the cumulative estimates derived from other archival sources are all considered to be underestimates. This is because, with the exception of the June–November period, information about the NZEF reinforcements on Gallipoli is fragmentary. The totals derived from the Distribution Table, on the other hand, are probably overestimates because it fails to enumerate the small number of deployed personnel, dead, sick and wounded, and men repatriated to New Zealand who did not serve at Gallipoli.

One of the main features to note from this comparison is the wide divergence between the two sets of estimates at the beginning of the campaign, their convergence on 1 September, and their subsequent divergence towards the end. The causes of these divergences are not entirely clear, but it is possible to make a number of reasonable speculations, particularly for the early period.

After allowances are made for pre-invasion attrition, the Distribution Table implies that approximately 8897 men of the NZEF had embarked from Egypt for service overseas by 1 May 1915. This total must include the 6397 NZEF personnel who sailed with the invasion force, plus subsequent reinforcement drafts which left Egypt up to that date. As discussed above, these subsequent reinforcements are known from other archival sources to have included infantry and other personnel on the *Lutzow* (234), Army Service Corps personnel (231) who arrived at Gallipoli in early May, and the infantry of the 3rd Reinforcements who embarked on the *Saturnia* (839). Added to the invasion total, they bring the number of NZEF personnel known from other archival sources to have left Egypt on or before 1 May to 7701.

This total is certainly an underestimate. As previously discussed, there are a number of other archival references to groups landing at Gallipoli in the very early stages of the campaign which probably included members of the NZEF. Among these men, it may be reasonably speculated, were the infantry of the 2nd Reinforcements, who left New Zealand with a strength of 795. This group remains problematic because there are no archival resources which refer directly to their despatch to Gallipoli, presumably because they were no longer constituted as an identifiable body. As outlined above, during the preparation for the landings, the infantry of the Main Body, 1st and 2nd Reinforcements were effectively amalgamated into a general pool, from which the fittest and best trained were selected for the invasion force. If the 2nd Reinforcements are added to the total for which there is direct evidence, the number estimated to have embarked by 1 May rises to 8496. This would account for all but 401 of the 8897 personnel recorded as having left Egypt by 1 May 1915 in the Distribution Table. Table 25 summarises this argument.

Table 25: NZEF personnel estimated to have embarked from Egypt up to 1 May 1915

NZEF Embarkations for Egypt, 25 April – 1 May 1915	Date Sailed from Egypt	Strength	Distribution Table (1916) adjusted estimate
NZEF personnel sailing with NZ & A Division for Invasion	April 1915	6397	
NZEF Reinforcements on troopship <i>Lutzow</i>	April 1915	234	
First and Second Companies, Army Service Corps NZEF	April/May	231	
2nd Infantry Reinforcements (?)	By 1 May 1915?	(c. 795)?	
3rd Infantry Reinforcements on troopship <i>Saturnia</i>	Up to 1 May 1915	839	
Total		c. 8496	c. 8897

The foregoing discussion, it must be stressed, concerns the strength embarked from Egypt up to 1 May 1915 and not those landed at Gallipoli. As previously shown, many of those sailing with the invasion force did not land before 1 May but were sent back to Alexandria with the stores, vehicles and animals, and wounded collected from the beaches during the first few days.

The divergence and subsequent re-convergence of the two sets of data between 1 September and 1 December is primarily explained by the fact that whereas the Distribution Table recorded troops leaving Egypt, the archival sources record actual arrivals on Gallipoli. The discrepancy between the figures is thus primarily due to the diversion of the 6th Reinforcements and mounted rifles elements of the 5th Reinforcements to Lemnos between late September and mid-November 1915. By 1 December all these troops had arrived on Gallipoli, at which point the two data sets re-converge.

Much more difficult to account for, however, is the subsequent re-divergence of the data between 1 December 1915 and 1 January 1916. The adjusted distribution table appears to show that 17,466 of the 27,902 troops who had arrived in theatre by 1 January 1916 had been either despatched to Gallipoli and Lemnos or were dead, sick, wounded or returned to New Zealand, an increase of 1396 on the previous month. The increase in the 'MEF Overseas' figure (a proxy for the effective strength of the NZEF at sea, on Lemnos and at Gallipoli) was even more dramatic – the effective strength is recorded as 7083, an increase of 1595 on the total of 5488 recorded the previous month.

Little has survived in archival sources to corroborate these apparent increases, although there are a few clues. It is clear, for example, that there was a surge in the number of medical personnel at Gallipoli in the final days of the campaign to assist with the evacuation of many sick and wounded who remained on the peninsula. These additional personnel were drawn for the most part from the NZMC personnel who had sailed from New Zealand with the 7th Reinforcements. The war diary of the 1st New Zealand Field Ambulance recorded the arrival of 87 named NZMC personnel on 10 December 1915. A review of the military service files of these men reveals that at least 82 of them had not had previous service at Gallipoli. Three had sailed with the Main Body and the 5th and 6th Reinforcements respectively. The remaining 79 were all 7th Reinforcements.¹⁵⁷ Among the 7th Reinforcements medical personnel despatched to Gallipoli early in December was Private Alfred Douglas (Doug) Dibley, who served on the peninsula for a few days and later saw considerable service on the Western Front. Dibley became New Zealand's last surviving Gallipoli veteran. He died in 1997 at the age of 101.¹⁵⁸

