



BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN ARMS: HISTORICISING INDIGENOUS MILITARY SERVICE

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

25-26 JUNE 2015

The Melbourne Campus of ACU is situated on Wurundjeri Country. For thousands of generations the Wurundjeri people have cared for this land & at ACU we respect and honour that custodianship. We acknowledge and pay our respects to the Wurundjeri and thank them for their continued hospitality. We acknowledge all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, Elders past and present, gathered here today.

Welcome to the Brothers and Sisters in Arms: Historicising Indigenous Military Service Conference at the Australian Catholic University

**Part of the
Australian Research Council Linkage project
Serving our country: a history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the defence of Australia**

Institutions: Australian National University, University of Newcastle, Australian Catholic University and the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS)

Linkage Partners: Department of Defence, Department of Veterans' Affairs, National Archives of Australia, Australian War Memorial

The centenary of the First World War has generated significant interest globally in the role Indigenous peoples played in that conflict. Despite centuries confronting European colonialism, Indigenous peoples from around the world served in numerous twentieth century European conflicts, apparently fighting for the very states that were responsible for their oppression and in locations often far removed from home. Across different wars and cultures their treatment, motivations to serve and roles within the armed forces varied, and over time military service has formed a central role in many Indigenous cultures around the world.

We are excited to host this transnational conference which examines the long histories of Indigenous military service. We have presentations on topics as diverse as frontier wars in Australia and the United States, Canadian First Nations in the First World War, Māori in the private military industry and commemorations of military service. Speakers come from across Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Canada, Qatar, South Africa and the United Kingdom. We are especially excited to welcome our keynotes Professor Emeritus Tom Holm from the University of Arizona and Dr Teresia Teaiwa from Victoria University of Wellington.

Thank you all for coming, and we hope you enjoy the conference!

--Noah Riseman and Cath Bishop, conference co-conveners

Registration: Registration is in the foyer of the Christ and Mercy Lecture Theatres from 8:30am on Thursday morning. The Christ and Mercy Lecture Theatres are located on Young Street, just past the Daniel Mannix Building and across from the parking garage.

Internet: Eduroam is available on campus. Please consult your host institution for access information on how to access Eduroam on your mobile device or laptop. For those participants who do not have Eduroam, we have arranged guest internet access in the ACU Library. Please see one of the volunteers at the registration desk for login information.

Library: The Raheen Library is located in the Mary Glowrey building on the ground floor, just to the left past the rear entrance of the building.

Morning and Afternoon Tea and Lunch: Morning and afternoon tea and lunch will be in the foyer outside the Christ and Mercy Lecture Theatres. Friday Lunch is being catered by the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre and is all vegetarian. Gluten free and dairy free options are marked.

Conference Dinner: Charcoal Lane is on 136 Gertrude Street, Fitzroy, two minutes walk from ACU. Go left exiting the Christ/Mercy Lecture Theatres along Young Street. At the end of Young Street, turn right onto Gertrude Street. The restaurant is less than 100 metres ahead on the right.

Fitzroy: Our neighbourhood, Fitzroy, is also home to some of Melbourne's trendiest bars, cafes, restaurants and shops. The main thoroughfares are Gertrude Street, Brunswick Street (to the west) and Smith Street (to the east). Just follow any of the tram tracks along Gertrude Street. Fitzroy also has a long historical connection to Melbourne's Aboriginal community. Aboriginal walking tour maps of Fitzroy are available at the conference registration desk.

Transport: ACU's Melbourne campus is seven minutes walk from Parliament Station (train), and is also serviced by the 109, 24 and 12 trams. All Melbourne public transport users must purchase a Myki card, as paper tickets are not available. For more information about public transport and Myki, including where to purchase a card, visit <http://ptv.vic.gov.au/>.

Map of Campus: see http://www.acu.edu.au/about_acu/campuses/melbourne/map.

Focus Group – The Limits of Recognition: Professor Tim Rowse and Associate Professor Emma Waterton have co-authored a paper for this conference that intervenes in the current debate about whether Australia's 'frontier wars' should be considered as a part of Australia's military heritage. The paper discusses whether the category of Indigenous Military Service should include the Native Mounted Police and, if so, how the Native Mounted Police should figure in Australia's military heritage. Tim and Emma anticipate that the arguments of their paper will yield extended discussion and opinions about appropriate and inappropriate ways to configure Australia's Indigenous military heritage. They wish to provide a forum for that discussion and thus are hosting a focus group for those conference delegates interested. During the focus group they will ask a series of questions around the theme of the Native Mounted Police and its remembrance, the responses to which they will record, transcribe and incorporate into a subsequent publication. To understand the politics of Australia's military heritage, they propose to document a dialogue with those who may wish to question their framing of that heritage.

Thursday 25 June

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| 8.30– 9.00am | Registration: Christ/Mercy Lecture Theatres foyer | |
| 9.00– 9.30am | Welcomes and Introductions (Mercy Lecture Theatre) Welcome to Country: Aunty Dot Peters Jim-baa-yer Indigenous Higher Education Unit: Linc Yow Yeh Acting Associate Vice Chancellor: Associate Professor Joe Fleming | |
| 9.30– 11.00am | Keynote address (Mercy LT): Dr Teresia Teaiwa (Victoria University of Wellington) Historicising Fiji Women Soldiers | |
| 11.00– 11.30am | Morning Tea (Christ/Mercy Lecture Theatres foyer) | |
| | Christ Lecture Theatre | Mercy Lecture Theatre |
| 11.30– 1.00pm | <p>Nineteenth Century Experiences Chair: Kirstie Close-Barry</p> <p>Mark Van de Logt (Texas A&M Qatar): Whoever makes war upon the Rees will be considered making war upon the "Great Father": Arikara military service on the Northern Great Plains, 1865-1882</p> <p>Tim Rowse and Emma Waterton (UWS): The limits of recognition? Serving the Crown in the nineteenth century</p> <p>Peter Bakker: Australia's Dark Troopers in the Boer War</p> | <p>Service and Political Activism Chair: Noah Riseman</p> <p>John Maynard (Newcastle): On the Political 'Warpath' – Native Americans and Australian Aborigines Post WWI</p> <p>Jeremy Murray (CSUSB): The White Sands Uprising (Baisha Qiyi): The Li People of Hainan Island Join the Chinese Communist Movement, 1943</p> <p>Akikwe Cornell (UMN): Of Shadow Wolves and "Third Spaces": American Indians and Assertions of Sovereignty in American Militarized Units</p> |
| 1.00– 2.00pm | Lunch (Christ/Mercy Lecture Theatres foyer) | |
| 2.00– 3.30pm | <p>Debating Commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Service Chair: Kristyn Harman</p> <p>Joan Beaumont (ANU): The old, the new and the borrowed: Indigenous war commemoration</p> <p>Noah Riseman (ACU): Uniting Australians? Commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Service</p> <p>Jennifer Debenham, James Bennett and Michael Kilmister (Newcastle): Black Diggers: 'No they should be remembered equally'</p> | <p>Colonialism and Military Service Chair: Timothy C. Winegard</p> <p>Steve Marti (UWO): Unsettling Narratives: Indigenous Service during the First World War as a Comparative Study of Settler Colonialism</p> <p>Adam Rankin (UWA): Indigenous Australian military units and Imperial controls in the Second World War</p> <p>Alison Holland (Macquarie): Controllers or Consultants? The Relationship Between the Army and Native Affairs Administration during the Second World War.</p> |
| 3.30– 4.00pm | Afternoon Tea (Christ/Mercy Lecture Theatres foyer) | |
| 4.00– 5.00pm | <p>Papua New Guineans in the Second World War Chair: Daniel Owen Spence</p> <p>Lucy Davies (La Trobe): Papua New Guineans and the Navy in World War II</p> <p>Jonathan Ritchie and Kirstie Close-Barry (Deakin): 'We cried for our people': a Papuan recalls the Higaturu hangings in 1943</p> | <p>Indigenising the World Wars Chair: R. Scott Sheffield</p> <p>Geoffrey Gray (ANU/UQ): Indigenous peoples of the South Pacific and WWI</p> <p>Geoffrey Davis (Oxford): From the uttermost ends of the Earth': The Dilemma of Indigenous Participation in European Wars</p> |
| 5.10pm | Focus Group: The Limits of Recognition (Recital Room; led by Tim Rowse and Emma Waterton) | |
| 7.00pm | Conference Dinner: Charcoal Lane (136 Gertrude Street, Fitzroy) | |

