

War Stories: Voices of Indigenous Veterans Post-Korean Conflict

By

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Abstract

Ethnographic and storytelling methodology is crucial in the representation of Indigenous veterans and their experiences because these narratives reside at the intersection where military and Indigenous cultures meet. There are a multitude of political movements that veterans involve themselves in to benefit their fellow veterans, with stories and ethnographic details helping to solidify the teaching inherent within their shared experience.

For many non-Indigenous veterans, military culture embodies connection and is a central reason they find meaning in service. For Indigenous veterans however, it is their Indigenous cultures that forges and connects them with other veterans, creating community and meaning in service itself. The ways in which Indigenous veterans use their shared experiences in the military – and the differences past and present – is one of the main interests presented in this thesis. It explains the importance of peer-to-peer relationships within Indigenous veteran's communities, it informs us of their time in service from the particular lens of Indigenous peoples, and the roles they take now within their communities.

To provide further context, it is crucial to add the history of World War 1 and 2, along with the Korean Conflict, as there are shifts from those years into what indigenous veterans experience today. Changes to the Indian Act in 1951 allowed Indigenous veterans to provide the necessary peer-to-peer support fundamental for cultural survivance, transmission and experiential understanding. Including a breakdown of Indigenous involvement within the Korean Conflict and beyond, the pool of interviewees for this thesis was drawn from United Nations Peacekeeping and conflict operations of the 1970s, 80s and 90s. It gathers testimonies and narratives from interviewees who span across the various trades, ranks, genders, divisions, and in most cases, Nations. This thesis includes the author's own experiences with discovering the roles veterans play within the broader community, Veterans organizations and culture.

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Indinawe maaganidog.

Ozhaawaashkwa Benisii Ikwe nindizhinikaaz.

Mikinaak nindoodem.

Wiinibiigong Manidooba-akiing nindoonjibaa

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Chi Miigwetch.

Dedication

To the memories of:

John Marvin Pottinger, Jr.

August 16th, 1969 – July 27th, 2020

Luc O'Bomsawin

1957 - 2019

Joseph Isidore Stanley Meconse

March 26th, 1941- February 17th, 2019.

Introduction - War Stories: Voices of Indigenous Veterans Post-Korean Conflict

The story of Joe Meconse is one that many Winnipeggers know. As a local Dene Elder, he was an Order of Manitoba recipient (2009), former Princess Patricia Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) service member from 1962 to 1971, and a Corrections officer from 1971 to his retirement in 2001. At every Pow-wow he attended, Joe was known both within the city, the province and outside it. He was a genuine and soft-spoken man who was kind-hearted and respected by his community members and beyond. Even in the aftermath of his 2016 unjust removal from Portage Place Mall (for having coffee in the food court with some friends where the Security guard thought he was loitering), Joe remained steadfast using it as a teaching moment, rather than using it as a reason to shut down the mall.

At the age of 77, Joe Meconse travelled through the Western Door. Funeral services were held on February 26th, 2019, with a wake and viewing being held the previous day on February 25th, 2019. On the 27th, I attended with Devin Beaudry (Regional Director for the Manitoba chapter of Aboriginal Veterans Autochtones) as a Métis veteran. Joe was well known and both the wake and funeral were attended by dozens of people; including Members of the Legislative Assembly, Police Services, Corrections and members of the two Veterans Associations- Canadian Aboriginal Veterans and Serving Member Association (CAVSMA) and Aboriginal Veterans Autochtones (AVA). His casket was walked to the Eastern door of the community hall rented for his Celebration of Life, with the Eagle Staves of the Canadian Armed Forces, the Corrections Services from Stoney Mountain, the Police Service, and the flags for CAVSMA and the Canadian and the American flags.

Given that I was the youngest one amongst the Veterans associations, and only just a new member of AVA, I felt a little awkward standing amongst older gentlemen. They still wore their berets with cap badges or suits in the colours of the various organizations. CAVSMA members wear a burgundy blazer and beret with their specific branch colour, name tags, and any medals earned while in service. Not having any medals for my time within the Reserves, there is a level of anxiety that I suffer from, that I do not belong despite my service time. I have spoken with Devin about this feeling on numerous occasions, and he assures me that most Veterans see each other as equals, that it does not matter if you served on an overseas tour, were Reserve, Regular Force or if you served during conflict or peace-time; the fact that you served is all that matters.

This thinking is similar in many of the Indigenous communities in which I have enjoyed working. Joe, I am sure, would have agreed with Devin.

Being part of the procession that escorted Mr. Meconse's casket through the Eastern door was also a troubling experience for me, as I did not know Mr. Meconse personally, despite always seeing him at the University of Manitoba's Annual Graduation Powwow. However, in this case, and much like the Sweat Lodge ceremonies I have attended, it is less about the personal connection to the person and more about providing the necessary support. It is an act of service that demonstrates commitment and sincerity. In shaking hands and looking people eye to eye when you do so, you share in their experiences, much like how Veterans have shared experiences of their time within the military.

It is interesting that in the course of finding resources for this thesis, I came across several publications that had words from Joe, including the more extensive *Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military* by Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier (2010). It is here, in the section on Cold War efforts, that I find a quote by Joe;

Joe Meconse, who was born on his father's trapline near Churchill, Manitoba, joined the militia in 1960 and two years later, volunteered for the regular force. He served in a domestic 'aid to the civil power' capacity during the October Crisis of 1970. 'It was quite unfortunate... one of the saddest parts of my army career,' Meconse explained, 'to carry a loaded weapon in my own country, against my own people, but it had to be done' (p.169).

It was a fear I shared with him, of having to use my military training against my people.

Storywork and positionality is essential to my understanding as a researcher, even more so because of my intersectionality between both Indigenous and military cultures. As Kovach (1992) rightly points out, "Connections with people are explored through ties of kinship; connections with land emphasize sense of place" (p.3). It is my connections through those intersections that give me a deeper understanding to this work.

This story illustrates that hardship, emotional struggle, and physical stress are all part of the bonding process that exists within the military, creating the necessary relationships to build trust between members. It is needed because a soldier needs to know that the person sharing a trench with him will look after him. Similar points of view are shared among, between and within Indigenous Nations, clans and lineages as the process of bonding and healing are done together within an Indigenous cultural framework. This includes participating in traditional

ceremonies such as sweat lodges, sun dances, belonging to a Midewin lodge, namings, feasts, fasting and many more.

Current research on Indigenous participation in the military has focused on the First and Second World Wars. There is a wealth of information from various authors and sources; however, there has been very little research on Indigenous soldiers and veterans post-Korean conflict. It is also essential to understand Indigenous veterans and soldiers in the context of their cultures, and story-telling and ethnography are one of those cultural markers. Indigenous veterans and soldiers find themselves in a unique duality in which they occupy both spaces. In telling their stories, Indigenous veterans can position themselves within each and display an understanding of both, which passes on through their community roles and Veterans teachings.

Historically, many Indigenous nations living on what we call “Turtle Island” have varying warfare methods and approaches to it. According to Miller (2010) in *Ogimaag*, “the Anishinaabeg did not perceive war as a constant or even a long-term state and as a result, permanent war leaders were unnecessary” (p. 117). In Euro-centric models of warfare and engagement, each country has its standing military organization where roles are permanent to a degree. From a colonizing point of view, the only justified reasons for military action were for land or resource acquisition, where-as for the Anishinaabeg, “Warriors fought for finite and kin-related reasons, but preferred to join the war party that had the best chance for success” (Miller, 2010, p.118). Historically speaking, how Indigenous communities replaced their numbers were through adoption and maintaining kinship networks. Indigenous communities also went to war because of a slight or insult from an enemy, though the English word for revenge is one that does not effectively capture the social and structural nuance of Indigenous methodologies in warfare. Miller (2010) states;

Therefore, the Ojibwe had to keep the overall kill-tally in their favor for the spiritual well-being of their communities. However, since this restoration was often accomplished through the abduction and adoption of an individual from the offending community, this often became a very literal replacement of the individual in their kin networks of social and economic obligation. (p. 118)

Once a war party formed, there were strict rules in place that governed how someone was to behave, not only on an individual basis but also on a collective one. “A war party, when raised, was only authorized to kill a number of the enemy equal to the deaths their people sustained, either by taking enemy scalps or by abducting captives” (Miller, 2010, p. 118).

Despite the autonomous nature of Indigenous war parties, all warriors were there voluntarily. That also meant they could leave voluntarily for what-ever reason. In many cases, there were multiple cultural ceremonies on the way to a skirmish. There is an intense effort to invoke peaceful negotiations and agreements to satisfy the loss of life and kin in a restorative manner.

These events were not singular but were driven and policed within various Warrior Societies that many Indigenous communities contained. Miller (2010) states, “Such warrior societies had their own identifiable leaders, ceremonies, and prescribed rights for the group that cut across kin and village lines” (p.123). If an Indigenous warrior indeed belonged to a warrior society, there were several functions they could perform beyond the need for avenging their communities. Miller (2010) explains that the warrior societies assisted with the organizing of communal hunting events amongst plains people, and that;

Few contemporary observers knew much about how the *Ogichidaag* society was organized or what its members did besides fight the Dakota, so it is possible that they had some policing functions that were not widely visible to outside observers. Most likely the *Oogichidaag* policed the very white residents whose diaries serve today as source material about its existence (p.124)

When a party of warriors organized themselves, it was a whole community event. Members of the community would give the warriors what they needed to travel to the site of a battle and allow family networks the opportunity to sing songs and mourn for the loss of their loved one if necessary. Medicines were also exchanged at this time, which anyone from the Midewiwin lodges could provide. “Warriors carried a number of medicines specific to warfare. In particular, *bizhikiwaak* (cattle herb medicine), *minisinoowaak* (island herb medicine), and *waabanoowaak* (eastern herb medicine) counteracted the effects of medicines the enemy carried” (Miller, 2010, p. 137).

Seasoned warriors themselves played roles within the broader community beyond instructing young men in the ways and methods of warfare. “Whether or not it was a regular duty of the Oogichidaag, warriors definitely had a primary role in reinforcing community norms” (Miller, 2010, p.125). As mentorship was most often how indigenous peoples passed on their knowledge, experienced warriors would test many young men who wished to go on war parties. Warriors were also responsible for ensuring that disputes did not escalate within Anishinaabeg communities and were responsible for policing their own warriors.

Within the confines of a war party, skirmish, or another field of battle, warriors could repeatedly demonstrate their capabilities. Miller (2010) explains;

Because these encounters provided opportunities for young men to demonstrate their bravery, there were various war honors and a number of ways to achieve them. Eagle feathers were the most important, but they were not the only war honors. Warriors earned the right to wear certain types of pelts or colors of war paint as a result of demonstrating various kinds of bravery during combat. Warriors marked their arrows, ensuring that the correct man received the recognition. As guns replaced arrows, warriors called their shots and awarded honors on this basis (pp. 140-141).