The New Zealand Mounted Field Ambulance, the other New Zealand medical unit on the peninsula, recorded that 'during the last ten days [before the final evacuation] two medical officers and 38 men were received as reinforcements and attached for duty with the unit'.¹⁵⁹ Although the identity of these men was not specified, it is clear that most were also 7th Reinforcements. Additional personnel were also attached directly to the fighting units. A survey of the military service files of 195 men of the NZMC listed on the Auckland War Memorial Museum's Cenotaph database as belonging to the 7th Reinforcements shows that at least 133 NZMC personnel saw service at Gallipoli in the final few days of the campaign. Arriving at Gallipoli between 9 and 12 December, 71 were attached to the 1st New Zealand Field Ambulance and 34 to the New Zealand Mounted Ambulance. Some of the remaining 28 were attached directly to fighting units; in other cases there is insufficient evidence on the file. In another 45 cases it is unclear whether the man served on Gallipoli. In only 19 instances is there clear evidence of no Gallipoli service. If the confirmed total of 133 NZMC personnel is added to the total from other archival sources, the estimate for the number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli rises to 15,827.

Also arriving on the peninsula in December were recovered sick and wounded, although the total numbers involved are not known. For example, on 7 December 1915 the Canterbury Infantry Battalion records the arrival of 60 men described as recovered sick returning from England.¹⁶⁰ Other units may also have received recovered personnel around this time.

157 War Diary 1st NZ Field Ambulance, 1 December – 31 December 1915, WA119, 173-[119r], R23817182, ANZ.

158 Casualty Form – Active Service, Alfred Douglas Dibley P/F, R120996968, ANZ; Nicholas Boyack and Jane Tolerton, 'Gallipoli: Doug Dibley Remembers', *New Zealand Defence Quarterly*, no. 20, Autumn 1998, pp. 28–30.

159 War Diary NZ Mounted Field Ambulance, 1 December – 31 December 1915, WA47, 59/[47i], R23518038, ANZ.

160 War Diary, Canterbury Battalion, December 1915, AWM4, 35/19/9, AWM. It seems unlikely that the Canterburys would have been the only recipient of recovered sick and wounded, but no evidence regarding other units has been located.

At the beginning of November 1915, all the units of the NZ & A Division were asked to submit returns showing their actual strengths. The replies were compiled into a table, which also showed how many men were known to be training in Egypt or could reasonably be expected to return once they had recovered from wounds or sickness. The actual strength of the NZEF on Gallipoli or preparing to return there from Lemnos was approximately 5078 men, distributed as follows:

*Table 26: Strength returns submitted by NZEF units of the NZ & A Division, 6 November 1915*¹⁶¹

Unit	Strength Officers	Strength Other Ranks	Total
HQ NZMR Bde	1	13	14
Signal Troop	1	18	19
Auckland MR	10	299	309
Wellington MR	8	364	372
Canterbury MR	11	366	377
Otago MR	9	306	315
Mt Fld Amb	4	31	35
HQ NZFA	3	23	26
1st Bde NZFA	18	228	246
2nd Bde NZFA	19	250	269
HQ Div Eng	3	3	6
Fld Trp NZE	1	19	20
1st Fld Coy NZE	4	102	106
2nd Fld Coy NZE	3	108	111
Div Sig Coy	2	76	78
NZ Inf Bde	75	2344	2419
Bde Sig Section	0	7	7
NA Fld Amb	8	93	101
NZ&A Div HQ	13	82	95
Div Train	9	144	153
NZEF Total	202	4876	5078

161 The returns are preserved in a series of records entitled 'States and Returns', Sep–Nov 1915, in WA 23/2, 13, ANZ

That this figure was considerably fewer than the 8011 which was the 'Peninsular Establishment' of the NZEF on Gallipoli reflects the shortage of reinforcements then available.

There is little evidence that the division substantially increased its strength at Gallipoli between mid-November and 20 December, when the last troops were evacuated. However, it does appear to have increased in strength by a few hundred.¹⁶² The evidence for this is contained in the records generated during the evacuation of the division. The approximate number of NZEF personnel evacuated over this period is summarised in Table 27.

Table 27: NZEF personnel evacuated from Gallipoli, 13–20 December 1915¹⁶³

Date of Evacuation	Unit	Strength
13/14 December 1915	HQ NZ&A Div & Signals	56
	HQ NZ&A Div only	12
	Div Artillery	161
	Div Engineers	69
	NZ Fld Ambulance	85
	Div Train	69
	NZMR Bde Details	43
	NZ Inf Bde Details	65
	Auckland MR	342
	Otago MR	493
	NZ Māori	125
Subtotal 13/14 Dec		1520

162 The foregoing figures are approximate as a number of the divisional units were composed of both New Zealand and Australian personnel.

163 Figures for the evacuation of 13/14 December 1915 are in War Diary, General Staff, HQ ANZAC, December 1915, p. 60, AWM4, 1/25/9 Part 7, AWM; for 18/19 December and 19/20 December, the relevant tables are in New Zealand and Australian Division, Divisional Order No. 22, 15 December 1915 in War Diary, General Staff, HQ ANZAC, December 1915, p. 60, AWM4, 1/25/9 Part 9, AWM. See also, War Diary, General Staff, HQ ANZAC, December 1915, Appendix 14, AWM4, 1/25/9 Part 12, AWM; New Zealand and Australian Division, Report on Operations, 1st November–31st December 1915, 21 January 1916, WA10 ZMR 10/4/17, R24428738, ANZ.