Friday 26 June

9.00-10.30am **Keynote address (Mercy LT): Professor Emeritus Tom Holm (University of Arizona)**
Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls Revisited: New Observations on American Indian Veterans and their Changing Communities

10.30-11.00am ***Morning Tea (Christ/Mercy Lecture Theatres foyer)***

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| 11.00-12.30pm | <p>Seeking Rights and Veterans' Benefits Chair: Steve Marti</p> <p>Jessica Horton (La Trobe): Aboriginal Victorians during WW1: Fighting for Empire, Writing for Rights</p> <p>Andrew Gunstone (UniSA): After the Conflict: Indigenous Peoples, War Pensions and Land Settlements</p> <p>R. Scott Sheffield (Fraser Valley): Indigenous Veterans of the Second World War and Veterans' Benefits in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States</p> | <p>Reconstructing Forgotten Histories Chair: Jennifer Debenham</p> <p>Rachel Franks, Melissa Jackson and Kristen Thorpe (State Library of NSW): Indigenous Military Service: Remembering and Researching</p> <p>Andrea Gerrard (UTas): Overlooked</p> <p>Ben Morris (Wollongong): Bullets do not Discriminate</p> |
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12.30-1.30pm ***Lunch (Christ/Mercy Lecture Theatres foyer)***

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| 1.30-3.00pm | <p>Remembering the First World War Chair: Joan Beaumont</p> <p>Timothy C. Winegard (Colorado Mesa): For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the Great War for Civilization</p> <p>Evan Habkirk (UWO): In the Wake of War: Reconceptualizing Six Nations Veterans of the First World War</p> <p>Rowan Light (Auckland): Forgotten Warriors? Indigenous Media, Citizenship and Identity in Anzac Commemoration</p> | <p>Martial Race Theory Chair: Mark Van de Logt</p> <p>Tristan Moss (ANU): Fuzzy Wuzzy Soldiers: Papua New Guinea and martial race</p> <p>Maria Bargh (Vic Uni Wellington) and Quentin Whanau (New Zealand Army): Māori as 'warriors', 'locals' and 'noble savages': in the New Zealand Defence Force and the Privatised Military Industry</p> <p>Daniel Owen Spence (University of the Free State): 'Forgotten men' or 'the pride of the Navy'? Indigenous naval service and British colonialism around the Second World War</p> |
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3.00pm - 3.30pm ***Afternoon Tea (Christ/Mercy Lecture Theatres foyer)***

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| 3.30pm - 4.30pm | <p>Stories from the Second World War Chair: Tim Rowse</p> <p>Kristyn Harman (UTas): 'There were German planes in the sky all day long': Private Clarence Combo's account of his experiences in World War Two</p> <p>Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland): 'Possibly a Maori girl might suit': Māori women, Paid Employment and New Zealand's WWII war effort</p> | <p>Sites of Remembrance Chair: Emma Waterton</p> <p>Scott Manning Stevens (Syracuse): Memorializing First Nations Service: The Woodlands Cultural Centre and WWI</p> <p>Alexandra McCosker (Monash): Bringing their spirit home: Indigenous pilgrimage and Kokoda</p> |
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CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

Keynotes

Dr Teresia Teaiwa: Historicising Fiji Women Soldiers

Fiji women have been serving in the military since 1961 when twelve of them were recruited as colonial subjects into the British Army. They served out three year contracts, and were demobilised with no further recruitment by the British in Fiji. It would be twenty-four years before Fiji's own Military Forces admitted women into its ranks. By this time, Fiji had been an independent nation-state for eighteen years. When the British Army returned to recruit soldiers from Fiji in 1998, it ushered in a unique situation in which Fiji citizens--both male and female--had the opportunity to serve in one of two national armed forces--their own, or their former coloniser's. In order to understand the contemporary militarisation of Fiji, and in particular, the experiences of Fiji servicewomen, I draw on three historical categories and chronological markers--'colonial', 'nationalist' and 'post/neo-colonial'. In a global media environment where women soldiers receive very little attention outside of sensationalised events, and Fiji women have been ignored by both historians and feminist scholars, I argue that the work of historicising Fiji women soldiers provides critical insights into the interplay of structure and agency that shapes indigenous military service.

Dr Teresia Teaiwa is a Senior Lecturer in Pacific Studies at Va'aomanu Pasifika, Victoria University of Wellington. She has published extensively on gender and colonialism in the Pacific and held numerous prestigious fellowships in New Zealand and the United States.

Professor Emeritus Tom Holm: Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls Revisited: New Observations on American Indian Veterans and their Changing Communities

It has been twenty years since my manuscript on Native veterans of the Vietnam War was accepted. Since then the U.S. has been plunged into two more drawn-out and controversial conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. Although the numbers of Native American servicemen who have participated in these wars is not known exactly for various reasons, I have talked to one Native American who served in Afghanistan and two who served in both Afghanistan and Iraq. It seems, based purely on anecdotal information from these three individuals, that while military service, wars and warfare itself have certainly changed since Vietnam and American Indian communities are undergoing changing conditions, I'm finding that their experiences in readjustment are somewhat similar.

Since receiving his degree from the University of Oklahoma, Professor Holm has published over 50 articles, books, pamphlets, government reports, book reviews and essays, editorials and book chapters. A Cherokee-Muskogee Creek from Oklahoma, Professor Holm has served on numerous Native American boards, panels, and working groups. He is a Marine Corps veteran of the Vietnam War and has taken part in several federal programs dealing with veterans' affairs.