Protecting the banner of his community was also a way for a warrior to gain renown as “The mayosewinini himself bore the war banner, eagle feathers sewed onto a four-foot strip of cloth fastened lengthwise to a pole” (Miller, 2010, p.133). The tradition of having veterans, or currently serving members of the military, carry an eagle staff into events continues to this day.

Once a war party was successful in its aims, the warriors would then return home. Having the entire community’s involvement in feasting, dances, and celebration would also allow warriors to speak of their experiences (Miller, 2010, p. 142-144). Furthermore, Miller (2010) states;

In an Oogichidaag dance, each warrior who had earned eagle feathers had the right to tell how he had earned them. This recitation stirred up the courage of those within the society and encouraged youths who were thinking of embarking on their first war expedition” (p.128).

Before contact, many Indigenous nations also had specific ceremonies for warriors returning from war. Many of these ceremonies remained in practice during the World Wars, such as with the Ojibwe and Dakota peoples. Even Holm (2017) was part of efforts in 1981 to organize a Gourd Dance in Wichita, Oklahoma, for Vietnam War Veterans (p. 119), and he explains the importance of these ceremonies and how they came to be.

According to Kiowa tradition, a lone warrior who was on his journey home from a war party heard some beautiful songs. He investigated the source of the songs and found a red wolf, who taught him the songs and the ceremonies that went with the power or medicine they engendered. The origins of the gourd dance are somewhat controversial. The Kiowa people claim the ceremonies as their own based on this particular piece of their oral tradition. On the other hand, the Cheyenne Bowstring Society also claims the gourd dance as a part of the society’s ceremonies (p. 119).

These ceremonies provided a pivotal point for warriors returning home from the war front to allow them the distinct transition from military service to civilian life. Discovered via his surveys amongst United States veterans, Holm (2017) conducted;

The significance of the two VA committees on Native American veterans is that they confirm that Native veterans indeed have a high rate of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptoms and that, coming mostly from rural areas, Indians (1) were underutilizing VA services, (2) came from extended, tight-knit families that valued tribal traditions associated with both spiritual and physical well-being, (3) were from communities that valued warrior traditions over the politics of war, and (4) had, therefore, ways of dealing with PTSD that were different from and perhaps more positive than those of the dominant society. On the other hand, urban Indians tended not to have the cultural, social, and healing support systems that might have aided in their readjustment and recovery (p. 121-122).

Similar to Holm's (2017) statements about the experiences of United States Veterans, the ways in which Canadian Indigenous veterans use their shared experiences in the military and their cultures to connect with one another is the main interest of this thesis. Rather than the default point of connection being military culture as central, which is common with Non-Indigenous veterans, Indigenous veterans use their traditional cultures in order to connect with other Indigenous veterans.

The ethnographic and story-telling methodology is crucial for representing indigenous veterans and their experiences because it is the intersection where both military and Indigenous cultures meet. There are many political movements that veterans involve themselves in to benefit their fellow veterans, with stories and ethnographic details helping to solidify the teaching inherent within their shared experience. In context, it is crucial to add the history of World War 1 and 2, along with the Korean Conflict, as there are shifts from those years into what indigenous veterans experience today. Changes to the Indian Act in 1951 allowed Indigenous veterans to provide the necessary peer-to-peer support fundamental for cultural survivance, transmission and experiential understanding.

This work is a labour of love. As a former military member, I aimed to have these stories and narratives told in settings with which participants were most comfortable. As suggested by Miller (2010) and Holm (2017), having these stories told and heard allows participants to engage in a traditional practice for closure. The reasons why people leave the military vary, as do Indigenous nations themselves. There is no definite sense of closure in most cases, and there can

be a great sense of loss. Some were angry about losing their career, and some veterans were upset at their unjust removal from service from the LGBTQ Purge of the late 20th century. I hope that others who read these narratives understand that there are many approaches to understanding soldiers' and veterans' lived experiences.

Cultural Understanding: Indigenous and Military Cultures

Cultural understanding is lacking in many Non-Indigenous organizations, despite the various claims that they support Indigenous veterans and soldiers. It begs the questions, in what ways? How? With whom? Where? In what forms? Does it involve Elders? Does it involve the four sacred medicines? Does it involve Traditional people and their protocols? Does it support them in culturally appropriate ways, or is it more involved with Veteran's Affairs, which lacks the appropriate understanding of Indigenous cultures?

While acknowledgement is a start, changing current policies and practices offer tangible progress for reconciliation. Changing initiatives at the base levels does not provide the direction and longevity for lasting change. However, if there is change at the top-tier levels of an organization, that will create lasting impressions on an organization upon multiple levels (Quezada, Reyes, Lindsey R.B and Lindsey D.B., 2012, p. 31). The current pattern is reactionary rather than a pro-active one, and rather than addressing the current inequalities, institutions would instead respond to individual complaints of mistreatment.

The issue, therefore, is that under the current ideology of cultural understanding, many organizations lack the necessary tools to provide for Indigenous members, both veteran and currently serving. "Once an organization's members examine who they are and for whose purpose they exist, they have a greater chance of developing skills and capabilities to address the behaviours and environments within the organization." (Quezada, Reyes, Lindsey R.B and Lindsey D.B., 2012, p. 31)

The most significant lack of cultural engagement is that the Defence Aboriginal Advisory Group (DAAG) and Veteran's Affairs are not region-specific. It is used at national levels of the military and requires members who serve within its ranks to move around and reach out to the already established communities. While this is not necessarily a negative issue, because Indigenous nations are so diverse, we end up in situations where the cultural context is different.

Anishnaabe teachings might not be relevant to West Coast Peoples, or there is a trend to lean towards Pan-Indianism.

It is also important to acknowledge the land, territory, and space in which the DAAG and veterans find themselves. Service members change their locations frequently depending on the need of the military and the availability of employment options and taskings. Where a veteran ends up during their service career might not necessarily be the place they originally claim as home. As an example, a Mi'qmaq person from Nova Scotia might end their career within the military in Manitoba. The diversity of Nations within Manitoba itself provides some similarities to Mi'qmaq teachings, but the two groups are fundamentally different given their historical relationships in their traditional territories. While many Indigenous veterans do end up returning to their home communities to be traditional peoples and knowledge-keepers, it is difficult to say whether this role was already there because of their clan and community obligations, or that it was a direct result of the leadership skills they acquired during their time in service.

Settler Narratives Within Current Literature On Indigenous Veterans

Blaut (2012) states;

This belief is the notion that European civilization- "The West"- has had some unique historical advantage, some exceptional quality of race or culture or environment or mind or spirit, which gives this human community a permanent superiority over all other communities, at all times in history down to the present (p. 1).

Given Blaut's definitions of Eurocentrism and Diffusionism, combat is considered the pinnacle of human civilization and recognized as one of the things necessary for Enfranchisement and refinement. Eurocentrism, as defined via Nyaupane (2016) is as follows:

Eurocentrism is the practice of placing emphasis on European and, generally, Western concerns, culture, and values at the expense of others. Eurocentrism often involves claiming cultures that were not White or European as being inferior or denying their existence at all. The term Eurocentrism was coined during the period of decolonization. Following World War II, the term was based on an earlier adjective, Europe-centric, which came into use in the early twentieth century (Isaac in Nyaupane, 2016, p. 328).

Frequently, diffusionism is often paired with eurocentrism. Diffusionism is defined as "the diffusion or transmission of cultural characteristics or traits from the common society to all other societies" (Sociologyguide.com, 2020). In examining current written work on the World

Wars, we find the existing literature taking the stance that Indigenous soldiers and peoples want to climb towards civilized and Eurocentric standards.

Modernization theories are also problematic for Indigenous peoples given that the military is seen as one of many options for modernization and civilization. The educational requirements for military service require at least a passable level of written and spoken English, enough to follow orders at the bare minimum. In Euro-centric modes of thinking, military service acts as not only a method for learning about masculinity, but how to deal with conflict. The Enfranchisement Act and the Gradual Civilization Act are forms of paternalistic, colonial policies and both were one of the many methods used to remove Status from Native people. Status, as defined by the Indian Act, is “the legal status of a person who is registered as an Indian under the Indian Act” (Indigenous Services Canada, 2020). This registration is maintained by Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) in order to determine who is entitled to specific “rights and benefits not available to non-status Indians, Métis, Inuit or other Canadians” (Indigenous Services Canada, 2020).

Barker (2008) explains;

The Act conflated all the diverse nations of Indigenous peoples into the administrative category of Indians, imposing colonial forms of governance on their communities and setting up strict rules to determine who could hold status as an Indian (p. 10).

Those specific rights and benefits usually take the form of financial benefits, but there are a number of non-financial benefits as well. The financial responsibility of the government towards Indigenous peoples is clearly outlined within the Indian Act. Those with Indian Status have the right to live on reserve, are entitled to band funds, inheritance of band property and participation in Band politics (Indigenous Foundations, 2020).

It is important to note that only the Indian Registrar can determine an applicant’s eligibility, and have the ability to add, delete or omit a person’s name from the register (Indigenous Services Canada, 2020). In defining who is entitled to Indian Status, the Indian Act also determines several methods for removal or loss of that status as well.

Generally, a Status person could lose their status in a multitude of ways. University education, military service, or in the case of women prior to 1985, they could lose their status if they married a Non-Indian man, enfranchisement (the voluntary surrender of Indian Status for

the right to vote), and what Indigenous Service Canada (2020) terms as “foreign residence. If a status Indian lived outside of Canada for more than five years, that person’s name was deleted from the Indian Register”. The Indian Act was specifically male-centered, making a husband/father able to enfranchise his entire family.

While modernization was not the goal of the Government of Canada at the time of the Indian Act’s creation, it was to promote the advancement of assimilation policies and methods. The Indian Act is a colonial tool used to define Indian Status in order to codify ways in which to remove their financial obligations towards Indigenous peoples.

In narratives that interview surviving veterans, many of them claim that they lost their Status after returning from service overseas, along with the rights and freedoms they had gained as soldiers serving away from Canadian soil. As a theory, Blaut (2012) suggests the reason many of these soldiers faced the removal of their status was that “the postwar world came to embrace the crucial new theory of “modernization,” the theory that the diffusion of European ideas, things, and influence would bring about the economic development of the non-Western world in the coming Age of Development.” (p. 52-53). Status removal was not the only thing facing First Nations soldiers when they returned home from the front. Many of their living conditions were still the same. Many attempted to use their experiences as war heroes and decorated soldiers to improve living conditions on reserves, but not at the expense of their culture and living ways.

With an immediate influence in the post-war world, modernization would be the colonial influence that formed the basis of so much literature in regard to Aboriginal soldiers and veterans. “Its basic principle was the notion that whatever had led in the past to European superiority could now be diffused out into the non-European world and assist that world to more or less catch up.” (Blaut, 2012, p. 53). In the post-war period, Native peoples were expected to “catch up” to the rest of “civilized society” as a part of “modernization.” It was not until the revisions in the Indian Act of 1951 that we begin to see that process unfold, though there is nothing done to address the needs of First Nations veterans who have lost their Status.