Date of Evacuation	Unit	Strength
18/19 December 1915	NZMR Bde	600
	Engineers	166
	Artillery	405
	NZ Inf Bde	741
	NZ Ambulance	188
	Div Train and Post	80
	Div HQ and Police	51
	Ordnance	10
Subtotal 18/19 Dec		2241
19/20 December	NZMR Bde	550
	Engineers	25
	Div HQ & Police	47
	Artillery	175
	NZ Inf Bde	800
	NZ Ambulance	30
	Div Train	3
	Subtotal 19/20 Dec	
Total 13–20 December		5391

The difference of about 300 between this and the November strength return is primarily accounted for by the addition of the more than 133 NZMC personnel who arrived on or around 10 December and, it is assumed, sundry recovered sick and wounded. That being said, during this final month on the peninsula the division continued to suffer attrition through enemy action and sickness, and in order to maintain its strength it must have received additional personnel. The numbers involved, however, are unlikely to have been sufficient to account for the increase of 1595 personnel during December recorded in the Distribution Table. The balance, it may be speculated, were troops embarked from Egypt to assist with the logistical lift from Gallipoli and Lemnos who were never landed at Gallipoli or, if they were, only fleetingly.

In the absence of other evidence, the Distribution Table's total of 17,466 NZEF troops committed to Gallipoli, which is already highly approximate, must be regarded as an upper limit. The actual number will have been smaller, but significantly more than the 15,827 recorded in other sources.

CONCLUSION

As conclusively shown in this study and in earlier work, the assertion in General Sir Ian Hamilton's preface to Fred Waite's *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli* that only 8556 NZEF personnel landed at Gallipoli does not withstand serious analysis. As early as 1919, Waite himself was convinced that the figure was wrong. It is, therefore, surprising that this assertion, which implied that NZEF attrition was exceptional and very different from that of allied units, should have gone largely unchallenged for so long.

In our interim report we concluded that more than 16,000 and perhaps as many as 17,000 NZEF personnel served at Gallipoli. In part this conclusion rested upon informed assumptions about the number of reinforcements deployed on the peninsula, especially early in the campaign. A careful examination of additional archival material from the initial weeks at Gallipoli has shown that some aspects of these assumptions were incorrect. In particular, it is now clear that many fewer NZEF soldiers were landed in the first days than we initially estimated. The campaign's disastrous opening, in which the Australians and New Zealanders were confined to a tiny, rugged and precarious beachhead, meant that there was simply no space to deploy support troops and the mass of equipment embarked in the invasion fleet.

The additional archival material we located and consulted, especially the discovery of further arrival and departure reports and above all the troop Distribution Table produced in 1916, have proved revelatory. This material has enabled us to build up a much clearer picture of the flow of NZEF personnel from New Zealand to Egypt and on to Gallipoli during 1915. The Distribution Table has not only enabled us to confirm our estimate of the number of NZEF personnel who were at Gallipoli, but also provides historians for the first time with a good understanding of how the NZEF troop distribution between Egypt, Gallipoli, the United Kingdom and other places evolved during the course of the campaign.

The new evidence uncovered and the additional analysis undertaken for this study clearly demonstrate that the 16,000–17,000 figure in the interim report is correct. Unfortunately, the limitations of the surviving evidence preclude us reaching a more definite estimate. The new suggested figure means that New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli probably suffered rates of attrition similar to those of their Australian counterparts.¹⁶⁴ It cannot be argued from present data that New Zealand suffered disproportionate losses.

As Ian McGibbon and other historians have demonstrated, the New Zealand government entered the First World War with a clear-sighted understanding of the issues at stake and of the implications of the Dominion's decision to commit itself wholeheartedly to the British Empire's war effort.¹⁶⁵ The scale of New Zealand's involvement in the Gallipoli campaign can be directly traced back to the extensive pre-war planning for an expeditionary force, which meant that the country was well placed to quickly deploy a force overseas. Central to these plans from their inception in 1909 was a realistic appreciation of the high level of attrition that such a force would suffer in a major war. When the initial fighting in Europe showed that losses were even heavier than expected, New Zealand readily agreed to a British request that it increase the flow of reinforcements to the NZEF.

The NZEF was unable to maintain its units at Gallipoli at full strength throughout the whole campaign because even New Zealand's well-thought-out and generally well-executed reinforcement programme could not cope with the level of attrition encountered. As the British commander in Egypt commented to Godley in September 1915, 'the appetite of the Dardanelles for men has been phenomenal and wicked!'¹⁶⁶ The attrition rates for NZEF (and the AIF units of the NZ & A Division) revealed by the returns submitted on 23 September 1915 are shocking and make it clear why so many NZEF soldiers were needed on the peninsula. Table 28 provides provisional estimates for the scale of this attrition by adding the in-theatre deaths known to have occurred within each unit by this date according to data held by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC).

165 McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli*, pp. 235–43; John Crawford, 'Should we "be drawn into a maelstrom of war"', p. 106–30.

166 Maxwell to Godley, 13 September 1915, Godley Papers, 3/168, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College London.

164 A lack of firm statistics about the total number of AIF personnel who served at Gallipoli precludes greater precision.