Bakker, Peter: Australia's Dark Troopers in the Boer War

A major re-examination of Australia's indigenous involvement in its military history has been occurring over the last decade. Recent research and media coverage has dramatically altered the awareness of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians as to the extent and consequences of indigenous participation in Australia's various foreign wars. Research in the last five years, largely undertaken by lay historians, has verified several Australian Aboriginals as serving in the Boer War. Some surprising information has been revealed by this research, which should cause historians to review their understanding of Aboriginal military service in South Africa and their post war experiences.

Peter Bakker is a teacher who has long campaigned for the recognition of Aboriginal participation in Australia's Defence Forces. He has been researching and publishing for a number of years.

Bargh, Maria and Quentin Whanau: Māori as 'warriors', 'locals' and 'noble savages': in the New Zealand Defence Force and the Privatised Military Industry.

In this paper we trace three key portrayals of Māori as 'warriors', 'locals' and the 'noble savage' through Māori involvement in the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) and now in the privatised military industry. The image of Māori as warriors with a mix of military prowess and 'savagery' can be seen in early accounts about Māori in the New Zealand military and police forces. Over recent decades this notion of 'warrior-ness' has been utilised and promoted by the NZDF including to support Maori in the military and to encourage their ongoing participation. The second of the strands we examine relates to accounts of Māori on overseas postings connecting well with local peoples. The third strand we explore is the way that despite the perceived warrior aspect of Maori, their related identity as a 'noble savage' who is capable of being trained and 'civilised' has also been part of narratives about Māori in the New Zealand military. In the second part of the paper we examine the extent to which these three notions are now apparent in perceptions of Māori in the privatised military industry.

Maria Bargh – Māori Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington.

Quentin Whanau – New Zealand Army, Training, Burnham Military Camp.

Beaumont, Joan: The old, the new and the borrowed: Indigenous war commemoration

In recent years, the service of Aboriginal and Torres Strait islanders has been increasingly recognized in the national commemoration of war (for example, in the new First World War Gallery of the Australian War Memorial and the Aboriginal memorial at the National Gallery of Australia). But important though this national recognition is, of even greater significance and interest are the rituals of war commemoration being shaped by indigenous communities themselves. This paper will focus on two processes of memory formation: the installation of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander War Memorial in Adelaide and the Anzac Day Coloured Digger march. How have these rituals be positioned vis-a-vis the iconography of traditional war commemoration, anchored as much of this in British imperial motifs dating from nearly a century ago? How have they been adapted to incorporate indigenous cultural practices? Is a new fusion of cross-cultural commemorative practices becoming evident?

Professor Joan Beaumont is an internationally recognized historian of Australia in the two world wars, Australian defence and foreign policy, the history of prisoners of war and the memory and heritage of war. Her publications include the critically acclaimed Broken Nation: Australians and the Great War (Allen & Unwin, 2013), joint winner of the 2014 winner of the Prime Minister's Literary Award (Australian History), winner of the 2014 NSW Premier's Prize (Australian History), winner of the 2014 Queensland Literary Award for History; and shortlisted for the 2014 WA Premier's Prize (non-fiction) and the 2014 Council for the Humanities, Arts & Social Sciences Prize for a Book.

Cornell, Akikwe: Of Shadow Wolves and “Third Spaces”: American Indians and Assertions of Sovereignty in American Militarized Units

This paper argues that Indians serving in the military work through imperialism and colonialism to assert their political and cultural identities as separate and distinct from the American nation-state that seeks to disavow Indigenous sovereignty. Drawing upon periodicals, historical analysis of scouting units, and Kevin Bruyneel’s *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, I contend that the Shadow Wolves, the only all-Indian, militarized unit within the Department of Homeland Security, protect and assert tribal sovereignty and Indigenous patriotism through operating within a “third space.” The Shadow Wolves, who use traditional tracking methods of analyzing the environment to track drug smugglers, were established in 1974 as a partnership between the federal government and the Tohono O’odham nation. I investigate how the U.S. symbolically represents the unit in deploying them overseas and highlight how the Shadow Wolves assert their identities and roles that not perfectly align with the nation-state and instead, buttress Indigenous sovereignty.

Akikwe Cornell is a Doctoral Candidate in American Studies at the University of Minnesota and an enrolled member of the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Michigan. Her dissertation, “Camouflaged Indians: American Indian Veterans in the United States Armed Forces,” argues that American Indians serving in the Armed Forces work through American imperialism and colonialism to assert their political and cultural identities as separate and distinct from the American nation-state that symbolically wields Indianness in an effort to disavow Indigenous sovereignty. This research investigates how and why the contributions of Native veterans have been overlooked through an examination of the significance and symbolism of the United States military’s use of metaphors and representations of Native veterans in popular discourse and popular culture.

Davies, Lucy: Papua New Guineans and the Navy in WWII

During the Second World War, many Papuans and New Guineans worked as crews on vessels that travelled throughout the Pacific and to Australia. These crews were essential to the defence of Australia and their skills and labour were in high demand. Indispensable to Australia, Papuan and New Guinean crews consulted with mainland unions and other non-white crews and demanded an increase in their wages, at a time when Australia had little ability to refuse. They were successful in their demands. This presentation brings to light the stories of Papuan and New Guinean crews during the Pacific War and explores the various measures they employed to improve their own lives and undermine Australian rule.

Lucy Davies is writing a PhD at La Trobe University on how the travel of Papuan and New Guineans labourers to Australia up the end of the Second World War shaped the administration of the Territory by Australia.

Davis, Geoffrey: “From the uttermost ends of the Earth”: The Dilemma of Indigenous Participation in European Wars

This talk illustrates how indigenous story-telling in New Zealand and Canada may be used to heal the trauma of war and function as counter-discourse to white master narratives. Maori author Patricia Grace’s novel *Tu* (2004) is the first to focus on the history of the Maori Battalion in Italy during World War II; the Métis Canadian Joseph Boyden’s novel *Three Day Road* (2005) is the first to tackle the neglected history of First Nations experience in World War I. Both novelists describe the lives of indigenous communities – the Maori and the Cree – in their home environments and through the experience of the men who go overseas to war; both seek to preserve indigenous identity by integrating elements of indigenous culture in their narratives; both address the moral and political conflicts inherent in indigenous participation in war; and both address the comparative lack of recognition accorded indigenous people after the war.

Geoffrey V. Davis read Modern Languages at Oxford. He has taught at universities in Austria, France, Germany, and Italy. His research interests include Colonial and Postcolonial Writing, Drama and Film, with a particular emphasis on Southern Africa, Canada, and Australia. Among his publications are Voices of Justice and Reason: Apartheid and beyond in South African Literature (2003), Beyond the Echoes of Soweto: Five Plays by Matsemela Manaka (1997), and the co-edited volumes: Theatre and Change in South Africa (1996); Staging New Britain: Aspects of Black and South Asian British Theatre Practice (2006); Indigeneity: Representation and Interpretation (2009); Narrating Nomadism: Tales of Recovery and Resistance (2013); and African Literatures, Postcolonial Literatures in English: Sources and Resources (2013). Since 2007 he has been working with the Bhasha Research Centre in Baroda (India) on a project concerning the culture of indigenous peoples in India and elsewhere. In 2012 he co-wrote a report on the present state of arts and culture in Zimbabwe for the Commonwealth Foundation. He co-edits Cross/Cultures: Readings in the Post/Colonial Literatures and Cultures in English and the African studies series Matatu. Until April 2014 he was chair of the European branch of the Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies (EACLALS), having previously been international chair of ACLALS.