While the colonial view may have seen Native enlistment as a steady march towards civilization and modernization, it also perpetuated the savage stereotype. Winegard (2011) states, "colonial warfare, however, also created the contrasting but complementary concepts of martial races and the savage, uncivilized indigene." (p. 14). In Jennings’ work, he discusses the perception of Native peoples in warfare. We can see the duality of keeping an Aboriginal soldier

both colonized and 'traditional.' Jennings (1975) asserts that as long as Indians were seen as savage and barbaric, this narrative was used to colonize the Native person (p. 146). Because of this oppositional narrative, "imagined dogmas about warriors' lethal accomplishments have led sober scholars into impossible contradictions." (Jennings, 1975, p. 150).

The reality of Native and Métis men joining the military lies within the socio-economic disparity of Aboriginal peoples. Hutchinson (1994) explains that "For Métis veterans like Wilfred John Henry, the tradition underscoring their decision to enlist was characterized by poverty and alienation" (p.viii) and that "Many veterans, both Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal, joined out of poverty and a desire to belong" (p. viii). Though this is not the only reason for joining, some joined hoping that their time serving in the military would give them the necessary platform to be taken seriously by Canadian authorities upon their return to Canada. They wanted to prove that Aboriginal soldiers could be productive Canadian society members while retaining their traditional Native identities and culture. We begin to see the narrative of corporal Francis Pegahmagabow and Fred Loft of the First World War and sergeant Tommy Prince of the Second World War, as they fought for recognition of Aboriginal rights by using their status as decorated war heroes.

McInnes (2016) talks about the stories he collected from the children of the war hero Francis Pegahmagabow and how the specific traditions associated with Anishnaabe culture are unacknowledged. Pegahmagabow spoke about them with Diamond Jenness (p. 142), where he explains that "war stories" were never spoken about in the home by Francis unless there was a veteran present. Even then, many of those stories were censored to avoid causing anyone undue distress (McInnes, 2016, p.148).

Holt (2013) explains, "Details differ, but in many cases, historians, eager to prove that Aboriginal soldiers were victims, have ignored all or a portion of the archival evidence, or have failed to put that evidence into proper context." (p. 139). However, Holt's article produces information that is listed and geared towards Western ideologies of military involvement, which include searching unit records, Department of National Defence Archives and Library and Archives Canada.

The involvement of Indigenous soldiers in the military is seen within an academic context as an exception rather than the rule. Current literature suggests that either policy, racist attitudes, or paternalistic behaviour kept Aboriginal and Métis soldiers from enlisting or serving

overseas. “The implication seems clear: Canada deliberately adopted a racist and exclusionary government policy on the outbreak of [the First World] war” (Holt, 2013, p. 144). In regard to the decision by Sir Sam Hughes to reject Aboriginal enlistees, most authors repeat a similar interpretation that “His decision seems to have been paternalistic rather than racist, and was consistent with the prevailing notion that Indians were wards of the Crown and needed to be protected” (Holt, 2013, p. 145).

The current literature on Aboriginal and Métis soldiers has several interpretations regarding policies that directly affected Aboriginal enlistment into the service. With much of it regarded within the field as simple misrepresentation or thought that some policies were ‘unofficial’ given the period, this is still consistent with a paternalistic and colonial narrative of marginalizing Aboriginal peoples. From an imperial perspective, Memmi (1965) agrees with this statement when he claims, “one could state equally well that it moderated the tempo of this awareness by keeping the colonized apart from the true conditions of contemporary citizenship.” (p. 96).

The number of Indigenous soldiers that enlisted is also a subject of debate amongst historians. The current figure which applies to Status Indians in the First World War claims 3,500, according to the letter written by Duncan Campbell Scott in 1919. This number does not include non-status or Métis peoples, nor does it include Inuit peoples. There also seems to be little or no effort to uncover these numbers either, though there is usually a paragraph or two dedicated to speculation on numbers. The issue with this particular vein of thinking is using Scott’s missives as the only method of determining the numbers. Scott was the then-head of the Department of Indian Affairs and is now notorious among Aboriginal people due to his policies on residential schools. It is clear from many of Scott’s letters that he is paternalistic and still enforces colonial policy on Status Aboriginal peoples, including soldiers, using this “fighting Indian soldier” narrative to push further assimilation policies.

Holt (2013) suggests that this narrative continues today when authors refuse to examine other figures about enlistees' numbers. They claim that unless detailed accounts based on genealogy and oral histories are conducted on Aboriginal soldiers from the First World War, the number will continuously be in flux (p. 149). The difficulty lies in attempting to reconcile the number of Indigenous soldiers on paper with the number of enlistees known through ethnographic methodology. Shifting the focus to Indigenous perspectives helps with that

reconciliation, as instead of focusing on the number of enlisted Status soldiers per written records, we see significant evidence of much higher numbers.

There is also a significant focus on creating or preventing “All Aboriginal” units within the Canadian Armed Forces in both World Wars. Holt (2013) suggests that the forestry units formed in World War One were never supposed to be Indigenous-specific units like the 107th Battalion. The meaning behind the literature is that these units failed as Aboriginal-only units because of the lack of Aboriginal recruits (p. 151). The current body of scholarly work on this particular group does not consider that many Canadian formed units were disassembled before deployment to reinforce troops already on the front lines. This practice existed in both World Wars. “When the 107th arrived in England towards the end of September 1916, there was no need for infantry battalions in France. All four divisions were complete and most of the battalions arriving from Canada at this time were simply broken up for reinforcements” (Holt, 2013, p. 155).

Often narratives that exist within the current literature only discuss the soldier's role at the time of their service and do little to explain what happens to them afterwards. The only time post-service discussion is mentioned is when the soldier in question has done exceptionally well in Western-oriented warfare styles or there is a sizeable track record of death. Two well-known figures whose post-service lives are discussed are Corporal Francis Pegahmagabow and Fred Loft of the First World War and Sergeant Tommy Prince of the Second World War. These men's stories are a sad example of the “Vanishing Indian” narrative existing in settler discourse. Even as they fought for their country against the forces of oppression and tyranny, in the end they succumbed to Canada's plans for the assimilation and eradication of Indigenous cultures. “Many government officials and senior military personnel also regarded the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) as a tool of assimilation.” (Winegard, 2011, p. 204).

Memmi (1965) also points out that “The most serious blow suffered by the colonized is being removed from history and the community. Colonization usurps any free role in either war or peace, every decision contributing to his destiny and that of the world, and all cultural and social responsibility.” (p. 91). The section on settler narratives of current literature espouses this context and explains why we do not find Indigenous methodologies within those narratives.

Indigenous veterans located in Canada use their shared experiences in the military and their cultures to connect with one another. Indigenous Veterans use Indigenous culture as the

primary point of contact with other Indigenous veterans, as opposed to military culture. Storywork is the method employed for this thesis, and it requires me to identify my own position as well.

The first chapter will discuss the methodologies employed, including ethnographic and story-telling practices, to illustrate these formats' importance to the interview and story-telling process. It includes positionality, as I cannot discuss storywork or storying as methodology without first understanding my own position.

The second chapter includes testimonies and narratives from interviewees who span across the various trades, ranks, genders, divisions, and in most cases, Nations. The pool of interviewees chosen for the work was drawn from United Nations Peacekeeping and conflict operations of the 1970s, 80s and 90s. It is important to note that some participants were not aware of their Indigenous heritage while they were in service. However, since their shift to Veteran status, they have become aware and work towards active participation in their home communities and broader political and veteran's organizations. I explore the various connections that the participants have with the term warrior, veteran and *ogichidaa*. Depending on the participants' role within the military, they may or may not see themselves as a warrior, veteran or *ogichidaa* depending on their branch of service or their trade classification.

The third chapter examines the historical context, beginning with the First World War, and discusses Indigenous soldiers' involvement. The Second World War is the closest point of reference for the treatment of Indigenous soldiers today. It includes a section on women who were able to join the military formally beyond the role of nursing sisters. Lastly, it includes a breakdown of Indigenous involvement within the Korean Conflict and beyond. Drawing on authors such as Winegard, Sheffield, Lackenbauer, and Dempsey, we see the existing literature from the settler perspective and how it informs the emphasis on non-Indigenous traditions.

Chapter One - Methodology: Position, Ethnography and Story-telling.

The importance of story-telling within Indigenous research and methodology paradigms cannot be overstated. It allows both the teller and the listener to position themselves within the context of the story itself and gain both parties' experience. "Stories remind us of who we are and of our belonging. Stories hold within them knowledges while simultaneously signifying relationships" (Kovach, 2012, p.94). The relationship that is created by story-telling is a lasting one built on mutual respect. To experience this, we must listen.

Many of the stories within the body of this work encompass what Kovach (2012) calls "personal narratives of place, happenings, and experiences as the *kókoms* and *mósoms* (Aunties and uncles) experienced them and passed them along to the next generation through oral tradition" (p. 95). "Both forms teach of consequences, good and bad, of living life in a certain way" (Kovach, 2012, p.95). It is at this point where both Military culture and Indigenous cultures intersect due to common use of story. In addition, we need to understand that there are several different types of knowledges within Indigenous story-telling frameworks. As Archibald (2012) points out;

Traditional knowledge is a timeless type of knowledge that includes values and philosophies that have been transmitted from generation to generation. Ecological knowledge relates to place-based knowing and environmental knowledge. Cultural knowledge focuses on ways of living and combine contemporary with traditional ways of knowing. These three forms of knowledge are interrelated and shaped by Indigenous language (p.3).

Kovach (2012) clearly states "Those well versed in qualitative research methods will confirm that story is not unique to Indigenous knowledge systems" (p. 96). Story-telling focuses on Life history, as opposed to data and "hard facts" that we find bridging between both military and Indigenous cultures. It was only recently that the bans against Indigenous peoples' cultural practices were repealed (1951). While story-telling may not have been part of those bans, many cultural practices such as the Potlatch and Sundance were outwardly banned. Meanwhile, Indigenous soldiers and veterans had been practicing much of their story-telling traditions in covert ways, even in plain sight of Officers and Non-commission Officers (N.C.O.'s). Culturally speaking, the transmission of knowledge from a military perspective has been an oral one. In an informal context, many of those stories told are to pass knowledge, troop movements, where the best food is, or who has been at the front line the longest.

We need to understand that in gathering information through story-telling, the researcher needs to treat the stories with the respect they deserve. They are stories that situate both listener and speaker in the same place simultaneously; they allow both parties to understand and form meaningful relationships. It allows the space to address past trauma and gives room to the speaker to reflect on experiences carefully. "Indigenous epistemology is fluid, non-linear, and relational. Knowledge is transmitted through stories that shape-shift in relation to the wisdom of the storyteller at the time of the telling" (Kovach, 2015, p.53). From an ethical standpoint, "Participatory research methodology was an example of a critical approach that sought voice and involvement in the research process from those being researched" (Kovach, 2015, p.48).