Table 28: Estimated attrition rates of rifle-armed units in the NZ & A Division,
25 April–23 September 1915

Unit	Cumulative sick and wounded not returned to units (a)	Died by 23 Sep 1915 (b) (CWGC)	Approx. total attrition (a+b)	War Establishment (WE)	% WE attrition 25 Apr – 23 Sep 1915	% WE attrition per month (5 months for infantry; 4.38 months for mounted regiments)	% WE attrition per week (22 weeks for infantry; 19 weeks for mounted regiments)
New Zealand Mounted Rifles Regiments							
AMR	413	190	603	549	109.84%	25.08%	5.78%
CMR	410	172	582	549	106.01%	24.20%	5.58%
WMR	421	193	614	549	111.84%	25.53%	5.89%
OMR				No Data			
New Zealand Infantry Battalions							
AIB	1331	386	1717	1010	170.00%	34.00%	7.73%
CIB	1209	355	1564	1010	154.85%	30.97%	7.04%
OIB	817	452	1269	1010	125.64%	25.13%	5.71%
WIB	1105	537	1642	1010	162.57%	32.51%	7.39%
Australian Light Horse (ALH) Regiments							
8th ALH	364	203	567	546	103.85%	23.71%	5.47%
9th ALH	433	96	529	546	96.89%	22.12%	5.10%
10th ALH	425	151	576	546	105.49%	24.09%	5.55%
1st ALH	402	121	523	546	95.79%	21.87%	5.04%
2nd ALH	344	77	421	546	77.11%	17.60%	4.06%
3rd ALH	342	40	382	546	69.96%	15.97%	3.68%
Australian Infantry Battalions							
13th Btn	1053	381	1434	1017	141.00%	28.20%	6.41%
14th Btn	971	381	1352	1017	132.94%	26.59%	6.04%
15th Btn	992	560	1552	1017	152.61%	30.52%	6.94%
16th Btn	854	442	1296	1017	127.43%	25.49%	5.79%

As shown in the table, the average attrition rate up to 23 September 1915 for New Zealand infantry battalions was about 30 per cent per month, and for the mounted rifles regiments about 25 per cent. The average weekly attrition was about 7 per cent and 5.75 per cent respectively. A lack of data for the Otago Mounted Rifles and the suspiciously low sick and wounded figure provided by the Otago Infantry Battalion prevent greater precision. Given that attrition rates fell substantially after this date, and that the other units of the NZEF are likely to have experienced much lower percentages of killed and wounded, these rates are not inconsistent with the British War Office's 1916 calculation that attrition rates for all British and Dominion units at Gallipoli averaged 5 per cent per week. This was more than double the attrition rate of 9.5 per cent per month experienced by British forces on the Western Front in 1915.¹⁶⁷ The New Zealand infantry's monthly attrition rate during this period was also double that for British infantry units on the Western Front in 1915, which averaged 15 per cent per month.¹⁶⁸

To maintain something even near their mandated strength, units suffering such attrition needed a steady flow of reinforcements. This fact and the particularly difficult conditions at Anzac meant that during the August Offensive the NZ & A Division and the 1st Australian Division were predominately made up of inexperienced reinforcements and veterans whose health was significantly compromised.¹⁶⁹ It is a striking indication of the tremendous spirit and motivation of the New Zealanders and Australians at Gallipoli that they were able to perform so creditably during the attempt to break out from the Anzac Cove beachhead.

In January 1916, following the evacuation of Gallipoli, the New Zealand government reviewed its manpower position. At that point, excluding the troops sent to garrison German Samoa, nearly 32,000 NZEF personnel had left New Zealand (1080 officers, 221 nurses and 30,485 other ranks), while 3642 had returned to New Zealand.¹⁷⁰ The casualties suffered by the NZEF during this period, including those who had died of disease, but not the sick, amounted to 8156 (1983 dead, 655 missing, virtually all of whom were dead, 5496 wounded and 22 prisoners of war).¹⁷¹ These figures give a good indication of the scale of New Zealand

167 Extract from Report Number Six by Officer Commanding the NZEF in the United Kingdom, 26 May 1916, AD1, 10/337, R22429715, ANZ.

168 Ibid., Extract from British *Hansard*, New Series Number 77, p. 1587, 12 January 1916.

169 This problem affected all the British and Dominion forces at Gallipoli. See Gary Sheffield, 'Shaping British and Anzac Soldiers' Experience of Gallipoli: Environmental and Medical Factors, and the Development of Trench Warfare', *British Journal for Military History*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2017), pp. 23–43.

170 'Troops Departed from New Zealand up to 17th January, 1916', Enclosure to Robin to Allen, 22 January 1916 and related papers, AD1, 10/337, R 2242 9715, ANZ.

171 Ibid., 'New Zealand Expeditionary Force: Summary of Casualty Lists 264–266 up to and including 17th January 1916'.

war effort and the demands on New Zealand's human resources after just eight months of fighting.

Although the government and its military advisers understood that the NZEF would suffer heavily if it was committed to a major campaign, the New Zealand public did not. Public utterances about the likelihood of casualties were exceptionally rare in the period between mobilisation and the despatch of the Main Body. In one of the very few instances where attrition and the resulting need for reinforcements were mentioned, it was underplayed. In a statement reported in the *New Zealand Herald* on 1 September 1914, James Allen, said: 'It is our duty to keep the [expeditionary] force up to the strength and size at which it is sent away. The Imperial policy is to maintain a steady improvement of the British force at the front, and, though we may not be required to improve our numbers, it is necessary that we make provision for shrinkage in the New Zealand force caused by sickness and wastage, by sending additional men'.¹⁷²