Debenham, Jennifer, Michael Kilmister and James Bennett: Black Diggers: “No, they should all be remembered equally”

Recent and growing interest in non-European personnel who served in WWI is yet to leap from the pages of historical scholarship and into popular consciousness. Drawing on the powerful rhetorical refrain of Australian egalitarianism, we have noted the tendency of some tertiary students to argue that Indigenous military service and sacrifice does not warrant separate commemoration. This strongly suggests that the many roles played by Indigenous and other non-European minorities during the war are still marginal in community consciousness. Significantly, it points to a knowledge gap in how students conceptualise the status and history of Indigenous Australians, thereby underlining a barrier to reconciliation. As educators, we need to critically engage in strategies aimed at changing students' perception of the monolithic whiteness of the Anzac narrative. In this paper, we present students with viable alternate narratives through use of documentary film, selected scholarship and official sources to enable them to re-think the impact of the war on Australian society in more inclusive ways.

Jennifer Debenham has been recently been awarded her Doctorate in History for her thesis “Representations of Aborigines in Documentary Film 1901 – 2009” from the University of Newcastle. Jennifer is currently a sessional tutor in Australian History and Sociology. Her special interests are mythology in history, representation, memory, gender, race and class in Australian and international history over a range of time periods. An anthropological understanding of historical issues steers the perspectives in her inquiry. Currently she is a Senior Research Assistant with the Centre for the Study of the History of Violence at University of Newcastle. A commissioned history, The Australia Day Regatta, (2014) co-authored with Dr Christine Cheater, was released by NewSouth Publishing.

Michael Kilmister is a PhD Candidate in History at the University of Newcastle, Australia. His thesis project is looking at the development of foreign policy and national identity in interwar Australia through the lens of politician and lawyer, Sir John Latham. He is the 2015 Seymour Scholar at the National Library of Australia. He is also a lecturer and tutor in the School of Humanities and Social Science and the English Language and Foundation Studies Centre at the University of Newcastle.

James Bennett is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Newcastle. He is co-editor of Radical Newcastle (2015, NewSouth Publishing), Making Film and Television Histories: Australia and New Zealand (I.B. Tauris, 2011), and has written numerous articles published in national and international journals including the Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, Social History of Medicine, Australian Journal of Politics and History, Journal of Australian Studies and History Compass. His most recent articles have been concerned with the First World War and its representation in visual media. He co-convened ‘The First World War: Local, Global and Imperial Perspectives’, an international conference in March 2015.

Gerrard, Andrea: Overlooked

On being questioned by a medical examiner as part of his application for a pension due to his war service, Claude Brown stated that he 'answered the Empire's call to arms'. Had his health not suffered in the intervening years he would do so again should he be required to do so. Claude was one of a group of 28 Aboriginal men from the Furneaux Group of islands to enlist during World War 1. In this paper I intend to explore three areas: firstly what motives there might have been for their enlistment given the comment by Claude Brown, were such sentiments held by other members of the Aboriginal community. Secondly their experiences at the front, in particular promotion, courts martial and VD and what happened to them post war using the Repatriation Department records.

Andrea Gerrard is a Masters student at the University of Tasmania and recently submitted her Masters thesis on Tasmanian Aboriginal Soldiers in the First World War. She has been involved in Tasmanian history for approximately 30 years. She has been involved in the Founders and Survivors Project which is a multi university project as well as our involvement in the First World War, has worked for Roar Film as a researcher on their production that was part of this project, and is currently working for them as part of their new project involving the Aboriginal soldiers from the Bass Strait islands.

Gray, Geoffrey: Indigenous peoples of the South Pacific and WWI.

WWI is remembered as a European war, but it was one which drew on the colonized populations of the belligerent nations. Of the 888,246 dead of Britain and its empire there remains scant interest of the dead and the events that unfolded in the Global South. Yet the capture and occupation of German Samoa and New Guinea are among the first empire campaigns of WWI. The American anthropologist Douglas Oliver (1975: 141-142) noted World War I 'would appear to have struck the islands with the impact of a zephyr.' This he contrasted with the European theatre, where a war of attrition led to death, horrendous injuries and psychological battle scars. Oliver's depiction underestimates the impact of World War I at the time and its aftermath.

Geoffrey Gray is Adjunct Professor in the School of Historical and Philosophical Inquiry at the University of Queensland, Adjunct Lecturer at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, the Australian National University, and Research Affiliate in Race and Ethnicity in the Global South (REGS), at the University of Sydney. Until 2013 he was a Senior Research Fellow at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra. He is a Chief Investigator on the ARC Linkage, Serving Our Country: a history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the Defence of Australia (ANU). His current research is a comparative history of indigenous and colonised labour and their use by the combatant nations in WWI and WWII in the Global South. With Doug Munro and Christine Winter he co-edited, Scholars at War: Australasian Social Scientists, 1939-1945 (ANU Press, 2102). His most recent book, Abrogating Responsibility: Vestes, Anthropology and the future of Aboriginal People (Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2015), is an outcome of a research into diet, rations, hunger, starvation and health in the Northern Territory during the Pacific War.

Gunstone, Andrew: After the Conflict: Indigenous Peoples, War Pensions and Land Settlements

In this paper, I explore the substantial discrimination incurred by Indigenous returned soldiers in relation to war and service pensions and soldier land settlements. Although Commonwealth legislation regarding war and service pensions did not specifically discriminate against Indigenous people in the manner of other Commonwealth social security legislation, there is evidence nevertheless of non-payment or partial payment of war and service pensions to Indigenous returned soldiers. Further, the war and service pensions for Indigenous returned soldiers were sometimes paid into government controlled trust funds. Indigenous returned soldiers also experienced discrimination in relation to soldier land settlements. These settlements were often not offered to Indigenous returned soldiers.

Associate Professor Andrew Gunstone is Associate Head: Research, David Unaipon College of Aboriginal Education and Research, University of South Australia. His research interests include the politics of reconciliation and the history of stolen wages. He is also the Founder and Editor of the Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues.