In both Indigenous and Military circles, it is vital to know who someone is and where they come from and their affiliation. "In asking others to share stories, it is necessary to share our own, starting with self-location" (Kovach, 2012, p 98). For military and Indigenous peoples to understand position within context, it is imperative to state what a person's military experience is (IE, Name, rank, which branch of service you were in and how long, if you have over-seas tours, as examples). It is the same process whereby Indigenous peoples make connections with their geographical location, kinship and their experience of the relationships developed over time in those locations and with those specific people.

Things like ceremony space are where Indigenous soldiers and veterans can have culturally appropriate supports to feel comfortable telling their stories. Indigenous veterans hesitate to tell their stories to non-Indigenous and non-veteran peoples because of the differences in experiences. There is a cultural shift in the military, from civilian to Basic Training and again when a soldier returns from theatre operations. Story-telling serves various purposes. However, for soldiers with Operational Stress Injury (OSI), Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) or moral injury, it allows them the opportunity to confront their feelings about a particular event directly and express the emotions that surround it in a welcoming and supportive environment. Story-telling events allows the teller to integrate the story into their lives, see it for what it is and how it affects them. It empowers them to study and analyze their emotional responses to events in such a way that is helpful to them rather than harmful. It enables the speaker to understand what I refer to as "a new normal." A talking circle is particularly helpful in this regard, and it will be fully explained in chapter one.

The methodology outlined above is critical in understanding this thesis because it allows an intersectional standpoint by bridging both military and Indigenous cultures. Indigenous veterans need to tell their stories for their immediate mental and spiritual health and because they need to see how their experiences influence other aspects of their lives. Current literature on Indigenous Veterans only focuses on their time in service, while story-telling allows speakers and listeners to see a broader picture beyond active military service. Many Indigenous cultures are geographically based and thrive on local connections; their stories will also have that local connection. Cruikshak (2000) agrees that narratives are local, specific to a particular person or area and attached and defined by particular cultures (p. xii). The context of the story is just as equally as important as the story itself.

Shared historical events from the time of contact have inescapably shaped the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples. Events in the past (per Western ideologies) are still very much present within Indigenous communities. In telling and re-telling these stories, we begin to see a much fuller breadth of experiences, which reflect the multitude of Indigenous communities and their experiences.

Cruikshank (2000) collaborates this narrative as well by explaining, "Not only are we born into complex communal narratives, we also experience, understand and order our lives as stories that we are living out" (p. xii). Interestingly, Cruikshank (1998) also discusses the importance of understanding when written or static narratives and displays come into conflict with Indigenous stories. When we encounter stories within the context of war museums and other memorials, the narrative tends to silence the personal experiences of the people who were there. Text runs the risk of erasing local and personal accounts, which is why the collaborative process of story-telling is essential within Indigenous cultures and tremendously crucial in veterans' experiences. "Dialogues open the possibility that we may learn something about the process of communication, about how words are used to construct meaningful accounts of life experience." (Cruikshank, 1998, p. 25)

Innes (2000) explains that "In interviewing Aboriginal veterans it was beneficial to acknowledge that the distinction between oral history and oral tradition does become blurred for some informants." (p. 66). Oral tradition and oral history have long been debated within the context of historical research, and there are other disciplines that treat these two methods as fundamentally different. However, within the paradigm of Native Studies we understand that the

two must work together within the cultural context framework. In this way, we have the fluidity to move between the oral tradition and cultural connections within oral history. It frames the storyteller's experience and reaction to that experience and defines what is important to them within the cultural context. It is important to note here that Innes (2000) explicitly explains that just because a researcher participates in traditional methods or oral culture does not mean that they are automatically a knowledge keeper (p. 68). Knowledge Keepers within Indigenous cultures have a precise role to play within those cultures which goes beyond the re-telling of a story. While the re-telling is part of the process there are also realms of experience, traditional teachings, and cultural frameworks that provide Knowledge Keepers' context. "Researchers may come to understand many new ideas from the people they are interviewing. However, this does not mean that they are automatically elevated to the same status in the Aboriginal community as the interviewees" (Innes, 2000, p. 68).

Cruikshank (1998) explains where stories and narratives within Indigenous cultures are important as healing and working through a shared trauma. "One can draw on internal resources to survive and make sense of arbitrary forces that might otherwise seem overwhelming" (p. xii). Many stories from an Indigenous perspective offer new ideas on survivance and ways to adapt to changing situations. Military stories also follow this pattern as they help listeners know what they can do to survive a particular situation. While a person may not find themselves in that same situation, taking what they have learned or the lesson imparted within the story can provide the necessary non-physical tools to allow a listener to make a better decision.

Cruikshank (1998) claims that because of the local and precise nature of Indigenous stories, they become integrated into life's social aspects (p. xv) as "oral tradition is better understood as a social activity than a reified text, that meanings do not inhere in a story but are created in the everyday situations in which they are told" (p. xv). Stories told from a military perspective or by people from the military also have a social nature to them and a specific geographical location. Frequently, stories about Basic Training occur in specific areas, both as a physical location and where the story-telling takes place. Many narratives of basic training take place on a base in a specific geographical location; a few locations include Canadian Forces Base (C.F.B.) Wainwright (Alberta), Dundurn (Saskatchewan), Gagetown (New Brunswick), Shilo (Manitoba), Valcartier (Québec) and Kingson (Ontario).

It is vital to understand the veteran's stories in their position as it helps to identify those particular roles and connections that a veteran has made. For example, a Naval veteran will have different experiences than Army or Air Force veterans. Those connections can be land-based but there is the ability to use water-based and air-based locations. From a land-based perspective, there are many training centers which are remotely located (I.E., Wainwright and Dundurn), but there are also large bodies of water in which Naval training takes place, such as in coastal locations. "Ideas about belonging provide particular insight into how local meanings are asserted in response to externally imposed classification systems" (Cruikshank, 1998, p.3).

Emerging from the literature, we find that many Indigenous cultures frequently look to stories as a conflict resolution method. By imparting a story to a listener, the person who hears the account can then internalize and re-evaluate their position on a particular issue or a specific experience. Cruikshank explains, "When potential for division emerges, successful resolution often involves demonstrating how a story can reframe issues by providing a larger context" (Cruikshank, 1998, p. 4). Military training is a high-stress environment, and having access to these narratives becomes essential for learning capacity. From a formal class setting to 'out in the field,' soldiers learn how to behave, think and attend to conflicts via physical learning and the storied learning process.

"Events are always made into a story by suppressing some aspects and highlighting others, so it should not be surprising that both written and oral histories are based on a selective reading of the past, especially when they are re-told to make meaningful connections to the present" (Cruikshank, 1998, p. 4). At this point, much of the literature surrounding Indigenous military service focuses on specific people and their achievements within the Western colonial narrative. The idea and notion that a person such as Corporal Francis Pegahmagabow only has merit as an Indigenous soldier because of the numerous war medals and feats of bravery he accomplished is the current narrative controlled by Western and colonial institutions. We do not hear the stories of Pegahmagabow's return to North America after his time in service, beyond the results of his attempts to gain Indigenous peoples' rights by using his status as a decorated War Hero. Along the same lines as Pegahmagabow, Sergeant Tommy Prince of World War II attempted the same thing. We do not hear about the events and activities that either were involved in after their time in service. We hear less about their connections to Indigenous culture unless it is a specific point in the story used to propagate the myth of the "Good Savage."

Acting as a pivotal point by in which Indigenous Veterans can reconcile their Indigenous selves with their military selves, story-telling can help bridge the gap between Indigenous and military cultures. "But when externally authorized categories create cleavages based on conflicting claims to language, to land, or family knowledge, skillful storytellers frequently contribute by demonstrating - in effect performing- how stories can reconnect people temporarily divided" (Cruikshank, 1998, p. 12) and this serves one of the central interests of this thesis.

Moving from structured interviews towards a beneficial dialogue with meaning for both parties, Cruikshank (1998) explains that "Dialogues open the possibility that we may learn something about the process of communication, about how words are used to construct meaningful accounts of life experience" (p.25). In effect, "the importance of communication through story-telling which can underscore the value of performance theory to studies of oral tradition" (p.26). Indigenous and veteran's stories told in specific settings and times impart lessons at those specific times.

Story-telling is also fundamental for research work because it provides the necessary cultural basis for those specific stories to make sense in the context. Both Indigenous peoples and military peoples share stories in ways that seem strange or have nothing to do with the current issue in time. However, as Cruikshank (1998) explains, "the importance of performance -- how performance not only involves not simply a narrator but also an audience, giving any one story the potential range of meanings that all good stories have" (p. 28). "A concept of narrative-- like culture -- that is more complicated and differentiated provides a way of thinking about how human communities continue to hold together, and about how divisions that at one time seem deep recede and are reworked in the process of building alliances at another time" (Cruikshank, 1998, p. 2). It is particularly true of Indigenous veterans who have formed long-lasting bonds with Non-Indigenous veterans through their time in service. There have been many times when Non-Indigenous veterans have stepped forward to support their Indigenous brothers and sisters when there is a perception of inequality, usually when accessing benefits from Veteran's Affairs.

Snow et al. (2015) outline a process by which a researcher can critically engage with an indigenous community during the research process. Utilizing several methods allows the researchers to understand their material data from a two-pronged approach: both Western and Indigenous, where Indigenous methods are the priority (Snow et al. 2015). Basically, "indigenous research recognizes indigenous communities develop shared ways of knowing

guided by how they view the world, themselves, and the connection between the two. Part of indigenous knowledge, then, is a combination of the reflection of and resistance to colonization in various realms." (Snow et al., 2015, p. 359).

By examining theories related to Indigenous peoples and military culture, we can close the current gap in Indigenous research. Snow et al. (2015) state, "internationally there remain(s) research and analysis gaps in understanding indigenous populations' sense of identity, community, or struggles, and detailed discussions of ways for researchers to employ indigenous methods" (Snow et al., 2015, p. 361).

I examine the role of veterans' organizations within Canada, specifically in researching indigenous veterans' organizations and how they differ from non-Indigenous ones. "Culture and knowledge in any social grouping are intrinsically linked, for it is these processes that are implicated in a group conveying its identity" (Kovach, 2015, p.50). It is particularly true when McInnes (2016) points out about Francis Pegahmagabow, "The war had also provided Francis with a sense of belonging. [sic] He found, perhaps for the first time in his life, a sense of belonging and accomplishment in the muddy trenches and on the blood-stained battlefields of those foreign lands" (p. 153).