It is therefore unsurprising that the lengthy casualty lists which began to appear after the landings on 25 April 1915 came as a shock. They were far worse to those suffered by the New Zealand forces during the South African War of 1899 to 1902. The impact that the Gallipoli campaign had on the national psyche in 1915 and its ongoing hold on the country's imagination were partly due to the trauma generated by the heavy losses sustained on the peninsula.¹⁷³ The extent of New Zealand's commitment to the failed campaign at Gallipoli, and the national impact of the continuing casualties, were widely commented on during 1915. As Lieutenant-Colonel William Malone, the commander of the Wellington Infantry Battalion, wrote to his wife on 17 July 1915, 'I see by the papers that at last New Zealand has awoken to the meaning of the war ... [O]ur casualty lists brought it home'.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, the *Wairarapa Age* noted in an editorial in September 1915 that the losses sustained by the forces at Gallipoli were very severe. 'There is hardly a home in New Zealand that has not been affected by the casualties'.¹⁷⁵

The profound impression made by Gallipoli can be attributed principally to three factors: the fact that this was New Zealand's first major campaign of the First World War, the level of losses suffered by the NZEF, and the size of the Dominion's contribution. The strong community drive to commemorate the landing at Anzac on 25 April was indicative of the campaign's

172 'All Ready to Sail', *New Zealand Herald*, 1 September 1914, p. 7.

173 A 14 August 2019 search of Papers Past for New Zealand newspapers for the period 25 April to 31 December 1915 using the keywords 'losses', 'Gallipoli' and 'Zealand' generated 2081 results.

174 Crawford, *No Better Death*, p. 271.

175 *Wairarapa Age*, 25 September 1915, p. 4.

deep effect on New Zealand society. Anzac Day quickly became a sacred occasion of national remembrance in New Zealand.¹⁷⁶ This development is made much more explicable by the finding that up to 17,000 NZEF personnel – twice as many as previously thought – had a direct connection with the campaign. And approximately twice as many families had at least one member on the peninsula in 1915. All future work on New Zealand's role at Gallipoli will need to take this elementary, but crucial, fact into account.

176 Maureen Sharpe, 'Anzac Day in New Zealand, 1916–1921', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1981, pp. 97–114; Scott Worthy, 'A Debt of Honour: New Zealanders' First Anzac Days', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2002, pp. 185–200.

APPENDIX I

Enumerating New Zealand Expeditionary Force Service on Gallipoli, Interim Report for the Working Party, March 2016

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Since 1919 it has been authoritatively claimed that 8556 personnel of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) served at Gallipoli in 1915. This has been challenged in recent years and a cross-agency working group was established in November 2015 to attempt to produce as definite a number as possible. The approach taken was to confirm the number of NZEF personnel who took part in the initial landing, and then identify the number of reinforcements subsequently landed, less returning sick and wounded.
2. It was established through the analysis of previously identified material that when an allowance is made for those who remained in Egypt, nearly 11,000 NZEF personnel served on the peninsula in April-May 1915. This included the Main Body which departed New Zealand in October 1914 and the first three of six reinforcement groups.
3. The working group also reviewed a large amount of archival material and located hand-written notebooks compiled by a staff officer on the Headquarters of the New Zealand and Australian (NZ & A) Division. The notebooks record the arrivals of reinforcements to the NZ & A Division on Gallipoli between 2 June 1915 and 28 August 1915. Reinforcements numbered 4332 in this period which quickly demonstrates the 8556 total significantly understates New Zealand numbers on Gallipoli.
4. Additionally 2429 individual military service files of members of the 6th Reinforcements who arrived in the Middle East after 28 August 1915 were examined. This identified that a minimum of 1860 of these personnel saw service on the peninsula in the final stages of the campaign. It is probable that a significant number of the others also served on Gallipoli but the information on their military service files is inconclusive.
5. From the analysis above, it is shown that the commonly used total of 8556 is incorrect and the approximate number of NZEF troops that served at Gallipoli is definitely more than 16,000 and probably exceeds 17,000.

Estimate of the Total Number of NZEF Personnel Who Served at Gallipoli

Contingent	Date of Landing	Approximate Total
Main Body + 1 st -3 rd Reinforcements (Infantry and Mounted Rifles only)	April-May (incl.) 1915	9768 - 10% = 8791
Main Body + 1 st -3 rd Reinforcements (other troops landed at Gallipoli)	April-May (incl.) 1915	2294 - 10% = 2065
DAAG's reports of new Reinforcements joining the major NZ force components at Gallipoli (including Māori Contingent)	June-August (incl.) 1915	4332 (+)
6 th Reinforcements	October 1915	1860 (+)
Total		17048 (+)

INTRODUCTION

- Since 1919 it has been authoritatively claimed that 8556 personnel of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) served at Gallipoli in 1915. This figure first appeared in General Sir Ian Hamilton's preface 'The New Zealanders of Anzac' to Major Fred Waite's demi-official history, *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli*, which was published in 1919. This figure was not challenged at the time.
- The accuracy of the 8556 total, however, was challenged by Richard Stowers in his detailed account of New Zealand's role in the campaign, *Bloody Gallipoli: the New Zealanders' Story*, which was published in 2005. Based on the sources available to him, which did not include the digital copies of NZEF military service files made by Archives New Zealand, Stowers estimated that a total of 13,977 members of the NZEF served at Gallipoli.¹ Further research by David Green, an historian at the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH), supported an estimate somewhere between 13,000 and 14,000.
- Despite these revised estimates, 8556 has remained the total in widespread use. Both The Great War Exhibition in the former Dominion Museum Building and the 'Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War' exhibition in Te Papa in Wellington use this figure. If it was correct it would show New Zealand having a 93% casualty rate, considerably more than the proportion of the other Allied combatants.
- Critical to determining the number of New Zealanders who served on Gallipoli is obtaining an accurate picture of the number of wounded and sick who returned to the battlefield after being evacuated, and the number of new NZEF reinforcements who landed on Gallipoli. The 8556 figure can only be valid if very few of the 11,000 plus NZEF

reinforcements arriving in Egypt were sent to Gallipoli during the course of a campaign in which the NZEF was suffering heavy losses. Additionally, given the chaotic situation in the early stages of the campaign, it seems unlikely that such an accurate figure could have been determined.