Habkirk, Evan: In the Wake of War: Reconceptualizing Six Nations Veterans of the First World War

In recent literature, veterans of Six Nations from the Grand River Territory have been perceived as major participants in the Canadian government's 1924 outlawing of the traditional Six Nations Confederacy government. Although some veterans did participate in this movement, this statement is not so cut and dry. By analyzing the post war motivations of returning Six Nations veterans, and the disinformation produced by the Canadian government advocating for the removal of the Six Nations Confederacy government, it can be seen that not only were many Six Nations veterans against the removal, but actively fought for its continuance. In fact many Six Nations veterans became advocates for renewal of the Confederacy government and for a renewal of a Canadian/Six Nations relationships based on the traditional alliances that Great Britain handed over to the Canadian government at the time of Canadian Confederation in 1867. By reinterpreting the evidence, and with the aid of Six Nations community histories, this complex time period can be examined to show that Six Nations veterans did not act against their home community, but instead were active agents of change in the discourse between the Canadian government and the Six Nations.

Evan Habkirk is a fourth-year Ph.D. candidate in the University of Western Ontario's History Department and currently holds a teaching assistantship in the University's First Nations Studies Program. His current research interests include Six Nations of the Grand River Territory's role in the War of 1812, Rebellions of 1837-38, the Fenian Raids, and the First World War, the practice of First Nations traditional culture in the face of colonialism, cross-cultural exchanges between First Nations and colonial powers, and Canada's residential school policy. His Ph.D. dissertation entitled 'Co-opting Militarism: Changes in Six Nations Militarism, 1814-1914' explores the changes and continuation of Six Nations militarism from the end of the War of 1812 into the First World War.

Harman, Kristyn: "There were German planes in the sky all day long": Private Clarence Combo's account of his experiences in World War Two

Unusually for an Australian soldier engaged in overseas theatres of war, an uncensored account of Private Clarence (Clarrie) Combo's experiences in Palestine, Egypt, Lybia, Greece, Crete, and Syria during World War Two appeared in full in an Australian newspaper in 1941. Written as a letter probably not intended for publication, Combo's account of the war contained extraordinary information about troop movements, engagements, and enemy manoeuvres. Published under the banner headline 'Aboriginal's Appreciative Letter', the account is also extraordinary (although not unique) in that it contained a vote of thanks to a Mrs F C Brown, a woman previously unknown to Combo but who had offered to knit him socks, who was the intended recipient of the letter. This paper explores both Combo's war experiences and the broader context of the provision of comforts to Aboriginal soldiers within which this correspondence was situated.

Dr Kristyn Harman is a historian, and a Senior Lecturer in the School of Humanities at the University of Tasmania in Hobart. She is the author of Aboriginal Convicts: Australian, Khoisan, and Māori Convicts, as well as a number of journal articles and book chapters.

Holland, Alison: Controllers or Consultants? The Relationship Between the Army and Native Affairs Administration during the Second World War.

In 1943 a heated exchange occurred between Army officials and officials of the Native Affairs branch in the Northern Territory over who controlled the native compounds established by the Army to facilitate security of Australia's north during the Second World War. Specially constituted compounds were established to assist Army efforts, with Aboriginal workers transported to and from work daily. Tensions arose between the respective parties over who controlled the compounds. In particular, the question of divided control led to a lengthy correspondence between Army headquarters and local area commanders and Native Affairs officials over the extent to which the latter were consultants or controllers. This paper explores this debate against the backdrop of the military administration of the north during the war and the way this challenged and disturbed established administrative patterns and practices. While the story of Army intervention in the north is generally a liberatory tale in the annals of Indigenous history, this conflict reminds us of the deep channels of power and paternalism in Indigenous affairs.

Alison Holland is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Modern History at Macquarie University, Sydney, where she teaches Australian and Global Indigenous History. She has written on questions of gender, race, colonialism, humanitarianism and citizenship. Her book, Just Relations. The Story of Mary Bennett's Crusade For Aboriginal Rights, will be published by UWA Publishing in August 2015.

Horton, Jessica: Aboriginal Victorians during WW1: Fighting for Empire, Writing for Rights.

In Victoria, as elsewhere in Australia, the First World War provided Aboriginal people with new opportunities for employment, mobility and financial independence. However, managers on reserves and members of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines saw the new independence of Aboriginal families with men at war as a threat to the racial status quo and attempted to reign in their freedom. Aboriginal people increasingly turned to letter writing in order to assert their rights to military repatriations and wages, and to gain access to their children who were removed during this period. The Aboriginal war effort provided letter writers with a new powerful line of argument through which they attempted to negotiate with the authorities. Although little political change occurred in this period for Aboriginal people, these letters testify to the consistent efforts of Aboriginal families in Victoria to counter racial discrimination and to address political inequality.

Jessica Horton is a PhD candidate in the History program at La Trobe University.

Jackson, Melissa, Rachel Franks and Kirsten Thorpe: Indigenous Military Service: Remembering and Researching

Indigenous peoples have a long history of contributing to various war efforts. In Australia, Aboriginal peoples from across the country have fought in numerous conflicts, in multiple capacities, since the Boer War. This paper will present a case study on Captain Reginald Saunders, the first Aboriginal Australian to be commissioned as an officer in the Australian Army. In addition, this paper will examine some of the complications that surround the research of Indigenous military service, including the identification of relevant collections and the construction of the context – such as the political climate and regulatory environment – faced by Indigenous combatants returning home. The idea of storytelling will also be explored and how cultural institutions can share these stories without taking ownership of them, thus ensuring recognition and respect for the communities and families to which the important stories belong.

Melissa Jackson is a Librarian in the Indigenous Services Branch at the State Library of NSW.

Dr Rachel Franks is the Project Officer, Scholarly Engagement at the State Library of NSW and a Conjoint Fellow, The University of Newcastle.

Kirsten Thorpe is the Manager, Indigenous Services Branch at the State Library of NSW.

Light, Rowan: Forgotten Warriors? Indigenous Media, Citizenship and Identity in Anzac Commemoration

Public discourse around Indigenous experience in the Great War tends to revive the exploits of indigenous soldiers 'to promote an agenda of recognition and commemoration akin to that bestowed on their white comrades' (Lackenbauer and Sheffield, 2007). This 'forgotten warrior' genre threatens to historicise Indigenous wartime experience as Indigenous peoples evolving into full citizenship by joining the White Man's war and leaving behind their 'primitive culture' (Winegard, 2011). Anzac Day has become central to articulating notions of citizenship in Australian and New Zealand national identity. In this paper, we will look at the way Indigenous media has become increasingly important in Anzac commemoration on both sides of the Tasman. The inclusion/exclusion of Indigenous peoples in Anzac commemoration seems to be connected to the creation of a new postcolonial citizenship. With analysis of Maori Television and NITV Anzac Day programming over nearly 10 years, we will compare representations of Indigenous soldiers in Australia and New Zealand in Indigenous and non-Indigenous programming.

Rowan Light is a first-year PhD student working jointly at the University of Sydney and the University of Auckland. Currently based in Auckland, he is researching Anzac Day in Australian and New Zealand national identity, comparing the revival of Anzac Day in both countries.