This project employs storytelling and story telling using a participant engaged framework. Snow et al. (2015) state that "participation and accountability involves researchers, based on personal and professional commitments to conduct ethical research, empowering individuals and communities to engage in all aspects of the research process" (p. 366). It means that Indigenous communities and individuals should be part of the research process as much as the researcher. It ties in as part of the power-sharing and applies equally to Indigenous and military cultures. It involves the community at all stages and levels and is not limited in its direction or sharing of power and knowledge. Snow et al., (2015) describes this process as;

First, researchers recognize the community's role in all phases of research and seek community members in both formal and informal positions that are perceived as being influential in community decision-making. Second, researchers solicit information about community strengths and resources as well as potential areas of research inquiry as applicable from various individuals. Thirdly, researchers explicitly state their conceptualization of accountability to individuals and communities involved in the research process and how they envision fulfilling personal and professional duties while meeting community needs. Fourth, researchers are sensitive to the degree of which a "trauma response" exists toward the researchers or research process. Finally, researchers disseminate and

integrate research findings and actions in a mutually beneficial manner, although the indigenous community should receive more significant benefits from the research endeavour (p. 367).

This process returns sovereignty to Indigenous peoples participating in storying research projects.

Within the context of this research, sharing how both cultures critically engage with the information and people involved provides a unique critical standpoint from which to understand their stories. The story-telling process allows the researcher “to achieve these larger goals and critical immersion involves several interdependent elements to accomplish for privileging indigenous knowledge: empathy, active reflection, and the re-experiencing of a culture” (Snow et al., 2015, p. 365). This methodology is also used by Archibald and Parent (2019) in Applying Indigenous research methods: storying with peoples and communities “we join hands in respect, reverence, responsibility and reciprocity”. (p. 5). Reciprocity means not claiming ownership of the story or the story telling process, and ensuring that what information and story I have heard belong to the community or person who provided it. Basically, Archibald and Parent (2019) state it succinctly with “these principals facilitate meaning making through and with Indigenous stories, which may be of a traditional nature or about lived experiences” (p.3). Meaning-making depends on cultural context, and it can be explorative or interpretive (Lamont, 2000, p. 602) among other things. Meaning-making is a shared cultural process, and in this context, it means that Indigenous veterans are making meaning out of their own experiences as both Indigenous people and Veterans. In defining what experiences mean to them, they are able to make space for themselves and others who have similar experiences. Archibald (2012) explains “effective storywork grows out of the actions of interrelatedness and synergy formed by the storyteller, the story, the listener, and the context in which the story is used” (p.4).

Initially I had been resistant to the thought of developing good relationships with the Indigenous Veterans’ community, however, both Kovach (2009), Archibald and Parent (2019) discuss at length the need for developing reciprocal and respectful dialogues. Listening to these stories is not an event that happens in the third person. They require a comprehensive approach in order to develop fundamental relationships. “Listening involves using all of our wholistic realms of heart/emotional, mind/intellectual, body/physical, and spirit in relationship to oneself, family, community, or Nation” (Archibald and Parent, 2019, p.5)

Kovach (2009) explains that community engaged learning framed through a re-experiencing of culture allows for alternative interpretations presented and understood by Indigenous communities. This gives them the inherent respect that the person, community, or nation deserves. Essentially, "with this re-experiencing and re-learning of knowledge, the researcher has an ethical responsibility to privilege and integrate indigenous ways of knowing into common discourse and understanding academics" (Snow et al., 2015, p.366). Through this, researchers gain the necessary skill and understanding to have cultural competency; for indigenous and military-centric communities. Archibald and Parent (2019) explain it best as "In the oral sharing process a synergistic action, like a spark, happens when someone talks about an idea, emotion, or action and someone else catches that spark to kindle another idea, emotion, or action" (p. 8).

Methodological flexibility is also necessary for engaging with indigenous and military cultures. Expressed via Snow et al. (2015) quoting Chilisa (2012) and Delgado (1998), "the process of counter-storytelling is in contrast to stories told by dominant (i.e., White, colonial) graduate students and permits challenges to the status quo, community building, demonstrates to other marginalized individuals the possibilities of graduate school, and teachers a richer story of graduate students' life" (p. 369). In the context of Indigenous military veterans, we can further the scope of knowledge that currently exists. As it stands, current academic literature focuses on the existing colonial narrative from a very Western point of view, and current sources tend to focus only on the more destructive and violent aspects of military culture. Statistics usually focus on 'kill counts,' specific unit affiliation, how many years of service a person has, their trade, and if they have any specific tours of duty rather than the stories they would choose to tell. This is indicative of a colonialist approach to working with Indigenous Veterans.

There is little research and literature that discusses the positions of indigenous veterans after their time in service and what roles they take on in not only their home communities but also in veterans' organizations. Kovach (2015) illustrates how language within a Western narrative and context deliberately influences how we are to think, behave and feel (p. 51). Current literature on Indigenous peoples within the military is Western-focused rather than Indigenous-focused. It values a colonial approach to research within the field instead of the Indigenous "Ways of Knowing." An opportunity exists here to change or challenge the narrative both in a methodological context and within the military context. In turn, it will change the

perception of cultural bias within the military and provide the necessary space for Indigenous soldiers and veterans to flourish more than they have been. Archibald and Parent (2019) also acknowledge how important storywork is to narratives against colonial imposition (p.10). As the 1995 Senate Committee in The Aboriginal Soldier after the Wars came to understand, "The Committee is aware that frequently, the oral history and personal testimony of Aboriginal peoples is discounted in the face of the written administrative record" (p. 5). This is why it is so fundamentally important to engage with the community through storytelling rather than relying on archival data.

As it stands, Indigenous soldiers and veterans thrive within the counter-narrative of colonialism and colonial imposition by simply being who they are as people. They speak their languages, practice their cultures, gather in groups when they can, and seek the necessary community connections to maintain and preserve their cultural identity. "Language is a central system for how cultures code, create and transmit meaning. Cultural values remain alive and are reflective of a worldview found in their native language. Values that honour relationships are important for cultures that value the journey as much as the destination." (Kovach, 2015, p.52).

Further to this, Indigenous peoples intrinsically know and understand the importance and different types of stories. Indigenous veterans know the differences between stories, even as far back as World War I. McInness (2016) writes, "Sharing stories with visitors was a favourite pastime for Francis and his family" (p.160).

To this end, the research methodology extensively used the story-telling and interview process with a group of 6 veterans. Each had a range of military experience, encompassing different service branches, different time frames, genders, and even different reasons for enlistment. When using the interview process, the researcher was carefully able to coax out information about these veterans' experiences to provide a broader dialogue within the current research areas. The focus is mainly autobiographical, though many veterans chose to tell stories of being Indigenous people within the military.

Chapter Two - "In their own words": Stories from Indigenous Veterans Wanbdi Wakita- Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI)

As a member of the PPCLI for eight years, Wanbdi had encountered his share of interesting stories. However, the one he decided to share is on how he came into the service of

veterans after his discharge. He is originally from Sioux Valley First Nation, and is a proud Dakota man.

I was young then. I had been in the Army for 8 years, having joined them after my time in residential school. I had started attending ceremonies. Daily. With the Eagle Society and with my mother, Aunty and Grandpa. I looked over to one side because something caught my eye. These little black spots, like flies in the air. When I asked about it, my Grandfather told me it was the spirits. The Little People. I decided then and there to become sober. I wasn't drinking or fighting anymore, and I knew my name. In 1968, I was afraid, because the spirits I had worked with before weren't coming to visit me anymore. I thought I could go to Church and talk with the spirits there, ask them why they hadn't come to visit. So I got dressed in my uniform and marched down at 09:00, and found the church was closed. The sign said that service started at 10:00, so I went down to the river for a bit and then came back for the service. I sat in the back row, trying to follow the French-speaking priest who was trying to deliver the service in Latin.

1965- I had been discharged for about a month when an old man came to visit me. I was drinking and fighting a lot back then, and he needed a ride to a Ceremony. I offered to take him, and we ended up going to another community for a Sundance. When I got there, they hadn't started the Ceremony yet, but I could hear this sound and all of a sudden, I started going up in the air. I could see two groups of people; the Chippewan and the Dakota. They carried rawhide and sticks for the Chippewa, and they told me to go talk to a Sinclair woman. That was the first time I'd had a vision, and I'd had several others since that time, about six times in total. I also saw many things that first time; a seahorse and a spider, I heard many sounds.

The second time it happened was when I had gone back to university. I had slept in on Monday, and the car pool that had come to pick me up was honking outside. It was making the dog bark. I heard that same sound as the first time, and I went up in the air. I could see horses and many people. There were eagle whistles and the dogs were barking. There was so much travelling and talking, but I couldn't make out what was being said at the time. I came back down again, and then ran out the door to make my ride.

The third time it happened was at Brandon University, in the science building on the 4th floor. I was working on a winter project with the professor and the students. I heard the sound again, and went up in the air. I don't remember what I saw that time, but when I looked at the professor, he gave me a nod. None of the other students had noticed what had happened.

The fourth time it happened was when I was at a sun dance ceremony with my dad. It was 2am and we were still dancing. There was rolling thunder all around and it kept getting louder and louder. There was lots of lightening. When I went up I saw a gully with hills on either side. I started to sing the Tobacco prayer and started to look west, and I could see horses with riders on them. They were carrying spears and wearing headdresses, and they were standing there watching me, waiting for me to decide. I knew at that point what to do, so I said 'Thank you

Creator! I'm ready!' and they all began to whoop and holler like they were in a war party.

I kept quiet about my experiences, because the community knew me as a drinker and fighter when I left the Army. 3 years later, on December 5th, 1968, my dad called me and told me 'Heat 'em up!'. It was really cold that day and there was so much snow. But I went to the lodge to heat up the grandfathers and wood. He came, and when I asked him if he was ready. It was -30 degrees and I wasn't sure if people would come, but a man with sore knees came and helped haul all the Grandfather's in. My dad ran the ceremony, and I could see all the rocks. It was so hot in the lodge. My dad started the ceremony then. The man with the sore knees sat in the Northern Door, and I sat in the Southern Door. During the ceremony, I was given instructions from the voice of an old man. "Grandson, build one like this and make it face west. You will need this many rocks for various ceremonies, and you need at least 16 ribs in the lodge. Do not look for a pipe. One will come to you, from the Sun and the Morning Star." In March of 1969, someone brought me a pipe that I knew was coming. The pipe maker was from Minnesota, and I still have that pipe after 53 years.

4 years after that, I met the boss of all sun dance in my dreams. He's 600 years old. The Army made me deaf, and I had to ask him what he meant when he told me things. I eventually understood that he speaks Old Dakota. He told me that I needed to have a ceremony for my dad when he passed. I could hear knocking on the door and when I went to go answer it, I saw my dad standing there. He was asking for my forgiveness, so I needed to do a ceremony for him with my cousin. When I did the ceremony how the old man instructed me, my dad came and I gave him food. I told him I forgive him. We were sitting in a circle, my cousin was sitting across from me, and other family members were seated on either side of us around the circle. I could hear a shuffling, and I saw Coyote. He said 'Grandson, when you see me, give me tobacco at night.' And then he was gone. Then I heard another voice saying 'Grandson, when you see the eagle hawk, give tobacco during the day.'. This is why I have both the coyote and the eagle hawk on my tipi.