- The digitisation of NZEF military service files and some unit war diaries by Archives New Zealand, together with the National Library's Papers Past digital archive of old New Zealand newspapers, provided the opportunity to obtain a more definitive estimate of the numbers of New Zealanders who served at Gallipoli.

GALLIPOLI WORKING GROUP

- The centenary of the Gallipoli Campaign in 2015 led to an increased interest in all questions relating to the campaign and, in particular, how many New Zealanders served on Gallipoli. This led to the establishment in late 2015 of an inter-departmental working group to examine existing evidence relating to the number of NZEF personnel who served in the campaign and to carry out research in an effort to produce as definitive a total as practicable.
- The Working Group was chaired by Neill Atkinson, the Chief Historian at MCH and included other historians from MCH and the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) as well as representatives of Archives New Zealand and Statistics New Zealand. The research was led by John Crawford, Defence Historian, and Matthew Buck, Senior Advisor Heritage NZDF.

METHODOLOGY

- It had been suggested to the Working Group that the only way of reaching a highly accurate total for the number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli would be to examine the military service files of all those who served in the NZEF during 1915. Working Group members with past experience with the files, however, considered that it was likely that in a significant number of cases these files would not provide definitive evidence of whether or not an individual served at Gallipoli.
- As a way of sampling the military service files of the reinforcement groups, it was agreed that conducting an analysis of the files of each member of the 6th Reinforcements would test the hypothesis that an examination of all the military service files would produce a definitive result. The 6th Reinforcements were the last draft of men from New Zealand who could have served at Gallipoli. If the survey proved that a substantial proportion of them did serve in the campaign this in itself would show that the old figure was substantially incorrect.

15. At the same time as work was going on with the survey of the 6th Reinforcements, the Defence Historian, John Crawford, carried out a review of the other material at Archives New Zealand in Wellington relating to the reinforcement of the NZEF during 1914-1915.

WHERE DID THE 8556 FIGURE COME FROM?

16. Although the 8556 total has often been described as official or authoritative, this figure is only mentioned in Hamilton's preface to Waite's book. Waite himself does not use this total anywhere in his book. He does, however, include a table showing the full strengths of the Main Body of the NZEF (7761), additional units formed in New Zealand during the campaign (1458), and additional NZEF units formed in Egypt during the campaign (795). This totals 10,014. Crucially, Waite also notes that these totals did not include reinforcements.

17. MCH historian David Green noticed that the total of the establishment of the Main Body and that of the additional units formed in Egypt during the campaign is 8556. That the total for these two figures should exactly match the number of New Zealanders said by Hamilton to have served at Gallipoli is extraordinarily unlikely. Green concluded that in all probability the figure of 8556 for the number of New Zealanders who served at Gallipoli was produced by Hamilton simply adding together the strengths of the Main Body and the additional NZEF units raised in Egypt in 1915.

REINFORCING THE NZEF 1914-1915

18. Archives New Zealand holds a substantial number of official records relating to the original deployment and reinforcement of the NZEF during 1914 and 1915. Many important papers, however, especially from the period of the Gallipoli campaign, have not survived. For example, the embarkation return and disembarkation order for only one group of NZEF reinforcements dispatched from Alexandria to Gallipoli has been located, even though such a report was almost certainly completed for each group of reinforcements.² Conditions at Gallipoli, especially during the early days of the campaign, made the compilation of accurate personnel records very difficult.³

19. New Zealand's detailed pre-war planning for an expeditionary force of about 8000 men made provision regular reinforcements. These provisions were put in place when the NZEF was raised in 1914. The Main Body of the NZEF, which sailed in October 1914, was accompanied by the 1st Reinforcements, equal to 10 percent of its establishment. Two months later a new contingent, the 2nd Reinforcements, equal to 20 percent of the force's strength, was dispatched, and thereafter it was intended to send reinforcements

equal to 5 percent of establishment each month.⁴ It was recognised from the outset that these reinforcements would "probably be required to replace wastage in the field".⁵

20. By late 1914 it was apparent to the British War Office that casualties among the British forces engaged in the war were much heavier than had been anticipated. As a result, the reinforcement rates for the NZEF were adjusted. At the end of 1914 New Zealand agreed to increase the rate of reinforcements for mounted rifles units to 10 percent and infantry units to 15 percent of establishment each month.⁶

21. The total number of New Zealanders who embarked for service overseas and disembarked in the Middle East in time to take part in the Gallipoli campaign (and were thus potentially available for service on Gallipoli) was as follows:

Reinforcement Contingent	Date of Sailing	Number
Main Body	15/10/1914	7761
1st Reinforcements	15/10/1914	738
2nd Reinforcements	14/12/1914	1974
3rd Reinforcements (Incl. 1st Māori Contingent)	14/02/1915	2230
British Section NZEF	Embarked from UK	240
4th Reinforcements	17/04/1915	2261
5th Reinforcements	13/06/1915	2411
6th Reinforcements	14/08/1915	2364
Additional Reinforcements	21/05/1915-19/07/1915	196
6th Reinforcement Details (incl. 2nd Māori Contingent)	19/09/1915	420
Total		20595

Source: *Provision and Maintenance of the NZEF (1919)*

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH WA 23/3 HQ NZ & A DIVISION – ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL (AAQ) UNREGISTERED FILES

22. In his archival research at Archives New Zealand, John Crawford located hand-written notebooks compiled by the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General (DAAG) of the NZ & A Division. The DAAG was 15/7 Captain (later Major) N.W.B.B. Thoms of the New Zealand Staff Corps. The DAAG was a senior personnel staff officer who was responsible for maintaining strength states for the NZ & A Division including arrivals, departures and casualties.