Marti, Steve: Unsettling Narratives: Indigenous Service during the First World War as a Comparative Study of Settler Colonialism

Settler Colonial Studies is a growing field of research that offers historians an analytical approach to challenges nationalist narratives in settler societies such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. This paper will examine the voluntary recruitment and mobilization of Indigenous peoples in these three contexts to draw new conclusions about the impact of the First World War on the development of these dominions as settler states. Mobilizing Indigenous peoples could produce a greater contribution to the imperial war effort, but participation in the imperial war effort could redefine power relationships between settlers and Indigenous. By focusing on this paradox, a comparison between Australian, Canadian, and New Zealand policies toward the mobilization of Indigenous peoples in wartime will revise perspectives on nationalist narratives in the dominions during the First World War.

*Steve Marti is a doctoral candidate at the University of Western Ontario, writing a dissertation on the relationship between voluntary action and identity in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand during the First World War. Steve has published articles in *Histoire Sociale/Social History* and *Itinerario*.*

Maynard, John: On the Political 'Warpath' – Native Americans and Australian Aborigines Post WWI

In the wake of World War One Indigenous peoples in the United States and Australia joined a global push by those on the margins for self-determination, justice and equality. This paper will discuss similarities of experiences and organised political mobilisation in both countries in relation to land rights, citizenship, protecting their children and the impact of military service overseas on Indigenous soldiers returning home.

Professor John Maynard is Director of Wollotuka Institute Umulliko Indigenous Higher Education Research Centre Academic Division, University of Newcastle.

McCosker, Alexandra: Bringing their spirit home: Indigenous pilgrimage and Kokoda

Soon after the end of World War II, bereaved Australians started making the journey to New Guinea's Bomana War Cemetery in Port Moresby - pilgrimages made for loved ones lost along the Kokoda Track and surrounding areas. Decades later, amongst the Kokoda trekking boom, Australians are still making the journey to Papua New Guinea to walk in the footsteps of relatives lost in battle. These journeys often shared similar characteristics. Grieving families sought closure or a connection with their dearly departed relative. Such journeys allowed relatives to see with their own eyes that a son, brother, father, husband or uncle was at rest and that their grave was taken care of. In recent years, Indigenous communities have made pilgrimages to Bomana War Cemetery to return the spirits of several deceased Indigenous soldiers "home" - to country - to Australia. Does Indigenous pilgrimage differ from other instances of pilgrimage? This paper will explore Indigenous commemorative practices in relation to pilgrimage and "Kokoda".

Alexandra McCosker is a PhD candidate and researcher from the National Centre for Australia Studies at Monash University. Alexandra is a co-author of the book Anzac Journeys: Returning to the Battlefields of World War II with Professor Bruce Scates and others. Alexandra is also involved with Professor Scates' Australian Research Council (ARC) funded project which is looking at the history of Anzac Day. Alexandra's PhD thesis is focusing on Kokoda and pilgrimage.

Montgomerie, Deborah: 'Possibly a Maori girl might suit': Māori women, Paid Employment and New Zealand's WWII war effort.

New Zealand was chronically short of labour during the Second World War, and particularly short of female labour due to wartime expansion in areas of traditional female employment such as clothing, food and footwear manufacture. Policy makers, employers and unions struggled to balance their gender conservatism with the need to mobilise women to fill the demand for female workers. They also struggled to reconcile the need to mobilise Māori women's labour with paternalistic ideas about Māori women's proper place. This paper examines the shifting attitudes to Māori women workers, focusing in particular on the period 1942-45, the heyday of industrial conscription.

Deborah Montgomerie is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Auckland and has written two books and numerous essays about New Zealand during the Second World War. One of the editors of The Gendered Kiwi, a collection of essays discussing New Zealand gender relations, she edited the New Zealand Journal of History for ten years from 2003-13.

Morris, Ben: Bullets do not discriminate

On the morning of the 6 December 1967, a single bullet shot rang out and one indigenous soldier lay wounded on the ground. This soldier later died in an American military hospital. An investigation was conducted which ascertained the bare facts and the Brigadier adjudicated on the evidence presented. Oral histories taken thirty-five years later give a fuller historical picture of what had happened and details supplied of the life and times of indigenous soldiers in the Vietnam era Army.

Ben Morris graduated from the Royal Military College, Duntroon in 1965 and was posted to Papua New Guinea, and then to Vietnam where he served as a platoon commander in 1967/68. He graduated from the Australian National University in 1983 with a Bachelor of Economics, and received a Master of Taxation from the University of New South Wales in 1993. He is currently completing a Master of Arts at Wollongong University. He has contributed articles to a number of publications - mainly regimental and army associations. Oral History Australia recently published a peer-reviewed article 'The Diggers' Wish: Set the Record Straight'. He has been awarded the Reserve Forces Decoration.

Moss, Tristan: Fuzzy Wuzzy Soldiers: Papua New Guinea and martial race

In 1950 the Courier-Mail heralded the re-raising of the Australian Army's Papua New Guinean-manned unit, the Pacific Islands Regiment (PIR), with the headline 'Dusky Guardians of Australia's Back Door: Thanks to the Fuzzy-Wuzzies we can sleep easier'. The headline's melding of the image of wartime carriers – the civilian 'fuzzy wuzzy angels' – with the defence of Australia's northern approaches reflects the Australian perception of Papua New Guinean soldiers as unwarlike and primitive. This paper will argue that while throughout the colonial world many groups of soldiers were recruited on the basis of supposed innate and militarily useful racial qualities – as exemplified by the so-called 'martial races' – Papua New Guinean soldiers were not seen as inherently soldierly by Australians. By examining this idea of 'fuzzy wuzzy soldiers', this paper provides an insight into the way in which perceptions of race shaped the Australian Army's employment of indigenous soldiers.

Tristan Moss is a PhD Candidate at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University. His research examines the Australian Army's transformation of the Pacific Islands Regiment into the Papua New Guinean Defence Force between 1951 and 1975. He has tutored in courses on the Asia-Pacific and military history and presented his research at a number of international and local conferences. He has received an Australian Army History Unit Grant in support of this research, as well as the Leo Mahoney Scholarship, awarded by the United Services Institute.

Murray, Jeremy: The White Sands Uprising (Baisha Qiyi): The Li People of Hainan Island Join the Chinese Communist Movement, 1943

In 1943, the indigenous Li people of China's war-torn Hainan island rose in rebellion against the Chinese Nationalist forces in their midst. The Japanese had occupied Hainan's coasts, driving the Nationalists into the mountainous interior, which was the traditional Li homeland. After this "White Sands Uprising," Li leaders decided to join forces with Hainan's Communists, who were by far the weakest of the island's four fighting groups (Japanese, Nationalists, Li, and Communists). This Li-Communist alliance, which won victory in 1950, was celebrated in revolutionary mythology and propaganda; but it also involved a complex and sometimes troubled ethnic dynamic between the Li and the mostly Han Chinese Communist fighters. This paper will unravel some of the longer context of Hainan island's ethnic troubles, and also examine the Li-Communist alliance as an example of indigenous participation within Hainan's Communist revolution, and later within Communist historiography and propaganda.