I also found 16 Willows that were facing West, and when I started having my lodges there, the old man spirit came. I see him as 30 years old, and he started dancing in front of us. The people in the lodge who were in good shape could hear him. He's a little man, and his name is Red Buffalo. He had come to help. He is always dancing, carrying sage and an eagle wing. He wears a red kerchief, a green shirt and black pants. He wears moccasins too. He told me to prepare myself so the spirits will help. He will give you direction if you're in good shape.

I had lots of help when I came out to ceremonies. There were so many people to help with the work, so it was important to pack everything- like even a tent and chainsaw. I've gone to many sun dance ceremonies, and the Old Man told the sun dancers when to hold them. There are so many people telling you how to conduct sun dance ceremonies, but I do it the way the spirits tell me to do it. You need to know the Dakota language in order to understand what those spirits are saying.

Another job through the years that I have learned through the years is the shaking tent ceremony. We use red cedar poles with blue tops. I did it and the spirits came and shook the tent. I was carrying a hawk feather, and the spirits gave me the instructions on how to do purification ceremonies and the sun dance ceremonies. They can give you visions or medicine, or give healing. It even cleared up some asthma. When I was working, I came across an Inuit man who was going to see a psychologist. When I asked about what was going on, the Inuit man said that he was hearing voices. I asked him what he wanted me to do about it, and the Inuit man told me he wanted those voices to go away. I agreed to perform a ceremony for him, and had his nephew make offerings for that ceremony. When we started, there was this awful noise. A spirit came and took the bad spirits that were in the Inuit man. It was quiet for a moment, and then two more spirits came to take the bad spirits out. There was a really bad smell around the Inuit man, and then two more spirits came to take the bad spirits from inside the Inuit man. After that, it was quiet. I asked him 'How is it now?' and he told me that it was quiet and he felt better. I told him the spirits won't return until they and he are ready to listen. You have to learn about culture and language in order to get your feelings back.

Those seven teachings you know about are Midewin teachings. Ojibway. Bad spirits can come out with the right teachings. But some of the ceremonies are being run by bad people. In regards to my dad, I can either charge him for forgive him. Look up. They are there. Look up and pray. Sometimes the spirits are hard to hear. We have spirits for one year and then we have to let them go so we don't live life in sorrow. We are looking around and not up.

I also tell our veterans not to be stupid, and I tell them straight out. Old Joe (Meconse) tried to talk to the younger veterans, and both Joe and I worked together, but sometimes there is too much fighting and people are not being accountable. Or helping out. Joe talked with me about 'keeping peace' when he was in. What did that mean to him? To me? He treasured his land. Why peace-keeping? Why fighting?

There was a UN meeting I was asked to make a prayer for in 1996. I asked everyone what is the way to look after Mother Earth? We're not taking care enough. I also said that you have to look after yourself in order to look after Mother Earth. I went three times to this meeting. I told them we used to pick medicines for thousands of years and now the trees are gone. These are our relatives; the trees, the animals, man, and medicines. We have to live sustainably, and when we say 'all my relations', we literally mean ALL. We are all related, but we don't listen. The chaplains told me not to kill, not to steal. But they kill holy men like Jesus, Martin Luther King. The laws have been forgotten, but I do my own thing and try to live a good life. To live like Indians. Land claims are protection for us, and my dad went to war because he loves this land.

I went to Oka too when the trouble started. I faced a young white guy, and asked him 'What are you doing here?' There was no answer from him so I asked again. He told me he was only following orders. I told him I could knock his block off if I wanted to, and that I was also a veteran. That I had also served. It left such a bad taste in my mouth, it turned me away from the Army because of

the blockades. I didn't go back to parade until 2004. Because land is important. When I was in the Army I had no complaints against me, but I made sure not to give them a reason. I volunteered for everything, and I was always the first to volunteer. But I was fighting for all the wrong reasons. I tell veterans to ask others up above for help. To live this way and not our own way, to not have people interfere with our lives, and we don't interfere with others.

Devin Beaudry, Métis Veteran

Mr. Beaudry came to his Métis heritage after his time in service. Also known as Walking Grey Wolf of the Bear Clan, he was gifted his spirit name in 2008. His time in service was from January 15th, 1978 to January 15th, 2013. He has 35 years as an aeromedical technician with no over-seas tours because his trade classification is a non-deployable operational trade. In speaking with him, Mr. Beaudry expressed to me that;

I enlisted in the military due to in part that I was in Air Cadets when I was a teenager. I enjoyed the discipline and other aspects of being part of the Air Cadets. I am originally from Quesnel, B.C. and the only jobs at the time was working in a sawmill and that didn't appeal to me.

When asked about particular unit affiliations;

When I joined in 1978, military personnel wore the same uniform with the only distinction being a Command badge that indicated the element that you were in. I was affiliated with the Air Force during the Tri-Service years and then when the distinct elements became known again, I donned the Air Force blue.

Mr. Beaudry was not aware of any of the targeted training programs like Bold Eagle, as he was already in service at the time of their creation. Mr. Beaudry was 40 years of age when he discovered his cultural heritage as a Métis person. He was not practicing or aware of traditional teachings, or aware of his Indigenous history before entering into military service.

When asked further about his experience with the traditional teachings while in his time of service;

It was 2005 that I began my journey with traditional teachings. I became involved with the Defence Aboriginal Advisory Group at the time where I was able to connect with Ojibway teachings from the cultural program at the Behavioral Health Foundation in St. Norbert just south of Winnipeg. That is where my journey began.

Mr. Beaudry states that he was not drawn to any leadership positions while in his time in service, but that the experiences that he had helped him to become that leader. The most impactful moment for him when in service was “becoming a part of the Defence Aboriginal Group and having that sense of belonging.”. Retired since 2013, Mr. Beaudry began a second career as a registered massage therapist. He enjoys being able to work at his own pace and on his own time “to do what I want in life without punching someone else’s clock”. He still maintains connections with the military, current service members and other veterans;

I am maintaining my connections with the military in being involved with the 17 Wing Aboriginal Advisory Group by means of being the lodge-keeper for the sweat lodge that was erected behind the Wing Chapel in June 2017.

Mr. Beaudry is also the current Provincial Director of Manitoba for Aboriginal Veterans Autochtones, the current group which has replaced the former National Aboriginal Veterans' Association (NAVA). He maintains incredibly deep bonds with his traditional Anishinaabe community;

I have followed the traditional teachings of the Ojibway nation since finding out I was of Indigenous descent. I am a sun dancer as well as a pipe carrier. I am the whip man for my sun dance Chiefs ceremony which is held each July. I attend sweat lodges regularly and since June 2017, I am the lodge-keeper and spiritual advisor to the 17 Wing Defence Aboriginal Advisory Group here in Winnipeg. I am a spiritual person who craves the teachings and ceremonies of the indigenous culture. My time in the military was rather benign as I did not experience any of the horrors or conflicts that many service members have experienced. I retired from the military with a sound mind and a healthy body. Following the traditional teachings and cultural practices allows me to be a better person each and every day.

Whenever I heard the term “warrior”, I always thought, protector of the people, willing to put down their life for the people so that others can live a life of peace. As an Indigenous person, “warrior” embodies the strength of the community. I don’t think that my time in the military changed my perception. Even after my service, I still believe that a “warrior”, a “true warrior” protects the community from all harm, be it physical violence from enemies without but enemies from within...

I don’t see myself as a “warrior”, I don’t know if I can even classify my time in the military as being part of the “warrior hood”. My role was more teaching than about fighting. I was never in a combat role. As a medic for the first 3 years and you know this, I cared for the injured while in the MIR and hospital settings in Comox and NDMC. I then went on to my teaching role as an Aeromedical Technician, so where “warrior” would fit in, I don’t know. As a Veteran maybe but still wouldn’t be able to classify myself as a “warrior”.

To me personally, a “warrior” is one who is willing to fight, to the death, if needs be. Would I have done that if put in that position while in the military... definitely... that was why I joined. Does the statement still stand? To those who had to actually put themselves in harm’s way are to me the “true warriors”. If Ogichidaa describes both the “warrior” and veteran in Ojibway then, yes, the statement still stands. Sorry...Aniishnabemowin. It’s a dilemma because we may not see ourselves as Ogichidaa because maybe our humbleness and the roles we played within the military. (Author’s note* Mr. Beaudry is talking about the use of the 7 Sacred Teachings in this context, and the teaching of humbleness preventing someone from fully accepting the role of Ogichidaa, like the way Elders are pronounced within the community, not through self-identification.)

I joined the National Aboriginal Veterans Association about 2 years before the organization was ripped out from under everyone. I heard that John and Bob plus others were trying to stand up another group from the ashes that were left behind and that’s when I decided to put my name forward for Manitoba. I attended the inaugural meeting in Ottawa in the spring of 2013 when AVA became viable. I wanted to be a part of an aboriginal veterans’ group that was a step away from the colonial impression. The other group adopted the Navy regalia including rank structures. Being a retired member, I wanted nothing to do with rank or the impression of rank. Wearing the deer hide vests and being able to wear my clan colors was a shoe in for me. I know that my ribbon shirt is flashy but that is what my wife purchased for me well before the group stood and it seemed a perfect fit. I don’t know if she actually ordered that material or whether the seamstress decided on her own to use that material. It does stand out and I am very proud and honored to represent the Aboriginal veterans during celebrations and ceremonies.

Robert Thibeau, President of Aboriginal Veterans Autochtones

Mr. Robert Thibeau is the current serving President of Aboriginal Veterans Autochtones. His home community is in Quinan, Nova Scotia, and he is descended from the Mi’kmaq peoples. He expressed, "my mother's great grandmother, a full-blooded Mi’kmaq, was married to an Acadian." He joined the Canadian Armed Forces in 1971 in the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry and served as an infantryman for 37 years and ten months. He found himself in a unique position, having served as both a non-commissioned officer (N.C.O.) and as an Officer, having retired at the rank of Captain.

When asked about his experiences, Mr. Thibeau recounts several events in his life that led to his decision to enlist. Rather than being the target of any recruitment campaign, he was born in Shilo, Manitoba, and his father was a member of the military. His decision to enlist was based on the desire to escape an abusive home setting, rather than as a result of exposure to

military life. "Breaking away and being in the Army did so much for me on a positive way that you move on".

Mr. Thibeau served in various capacities during his career;

I served with the Canadian Airborne Regiment as a paratrooper for six years as well as teaching positions at the Leadership Academy in Borden Ontario, Recruit School in Cornwallis, Battle School in Wainwright as well as the Nuclear Biological Chemical Defence School in Borden Ontario. I taught at the Canadian Defence Academy & the Royal Military College of Canada specifically Aboriginal training.