23. The notebooks record the arrivals of reinforcements to the NZ & A Division on Gallipoli between 2 June 1915 and 28 August 1915. The notebooks distinguish between returning sick and wounded rejoining the division from hospital, those rejoining the division after temporary service elsewhere, and newly joined reinforcement drafts. In only a small number of cases (<4%) is the category of reinforcement recorded in the notebook unclear.

24. A survey of the three notebooks produced the following breakdown of reinforcement categories over the recording period:

Unit	Hosp. Return	Other Return	Reinforcement	Unclear	Grand Total
Auckland Infantry Battalion (IB)	224	14	605	7	850
Canterbury IB	232	750	562	52	1596
Otago IB	193	4	567	44	808
Wellington IB	196	24	590	32	842
Auckland Mounted Rifles (MR)	68	5	233	8	314
Canterbury MR	68	0	170	9	247
Otago MR	45	2	163	3	213
Wellington MR	60	0	232	5	297
NZ Medical Corps	31	5	87	4	127
NZ Māori	13	0	484	0	497
NZ Field Artillery	43	99	293	86	521
NZ Engineers	63	0	302	16	381
HQ NZ Infantry Brigade	33	0	0	0	33
HQ NZ MR Brigade	14	0	3	0	17
NZ Chaplains	3	1	1	0	5
NZ staff NZ&A Div	10	4	5	0	19
NZ Signals	8	2	35	1	46
NZ Army Service Corps	7	0	0	1	8
TOTAL	1311	910	4332	268	6821

25. The results indicate that of the 6821 arrivals of all kinds received by the main New Zealand Expeditionary Force components of the division, 4332 (63%) were supplied by new reinforcement drafts. A further 1311 arrivals (19%) were personnel returning from hospital.

26. The "Other Return" arrivals were troops of the division temporarily detailed for other tasks beyond divisional control who subsequently returned to the division. They are not, therefore, new personnel and cannot be added to the total of new reinforcements received by the division over the course of the campaign. The largest single group of this category was the 750 officers and men of the Canterbury Infantry Battalion who were sent for a temporary rest at Lemnos in early July 1915.

27. In total 2324 of the new reinforcements (54% of the new reinforcement total) were received by the battalions of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade. 2098 of these reinforcements were received in two drafts which arrived on the peninsula on 8/9 June 1915 and 7/8 August 1915 respectively. An examination of the military service files of the officers who landed with each draft, in addition to a survey of the published regimental histories and unpublished war diaries of these battalions, established that these two drafts were composed of officers and men of the 4th and 5th Reinforcements respectively.

28. In total 798 new reinforcements were received by the New Zealand Mounted Rifles regiments. The majority of these reinforcements were received in four drafts on 1 July 1915, and the 9, 16 and 23 August 1915.

29. The majority of the New Zealand Engineer new reinforcements (219) were received on 4 June 1915. Subsequent reinforcement drafts of 15, 20 and 48 were received on the 5, 9 and 16 August 1915.

30. The New Zealand Field Artillery received new reinforcement drafts of 58, 48, 26 and 158 (290 out of 293) on 14 June, 8 July, and 5 and 9 August 1915 respectively.

31. The Māori Contingent arrived as a single reinforcement of 479 on 3 July 1915 and received only another five new reinforcements over the reporting period.

32. It may be concluded that at least 4332 new reinforcements joined the main New Zealand Expeditionary Force components of the NZ & A Division on Gallipoli between June and August 1915 (inclusive). This number may be regarded as a minimum as additional reinforcements are certain to have joined the other minor New Zealand components of the division, such as the New Zealand companies of the Divisional Train.

6TH REINFORCEMENTS SURVEY

33. The methodology for the 6th Reinforcements Survey was developed by Matthew Buck.
34. A list of 2464 personnel recorded as having embarked from New Zealand with the 6th Reinforcements in 1915 was obtained from the Auckland War Memorial Museum Cenotaph Database (Cenotaph List). The names on the Cenotaph List were derived from the embarkation roll of 6th Reinforcements personnel who left New Zealand.
35. After a comparison of the 2464 names on the Cenotaph List and the digitised First World War military service files:
- 2429 individuals were confirmed as having sailed as part of the 6th Reinforcements;
 - 19 individuals either could not be confirmed to be part of the 6th Reinforcements or were shown to have sailed with other reinforcements; and
 - 16 military service files could not be located.
36. The following analysis refers only to the 2429 individuals who could be confirmed as having sailed with the 6th reinforcements. It should be noted that this number is less than the 2784 reported to have sailed with the 6th Reinforcements and 6th Reinforcement Details in a report given to the House of Representatives in 1919.⁷
37. The 2429 individuals confirmed to have sailed with the 6th Reinforcements were assessed according to the following categories:

Category	Definition
1	Served on Gallipoli. File explicitly refers to service on Gallipoli/Anzac/Dardanelles.
2	Did not serve at Gallipoli. File provides explicit evidence of service elsewhere than on the Gallipoli peninsula throughout the entire length of the campaign.
3	Uncertain. No direct or indirect indications of service on either Gallipoli or elsewhere could be found.
4	Joined unit at Lemnos. This can be taken for a positive indication of service on Gallipoli where an individual joined a unit known to have subsequently served at Gallipoli.