Jeremy Murray is in his fourth year as assistant professor of history at California State University, San Bernardino, teaching all periods of Chinese history. His main research focuses on the local Communist revolutionary movement on China's southern island province, Hainan. This proposed paper is one branch of this study of Hainan. He has also written articles on Chinese legal history, South China Sea disputes, and Chinese history pedagogy. More recently his research also includes twentieth-century Chinese history, as seen through the lens of recent Chinese filmmakers like Zhang Yimou and Feng Xiaogang.

Rankin, Adam: Indigenous Australian military units and Imperial controls in the Second World War

Indigenous Australian participation in the Second World War is an emerging historical topic. Scholars including Hall, Nelson, Reed, Riseman, and Seekee argue that their under-acknowledged service occurred as a colonised people and in the face of cultural and racial restrictions. However, the transnational dimensions of Indigenous service have not been fully addressed within the context of Imperial influences on Australian forces. My paper examines administrative, organisational and operational characteristics of Indigenous Australian and New Guinean units and demonstrates how racialised Imperial factors impacted conditions of service. I argue that Australian officials adopted Imperial methods such as segregated units, rank and pay restrictions, and colonial intermediaries while recruiting, training and employing Indigenous units. This paper establishes a wider context to analyse Indigenous Australian service though

a comparison with Imperial service units and focuses on the practices from which officials dealt with the widely disparate Indigenous peoples of the British Empire.

Adam Rankin is a graduate of the United States Military Academy and served in the United States Army from 2001-2007. He moved to Australia in 2012 and completed his Honours (1st class) degree in history at the University of Western Australia. Adam was a 2014 Summer Vacation Scholar at the Australian War Memorial and will further his postgraduate studies in 2015.

Riseman, Noah: Uniting Australians? Commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Service

Since the turn of the new millennium, there has been significant growth in ceremonies, marches and memorials dedicated to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander military service. Many of these events have been organised by Indigenous ex-service and community organisations, but with significant support from state governments, Returned and Services League (RSL) sub-branches and the Departments of Defence or Veterans' Affairs. This support is in stark contrast to brief efforts at organising Indigenous commemorations in the 1980s, which RSL leaders argued were 'divisive'. This paper historicises the rise of commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander service focusing on the ideas of 'unity' versus 'division'. While the services tend to emphasise messages of unity and Reconciliation, still questions of colonialism and commemorating the frontier wars divide members of the Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.

*Dr Noah Riseman is a Senior Lecturer in History at the Australian Catholic University, Melbourne. He specialises in the history of marginalised social groups in the Australian military, particularly LGBTI, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. He is the author of *Defending Whose Country? Indigenous Soldiers in the Pacific War (2012)* and co-author of the forthcoming book *Defending Australia, Defending Indigenous Rights: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service since 1945 (UQP, 2016)*.*

Ritchie, Jonathan and Kirstie Close-Barry: 'We cried for our people': a Papuan recalls the Higaturu hangings in 1943

The Japanese invasion of Papua's Northern District in July 1942 confronted some Papuans with a dilemma of loyalties, in which pre-War allegiances to the Australian colonisers were submerged beneath the Japanese tide. The new loyalties led a small number of young men to become active and violent collaborators of the invaders, and one of the first priorities of the Australians when they returned in 1943 was to chase down and punish the perpetrators. The chase led to a tree in a clearing in the administrative centre of Higaturu and the execution by hanging before a crowd of onlookers numbering in the thousands of dozens of Papuans, convicted of crimes including murder and treason. The late Redmond Manuda was a Papuan medical orderly with the Australian Army who assisted during the executions. His emotional scars from his role in the executions lasted until his death in April 2014 and are contained in his testimony, retold by his daughter during the Kokoda Oral History Pilot Study conducted during 2014. The hangings pose challenges to the prevailing image of the loyal Papuan 'fuzzy wuzzy angel' but also to the image of benign paternalism that often characterises the Australian colonial experience in Papua. Manuda's story draws us into the world of the Papuans whose world was turned upside down by the arrival of war. His eyewitness account confronts us with a host of unresolved tensions from seven decades ago.

Jonathan Ritchie is a Senior Research Fellow in the Alfred Deakin Research Institute at Deakin University, researching the shared histories of Australia and its former colonial territory, Papua New Guinea. In 2014 he took part in the Kokoda Oral History Pilot Study, in which interviews were conducted with more than seventy Papua New Guineans concerning their, or their parents', encounters with World War II.

Kirstie Close-Barry is a researcher currently based at Deakin University in Melbourne. She completed a Masters thesis on the wartime evacuation of Hopevale Aboriginal community in North Queensland in 1942, and has recently completed her PhD, which explored the history of ethnic divisions in the Fijian Methodist mission. Her most recent research is with Dr Jonathan Ritchie's project on Papua New Guinean memories of World War Two.

Rowse, Tim and Emma Waterton: The limits of recognition? Serving the Crown in the nineteenth century

This paper will address the conference theme 'Commemorations and memories of Indigenous service' by considering why certain historical events have been, so far (and perhaps forever), excluded from Indigenous military heritage: those associated with the 'service' of Aboriginal people in the Native Mounted Police (NMP). The NMP were employed in New South Wales (when it included the Port Phillip Protectorate, later known as Victoria), South Australia, the Northern Territory and Queensland, until the 1890s. While the archival record is patchy, it is widely understood that, in their pacification of frontiers, they killed many Aboriginal people. Should their actions be remembered as 'military service'? In this paper we will not advocate either a Yes or a No to this sensitive question. Rather, we will explore the significance of this question for the framing of Indigenous military heritage. Thus we will also address the conference themes: 'cultural representations of Indigenous service'; 'military service and colonialism' and 'frontier wars and Indigenous service'. Our paper will include material on the following topics: whether, and in what terms, each State's police heritage features the Native Mounted Police; whether, and in what terms, the military heritage of New Zealand, as a point of comparison, includes the Maori who fought for the Crown in the New Zealand Wars. The tendency of recent revisions of Australian military heritage has been inclusive, but are there limits to this inclusive impulse? By identifying themes/topics that are difficult to include, we will come to a better understanding of the values that are proclaimed in recent projects of Indigenous military heritage.

Since the early 1980s, Tim Rowse (Professorial Fellow, University of Western Sydney) has written on Australian Indigenous history and public policy. His work has included a focus on Central Australia, but he has also published studies that are Australia-wide in scope. His recent work has focused on the statistical representation of Indigenous populations in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States.

Emma Waterton is an Associate Professor in the Geographies of Heritage at the University of Western Sydney. Her research explores the interface between heritage, identity, memory and affect. Her current research, 'Photos of the Past', is a three year examination of all four concepts at a range of Australian heritage tourism sites.

Sheffield, R Scott: Indigenous Veterans of the Second World War and Veterans' Benefits in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States.