Mr. Thibeau also served in several overseas tours and home deployments; deployed as security personnel for the 1976 Olympics in Montreal, "1978 in Cyprus which was four years after the Turkish invasion of the island and 1996 in Bosnia with the NATO forces of the Stabilization Force".

Mr. Thibeau knew very little of his family and culture's history before entering into the military;

I knew very little of my mother's community ties to her native roots and it was only until after 1990 that it was brought out in the open and I knew then my roots were important to me and I needed to learn as much as I could about my ancestors as a feeling of pride. My exposure to native culture while in the military gave me the incentive to push the pride I had in the culture and to engage with non-aboriginals to teach them of our military contributions throughout history within North America and Canada.

When asked if he was drawn towards leadership positions within the military, Mr. Thibeau explains that "I wanted to command soldiers and I worked hard to ensure that I learned proper leadership in order to become an effective leader. This helped me obtain the rank of sergeant major and eventually captain". He continues to learn about his traditional culture, and he "expects this to continue for as long as I remain healthy. Knowledge of culture enhances tolerance and deflects negativities such as racial views".

On the roles of veterans, Mr. Thibeau is enthusiastic about the knowledge and experiences they bring;

I teach that veterans are the key to success and are role models. I caution veterans to use their experiences to show youth there are skills they have which will assist the military and the military can teach a great deal of positive things for their personal future. I have kept contact with the military since my retirement by teaching awareness and culture as well as working closely through the Aboriginal

Veterans Autochtones with other veterans groups and the Royal Canadian Legion. I also sit on the Veterans Mental Health Advisory Group on behalf of our Aboriginal Veterans.

In his personal experiences, he recalls one of the more impactful moments in his career;

The most impactful moment in the military regarding my cultural identity is when the CAF recognized that the Métis sash, as well as the braided hair for First Nations, was acceptable. The disappointment to this is how long it took for our traditional culture to be recognized over immigrants who came to Canada and were allowed to wear their cultural items long before the First Peoples of Canada. Since retirement, I have been engaged with Elders and traditional knowledge keepers working for our military youth programs. I have conducted culture camps for Raven, Black Bear, Grey Wolf and Caracajou employing the best Elders to teach our youth how our culture will enhance the military & themselves.

I have done a great deal of soul searching regarding the term “Warrior”. I know that warriors are the protection for the nation or tribe. They ensure that the group is guarded and looked after. If enemy try to attack the group it is the warriors who will fight to protect the tribe. Warriors also fan out to provide early warning to the tribe.

As an indigenous person I do not accept the opinions of some that it means a fighter or killer. Most of the cultures of our peoples only fought due to protect the territory or to defend themselves. The so- called warrior ceremony prior to battle was NOT to build up nerve or prepare for the fight but rather it was to ask Creator to watch over them during the time they were to fight and that if they should be struck down in battle. War was not considered to be constant but only an option of defense.

We must also acknowledge that killing another human being was not something that was taken lightly and those who fought suffered mental anguish. This led Elders who saw the dramatic change in the person to create ceremonies to deal with these mental issues. One of those ceremonies is sweat lodge. As an infantryman we train to fight and kill however indigenous soldiers can fall back on the cultural ceremonies to deal with our problems. I also encourage non-Indigenous people to try our healing ceremonies. War is not pretty and we never glorify it but we remain vigilant as warriors to defend and protect our interests including our peoples

We were all part of the National Aboriginal Veterans Association up until 2010, I think that was the date. I was asked to put my name forward for vice president at that time and Alex was to be president. We had intended this to be for a year and after that period I would take over as president.

Immediately after this meeting and confirmation of president and vice president we were informed that an individual had managed to take over all the NAVA and he started a new organization CAVSM. A majority of our veterans were not happy that this happened and the reason he was successful was because he used a loophole in the incorporation regulations.

In December 2011 I was asked by John Jewitt, Luc O'bomsawin and Dan Lafontaine to start AVA. We met in Quebec and pushed forward. We were going to take CAVSM to court over the issues and had a pro bono lawyer who was looking after this for us. Problem was it would have taken up to 10 years to resolve. That's the reason we decided to start fresh. AVA included the French version of aboriginal, Autochtones. We felt that this would be welcomed by the Government of Canada as it was bilingual.

So we were the founding members of AVA.

T. Sharp Dopler

Sharp is a *Niizh-manidoog* (Two-Spirit) veteran who had just begun to learn about their culture near the end of their career. Their Traditional name is *Animikii Mukwa*, and they are also a member of the Bear Clan. As part of the unceded Anishinaabe Aki Urban Indigenous community in Ottawa, Sharp's family lineage is Sauk/Fox and Cherokee, but their teachings are all in Anishinaabe. They were an Officer with the Cadet Instructors Cadre (CIC) Navy Branch under training command from 1983-1999 who joined the service because "I come from a family of military service. I felt it was a good thing to do to serve". Unfortunately, Sharpe was forcibly removed from the military as a result of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (L.G.B.T.Q.) purge during that time.

While they have no over-seas tours and were not a part or aware of any training programs targeted towards Indigenous enlistment, they knew of their family history with the military, though "nothing of the greater contributions of Indigenous people." They did not practice their traditions before military service and knew only of some of the histories. "I grew up without my culture," explains Sharp. "I began to learn about my culture near the end of my military career." Sharp also found themselves in a position as educator when dealing with people in their time of service. "I was just beginning to learn about my culture near the end of my career. I remember the first time I smudge in the barracks; doors banging open- someone yelling about who is stupid enough to smoke pot in the barracks. I educated them but got told not to do it again".

At discovering the Traditional Teachings;

My military experience led me towards that path only because of the challenges I was experiencing. I was pushed out of the military as part of the LGBT purge. I was led to the Odawa veteran's circle, and that changed my life – it was a big part of learning about my culture. It is where I met the Elder who changed my life.

While not drawn per se to leadership positions within the community;

As an officer, I was in a leadership position within the military. As I learned more about my culture, I have found myself in a leadership position as a carrier of ceremony in my community.

Sharp has expressed that without the veteran's circle of support, they would not have the introduction and support to continue with ceremony life.

The most impactful moment for me as an Indigenous person in the military was how my veteran's circle supported me through the end of my military career. I retired in 1998/99. I have enjoyed embracing my culture and learning and being with my fellow vets. I have no connections with any of the people I served with. My connections with other Indigenous vets however are strong and have changed my life. I have not looked into political affiliations – as a non-status person, that is not an option. I am involved with a number of grassroots service organizations and am on the board of a national Indigenous 2-spirit organization. I am constantly deepening my bonds within my community. I am a carrier of ceremony and have my own lodge. I am constantly learning more about the pipe I carry and am responsible for the Veteran's Eagle Staff for our circle. My traditional teachings and the support I receive in ceremony have absolutely assisted me to deal with the PTSD connected with my service. Without them – I would not be alive.

More than 27 years ago, I moved to Ottawa with a partner. Six months after that I was dumped by them, and I did what I was used to doing at the time, which was going on a bender. This ended me up at a women's addiction recovery center, where I was introduced to Indigenous resources as part of the Odawa Friendship Center. When I connected to the culture there, I was still serving in the military, I was introduced to the Indigenous veterans' circle. From there I was introduced to a few people from NAVA; but one of the most influential to me was Willie Bruce. Being introduced to him and the rest of the veterans helped me, though I was primarily in contact with Willie. As my career in the military was ending because of the purge, I started working as Willie's *Oskabewis* (Elder's Helper). I worked for him for years, and one time after a Remembrance Day service, I got a call from the Legion telling me that there was a stick that had been left behind. I went to go get it with Willie, and we found out it was the NAVA Eagle Stick. It is called *Manidoo Ayah* (Wounded Spirit). It has feathers not only for residential school survivors who joined the military, but for veterans and their families as well. There are stones on it from all the places that soldiers have served, and as you can see, there is a large 'wound' that runs down the length of the staff, painted red. There is green at the bottom to represent Mother Earth, and to remind us that healing comes through Mother Earth. Willie let me be the carrier for this staff, and my hope is to give it a rebirthing for rainbow peoples and veterans who were forced out of the military from the purge. Willie was the one to host veterans' circles to learn about culture and how we fit into it, but it was rare for women to join. Willie never liked the term Elder, but he was basically doing the work of one. We were both nominated for a Diamond Jubilee medal for our service to veterans.

Meegizi-ekwe- Vietnam Era Veteran, United States Military

One of the founding members of the original National Aboriginal Veterans' Association in 1992, Ojibwa Meegizi-ekwe of the Loon Clan was an armour supply specialist in the United States Military. She was honourably discharged in 1971. Expressing some of her experiences in the comments she made to the Senate of Canada in 2018;

I have to say that over the years, there are many wonderful things that you experience, as well as the truly heart-wrenching things that you must do or witness. It isn't all bad. You learn to accept the bad things and move on in your military self. By now, you have disconnected with the civilian female you were those 18 years before you entered basic. You can take a gun apart and reassemble it in the allotted time. I could drive just about anything they threw me in, except a tank—I never did figure those things out.

You learn to deal with your female visitor, surrounded by a group of men. You are afforded no privacy at that time, as you are a soldier, not a woman. You are made the brunt of jokes, and sometimes not even given a private place to make the needed item change. I sit here today in front of you and I say that this is still happening to today's Canadian Forces soldiers. I have been told time and time again by women who have come back.

Speaking with Meegizi-ekwe, one quickly notices that she feels very passionate about women's issues within the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) She has spoken with numerous representatives at the House of Commons and the Senate regarding the treatment of women service-members and veterans, as well as their particular health and service issues. She spoke at length about the instances of women veterans being treated as invisible within the context of services offered with Veterans' Affairs Canada (VAC) as well as within the broader context of being Indigenous within VAC. Disclosed in 2018;

Support is hard to find, if it exists; and if it does, it is not culturally appropriate—and I emphasize that—whether you are First Nation, Métis, or Inuit, or even close to anything traditional in scope. Those of the group who are standing in front of you or sitting in a chair next to you are book-taught, and even worse, their very appearance causes trauma.

Meegizi-ekwe aims to work with other veterans in order to give them the necessary cultural supports for those transitioning out of service, or those that have been out of service for some time. But she also emphasizes the importance of having appropriate cultural care and experience for female Indigenous veterans;

It's important to have things that are culturally appropriate, to have a knowledge of tradition that is not out of a book—because you can't get it out of a book—and have a person or a group of people who can talk to the veteran, be they female or male, who understands the little innuendos or the...idiosyncrasies, I guess, of things. Understand that you took me from being an aboriginal woman who was going to get married, have kids, be a grandma, and yadda, yadda, yadda, and put a gun in my hand to become a killer, even though I was trained to shoot a gun from the time I was three or four years old, but that was for survival to eat, not to take him out, the child of another woman, and understand that when you say that to—excuse me, world—a mainstream, book-trained psychologist, psychiatrist, or whatever, you become a narcissistic person.