38. The results of the survey were:

Category	Number	Percentage of Total
1 (Gallipoli Service)	1285	53%
2 (No Gallipoli Service)	102	4%
3 (Uncertain)	457	19%
4 (Joined Unit)	585	24%

39. Additional analysis:

- of the 585 Category 4 (Joined Unit) determinations, 575 served with either an infantry or mounted rifles unit, strongly indicating Gallipoli service. The remaining 10 served in either the NZ Field Artillery (4) or NZ Medical Corps (6);
- of the 457 Category 3 (Uncertain) determinations, 336 served with either an infantry or mounted rifles unit; and
- of the 1962 for whom there is reasonable certainty about their service (all of Category 1; 575 of Category 4, known to have joined their infantry and mounted rifles units; and 102 of Category 2, who did not serve), the percentage who served or very probably served is 95% $((1285 + 575) \times 100/1962)$.

40. The conclusion of the 6th Reinforcements Survey is that of the 2429 surveyed, 1860 (or 76% of the total sample) may reasonably be regarded as having served at Gallipoli. This total may be regarded as a minimum as it is very likely that additional 6th Reinforcement personnel also served on the Peninsula.

CONCLUSIONS

41. It is evident that not all those who embarked from New Zealand as part of the Main Body and first six reinforcement drafts will have served on Gallipoli. This is because of wastage within each group (death, injury, illness, discipline, and/or returned to NZ) before disembarkation on Gallipoli and because not all the personnel who embarked from New Zealand were front-line troops. Camps and facilities in Egypt needed to be staffed and the horses of the Mounted Rifles needed to be cared for while the Mounted Rifles were fighting as infantry on the peninsula without their animals.
42. From the analysis above, it is concluded that the approximate number of NZEF troops that are likely to have served at Gallipoli is:

Estimate of Total Number of NZEF Personnel Who Served at Gallipoli

Contingent	Date of Landing	Approximate Total
Main Body + 1st-3rd Reinforcements (Infantry and Mounted Rifles only) [Note a.]	April-May (incl.) 1915	9768 - 10% = 8791
Main Body + 1st-3rd Reinforcements (other troops landed at Gallipoli) [Note a.]	April-May (incl.) 1915	2294 - 10% = 2065
DAAG's reports of new Reinforcements joining the major NZ force components at Gallipoli (including Māori Contingent) [Note b.]	June-August (incl.) 1915	4332 (+)
6th Reinforcements	October 1915	1860 (+)
Total		17048 (+)

Sources: *Provision and Maintenance of the NZEF*, Table X, p.18; WA 23/3, DAAG reports; 6th Reinforcements Survey.

Table Notes:

- a. 10% has been deducted from the figures for Infantry, Mounted Rifles and other troops recorded as having embarked from New Zealand in the first three Reinforcement drafts to take account of the wastage from disease and other causes among these drafts before disembarkation at Gallipoli. Other sources confirm that these wastage rates were typically $\leq 10\%$.
 - b. The Māori Contingent, although sailing with the 3rd Reinforcements, did not land on the Peninsula until July 1915 and was thus recorded in the DAAG's reports.
43. Although this total is far more accurate (probably within plus/minus 5%) than previous estimates of the number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli, there remains a lack of precision because of:
- a. the lack of precise statistics for the number of troops from the Main Body and 1st-3rd Reinforcements who landed at Gallipoli; and
 - b. the uncertainties (in the region of 20%) in the totals for Gallipoli service that can be derived from military service files alone.

NEXT STEPS

44. While the composition of a complete nominal roll of NZEF members who served on Gallipoli may be aspirational, further research will provide greater specificity around the numbers. The next step is a more detailed study of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Reinforcements and further research on the 457 members of the 6th Reinforcements whose service files are unclear as to service on Gallipoli.

John Crawford

Matthew Buck

- 1 Stowers, *Bloody Gallipoli*, p. 261.
- 2 'Esson, 'Embarkation Return of Detachments', for a group of reinforcements sailing on 2 May 1915, no date (nd) but 2 May 1915, Esson 'Disembarkation Orders', 6 May 1915, WA23/1 [box 1], Archives New Zealand (ANZ).
- 3 See for example, New Zealand Infantry Brigade War Diary, 16 May 1915, WA70/94 [70f], ANZ.
- 4 "New Zealand Expeditionary Force, 1914, Composition", AD1, 23/60, ANZ; Robin to Allen, 12 December 1914, AD10 16/12, ANZ.
- 5 Godley to Allen, 4 September 1914, AD10 16/12, ANZ.
- 6 "History of Scale of Reinforcements" enclosure to Robin to Allen, 28 July 1917, Allen1, D1/6/5, ANZ; Branch of the Chief of General Staff, *War, 1914-1918: New Zealand Expeditionary Force: Its Provision and Maintenance* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1919), 6.
- 7 Branch of the Chief of General Staff, *War, 1914-1918: New Zealand Expeditionary Force: Its Provision and Maintenance* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1919).