Transitioning back to civilian life after the Second World War revolved around the support available to returning service personnel from a thankful country. All four states developed a similar blend of financial rewards, transitional funds, training provisions, employment advantages, access to loans for land or business development, and disability pensions. The relative success of these measures for the bulk of ex-service personnel has contributed to the image of the 'good war'. For all its importance though, the intricacies of Indigenous veterans' reestablishment remain virtually unexamined outside Canada. For Indigenous peoples, access to military service and status as service personnel had been a yard stick of belonging throughout the conflict. In the wake of the war, access to benefits and quality support for Indigenous veterans, at the very intersection of their indigeneity and their veteran-ness, remained an important measurement of belonging and acceptance. Did one identity trump the other?

*R. Scott Sheffield is Associate Professor in History at the University of the Fraser Valley. He has researched the military service of Indigenous peoples since 1993, and has authored *The Red Man's on the Warpath: the Image of the 'Indian' and the Second World War (2004)*, in addition to numerous articles. He is presently working on a major comparative examination of Indigenous contributions to, and experiences in, the Second World War in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States.*

Spence, Daniel Owen: 'Forgotten men' or 'the pride of the Navy'? Indigenous naval service and British colonialism around the Second World War

During 1933-41, indigenous naval forces were raised in sixteen British colonial territories, contributing 40,000 men to the Second World War. They physically and psychologically fortified British colonialism against internal and external dissidents, reinforcing systems of imperial hierarchy and control through a racially-demarcated chain-of-command where British officers developed 'native' ratings as part of their 'civilising mission'. 'Martial race' theory, which ethnically categorised natural soldiers, helped 'divide and rule' by promoting imperially-loyal indigenous groups over those threatening the colonial state, and inspired a 'seafaring race' variant serving naval purposes. Utilising transnational research which reconciles 'official' records with 'subaltern' memories from the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia, this paper offers a rare naval interpretation of several conference themes; government and indigenous motivations for forming colonial naval units, the effects of racial ideology and discrimination on the recruitment, treatment, culture, and representation of indigenous sailors, their home front interactions, and the consequences for British colonialism.

*Daniel Owen Spence is a Postdoctoral Innovation Scholar at the University of the Free State, South Africa, and a Fellow of Leiden University's African Studies Centre. His debut monograph, *Colonial naval culture and British imperialism, 1922-67*, was published in Manchester University Press' 'Studies in Imperialism' series in January 2015, and his second book, *A History of the Royal Navy: Empire and Imperialism*, will follow later this year.*

Stevens, Scott Manning: Memorializing First Nations Service: The Woodlands Cultural Centre and WWI

In August of 2014 the Woodlands Cultural Centre in Brantford, Ontario mounted an exhibit recalling the service of members of the Six Nations Reserve in Canada during the WWI. Of the approximately 4,000 First Nations peoples that served in the Allied war effort some 320 were from the Six Nations Reserve in southern Ontario. That reserve is comprised of mostly Haudenosaunee (aka Iroquois or Six Nations Indians) peoples who were relocated to Canada after their removal from the United States following American independence. Participation in European and Euro-American conflicts has always been a contentious matter for Six Nations peoples and became especially so in the period of WWI, when indigenous self-government and cultural autonomy was being severely eroded by Canadian aboriginal policies. My paper examines the abovementioned exhibit by contextualizing it with the lives of three First Nations veterans from Six Nations: Lt. Fred Loft, L CPL Tom Longboat, and Edith Monture, AEF.

Stevens, a citizen of the Akwesasne Mohawk Nation, holds a PhD and Master's degree from Harvard University. He is currently director of the Native American Studies Program at Syracuse University.

Van de Logt, Mark: “Whoever makes war upon the Rees will be considered making war upon the ‘Great Father’”: Arikara military service on the Northern Great Plains, 1865-1882

Between 1865 and 1882, circa 150 Arikara Indians served as scouts in the United States Army. This paper deals with their experiences. It is organized around four major themes. First, the Arikaras chose to serve in the U.S. Army because the immediate threat to their well-being came from the Sioux. Second, recognizing the danger of an Arikara-U.S. alliance, the Sioux targeted the Arikara scouts specifically to eliminate them and discourage other Arikaras from enlisting. Third, George Armstrong Custer was a genuine friend of the Arikara scouts, who loved him as a true brother in arms. Fourth, through their association with the United States Army, the Arikara scouts moved the war into Sioux territory, ultimately resulting in a strategic victory for the Arikara people. Their military service not only allowed the Arikaras to defend themselves against the Sioux, but it also earned them the esteem of the United States military.

Dr Mark Van de Logt joined the Liberal Arts faculty at Texas A & M University at Qatar in August 2012. Before joining Texas A & M, he was a research associate at the American Indian Studies Research Institute, Indiana University, and from 2008 to 2012 taught U.S. history at Benedictine College in Atchison, Kansas. His specific areas of interest include: Native American History, U.S. Military History, The Gilded Age, Mexican History, and the American West.

Winegard, Timothy C.: For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the Great War for Civilization

The active participation of First Nations Canadians in the Great War was an extension of their ongoing effort to shape and alter their social and political realities. When the call to arms was heard, Canada’s First Nations pledged their men and money to the Crown to honour their long-standing tradition of forming military alliances with Europeans during times of war, and as a means of resisting cultural assimilation and attaining equality through shared service and sacrifice. Initially, the Canadian government rejected these offers based on the belief that status Indians were unsuited to modern, civilized warfare. But in 1915, Britain intervened and demanded Canada actively recruit Indian soldiers to meet the incessant need for manpower. Thus began the complicated relationships between the Imperial Colonial and War Offices, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the Ministry of Militia that would affect the war experience for Canada’s Aboriginal soldiers. National and international forces directly influenced the more than 4,000 status Indians who voluntarily served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force between 1914 and 1919—a per capita percentage equal to that of Euro-Canadians—and how subsequent administrative policies profoundly affected their experiences at home, on the battlefield, and as veterans.

In effect, just as the war stimulated, and was used to promote, nationalist attitudes and demands in Canada in relation to the Imperial government, the same can be said for First Nations in relation to Canada. As a microcosm, First Nations sought the same recognition from Canada and the Crown, as Canada sought from the mother country—equality and autonomy. For both parties, significant participation in the war represented one avenue to achieve these ambitions. In this sense, the patriotic reactions of many Aboriginal leaders in 1914, and their subsequent actions throughout the war, were no different from those of Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden and Canadian politicians. In an often overlooked premise, Canada did not cease to be an evolving settler society in light of the Great War for Civilization.

*Dr. Timothy C. Winegard received his DPhil from the University of Oxford in 2010. He also served nine years as an officer in the Canadian and British Forces. Timothy is the author of three books: *Oka: A Convergence of Cultures and the Canadian Forces* (2008); *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War* (2011); and, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War* (2012). He has also published over twenty-five journal articles and book chapters. His forthcoming book, *The First World Oil War*, will be published by the University of Toronto Press in the summer of 2015. He currently resides in Grand Junction, Colorado, with his wife and son, where he teaches history and political science at Colorado Mesa University. As a true Canadian, he is also the Head Coach of the University’s Men’s Hockey Team.*

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