When I first got out, there was the National Aboriginal Veterans' Association (NAVA), and there was a lot of involvement with the Indian Brotherhood. It was a sort of 'men only' organization that didn't represent women's interests at all. Here was no movement to represent Indigenous women at all either. So a group in B.C. saw that all these Indigenous Vets were dying and their stories weren't being told, like the treatment of some of the older vets. This group wanted to bring these stories back. They really wanted to fight hard for better treatment for Korean Veterans.

Around 1992, I was working at the St. Norbert Foundation -- which is now called the Behavioral Health Foundation – trying to set up a culture camp and a literacy lab. Basically to have a cultural and healing program. I was teaching women how to read and write with 6 dictionaries I had purchased from Zellers. Around that time, A Chief from Brokenhead Reserve called me up to request some help with a constitution. He mentioned that he had a whole bunch of veterans who were getting together to form a council of some sort. So I helped them with that. Once that was finished, I wanted to escape to Riding Mountain by myself. I was there for about two days before George and Leon were banging at the door to ask for help to handle a meeting as Secretary Treasurer. From there, I flew off to Ottawa for the first meeting with NAVA as it had been reformed.

One of the things I pushed for was to have a national Aboriginal Veterans Day that wasn't on June 21st [Which is National Aboriginal Day Live]. To do that I had to stay on as secretary Treasurer for the Manitoba chapter of Aboriginal Veterans and for NAVA. Two years after that, I became the vice-president. At that time, there were some people who were making things difficult for me and spreading false rumors, but I got things established and then I left after my two year term was up. In that first year where there was a separate Aboriginal Veterans Day recognized on November 8th by Susan Thompson. She proclaimed it as a form of recognition for Aboriginal veterans' service and we could piggy-back off the Museum of Man and Nature [Now the Manitoba Museum].

In 1993, there was a big event at 181 Higgins [Neeginan Centre] for Aboriginal Veterans Day, so I started to reach out to other cities and towns to ask if they had anyone they would like to send or honour. The responses I got back were so racist, but the Legion was the worst out of the lot. That wasn't the first time either. In 1992 when Sam Sinclair laid the first wreath for Aboriginal Veterans at the National Memorial in October, we had an RCMP escort. It was

healing laying that wreath, because it was the first time ever. But on November 11th, Sam and myself were in the front row for the national wreath laying ceremony. The Legion ladies were horribly rude and disrespectful. They kept saying 'How dare you be in front of us' and 'who do you think you are?' I hadn't faced such racism up until that point.

Many of these stories represent the importance of veterans having peer-to-peer relationships and giving one another the necessary cultural supports and representations. Activism has become a central role for each of these veterans by creating a national-level organization that represented Indigenous veterans' interests to the Department of National Defense and Veterans Affairs Canada. They work with and support one another from a cultural standpoint, knowing that military experience varies within the larger body. Many expressed that they were angry and upset after their service had ended, some by their own choice and others not. It was difficult for some to transition from the military to the civilian world, and many found that having cultural supports in place was what they needed. The Legion, while outwardly saying they support Indigenous veterans and initiatives, would sometimes perpetrate much of the colonial harms that are inherent within the system.

As per the tradition of 'returned soldier chiefs,' a term coined by historian Paul Williams, many Indigenous veterans continued to take on activism roles within their home communities or at the national level even after the most oppressive measures of the Indian Act were removed. This tradition intends to allow Indigenous veterans methods to look after their affairs, as they realize the gap in Veterans Affairs services forces Veterans to look for sources of support elsewhere. Rather than turning to substance abuse and violence as coping mechanisms, Indigenous veterans can provide personal supports and the national level supports for their communities.

Chapter Three - Historical Context: World War One, World War Two, Korean Conflict and Beyond

Residential School Influence

Concerning the process of assimilation, Sheffield (2007) claims that "all Western military establishments require assimilative conditioning to weld the disparate human material they recruit into a functional unified entity" (p. 69). The prevailing theory of several scholars is that residential school attendees had an easier time adjusting to military life rigors because of their time in residential school. It is also interesting to note that there were Cadet programs in some residential schools, mostly run and supervised by Anglican ministers. Miller (1996) explains that Cadet programs for boys in residential schools made it easier for them to attend summer training exercises (p. 227). For girls, the Girl Guides movements within residential schools, and both movements encouraged the idea of "British-Canadian citizenship" necessary for assimilation.

In the United States, there was a significant push to move Indigenous men and women from boarding schools into military service. Both Gouveia (1994) and Vater (2012) accurately report that Indigenous women were usually indirectly recruited into military service via boarding school newsletters, "Though not endorsed by the military, this form of recruiting encouraged students of the schools to join the military once they graduated" (Vater, 2012, p. 6). Many of the enlistees from residential and Indian boarding schools in the United States recall the natural transition from the boarding school to military life. Many enlistees were "already familiar with barracks living, inspections, and marching and drilling, they were unfazed by 'the disciplined, the regulated life' in the armed forces" (Gouveia, 1994, p. 165). In the military discipline experience, many found that it was less brutal than what they had experienced in residential schools and boarding schools. Gouveia (1994) states, "Indian W.A.Cs also found that army discipline was not as severe as that of boarding schools, where punishments for rule infractions, such as speaking Native languages, were often harsh" (p.166). Effectively, because of the familiarity with the colonial form of warfare methods, Indigenous students from residential schools sought out the military to maintain that rigid structure. Meadows (2002) correctly points out:

The significance of the militarization of the Indian boarding school experience was that while it (1) familiarized Native American children with English language and educational structures, it (2) did so in a form which was militarily oriented. By having years of regimented military-style training since early childhood, these individuals were well trained in many aspects normally associated with basic

training, making military service more familiar, appealing, and easier to adapt to (p.119).

When boarding schools began to turn their school curriculum towards industry and trades, many of the previously unavailable jobs began to open up to Indigenous women. However, many of the sectors still had heavily gendered orientations. According to Gouveia (1994), many of the arc welding courses were unavailable to women because it was designated as "male-only," this way, women were frequently directed into areas of shop or business courses that would improve their chances of employment (p. 168).

On Scouts and Snipers

Historically speaking, Indigenous peoples have been employed by colonial institutions as scouts and snipers for wars since First Contact began. Much of the current work describing the Allied involvement of Indian and British forces come from the accounts of the War of 1812. A sizeable number of Six Nations communities were involved in the War of 1812, on both sides of the border. Once the War of 1812 concluded, however, Indigenous warriors were dismissed and ignored despite their active involvement with the British. "However, while Indians lost their military importance as a collective, individual Indians continued to support British military campaigns after the War of 1812, when mustered by Canadian authorities." (Winegard, 2011, p.46).

Within the current literature, there always seems to be a focus on the "natural born talents" gifted to Aboriginal soldiers by non-Indigenous authors on the subject. Winegard, Gaffen, Sheffield and Lackenbauer all emphasize the military and historical aspects of military service. Most of the current writing on Aboriginal soldiers only takes information (or translated information) from Western or Canadian sources such as the Department of National Defence, specific unit histories or the Archives of Canada.

At the start of the First and Second World War, many recruitment strategies were aimed at positioning Aboriginal men into units where they could be used as either snipers or scouts. Under the perception that they possess an inherent affinity for combat because of their native blood, "First Nations militiamen were regarded as good soldiers who took their training seriously and showed an aptitude for scouting and night operations" (Holt, 2013, p. 143). Winegard (2011) agrees that "In all Dominion experiences, indigenous peoples were utilized as scouts to fulfil British and colonial desiderata." (p.45). The colonial mentality was further spread via Pan-Indian

propaganda, in which Indigenous soldiers were frequently depicted as the Noble Savage ideology:

The United States government and various newspapers and periodicals highlighted a widespread and highly romanticized media campaign promoting stereotypical pan-Indian images based on an alleged correlation between the renewal of warrior spirit and tradition and the prevalence of Indian enlistment (Meadows, 2002, p. 115).

This theory is not born within the Canadian context; however, as is a result of the experiences in India with Punjabi soldiers. "The concept of martial races -- the belief that certain identifiable peoples or societies had an innate and exceptional capacity for war -- was a construct engineered in India and exported across British and other European empires" (Winegard, 2011, p. 34). This concept stems from British and English-speaking perspectives that position Aboriginal people into a lower category of aptitude based on race and culture. "The categorization of indigenous peoples in the British empire was generated by an Anglo-Saxon assumption of superiority in the spreading of civilization, and of its religious and governmental appendages, to the vast expanses of the globe." (Winegard, 2011, p.35).

However, in a Canadian context of Indigenous peoples in the War of 1812 and other British alliances, "Many recruiters and battalion commanders believed that, given the history and military prowess of Indians, they had innate abilities in tracking, scouting and shooting, while possessing a certain degree of 'bloodlust.'" (Winegard, 2011, p.199).

Winegard (2011) suggests that the alternative is far less impressive when taken into context. "In reality, many Indians filled the roles of snipers and scouts, excelling in both functions given their civilian experience as hunters and trappers." (Winegard, 2011, p. 199). From a colonial perspective, "the colonized, however, is only asked for his muscles; he is so poorly evaluated that three or four can be taken on for the price of one European." (Memmi, 1965, p. 80). Through this suggestion, Indigenous soldiers were accepted instead of Euro-Canadian White settlers so that colonial interests and men could be protected. It is instead suggested that "the colonized enjoys none of the attributes of citizenship; neither his own, which is dependent, contested and smothered, nor that of the colonizer. He can hardly adhere to one or claim the other" (Memmi, 1965, p. 96). From this, it is suggested that Indigenous soldiers enlisting in the military are positioning into roles that serve not only a biological function but also a social one. Scouts and snipers are only useful as long as there is a war or conflict to fight,

and as technology advances, those roles are increasingly being given to machines. The positions of snipers and scouts started to diminish, which reduced the space for first Indigenous soldiers.

“The exclusion of indigenes from most aspects of Dominion society, and their pragmatic use in military functions to satisfy white needs reflected their low status in the hierarchy of races and their inferior position in Dominion legal and social constructs.” (Winegard, 2011, p. 14). Winegard’s testimony to the viability of Aboriginal soldiers confirms a colonial mentality that very much existed at the time of World War One. However, the question remains if this narrative still exists today. Within literature itself, the discussion is on what is considered “an expendable resource”. Therefore, “The dichotomy of the Indian as a savage brute or as a noble warrior provided an exploitable and convenient framework whereby the Canadian population and government could justify the inconsistency of military and indigenous policies while maintaining a phlegmatic posture.” (Winegard, 2011, p. 41).

The fact that many scholars on the subject focus on the gathering of Aboriginal soldiers and warriors into European style units and pushing them into roles as scouts and snipers shows that they espouse that same Colonial narrative that is detailed by Blaut, Memmi, Jennings and even LaRocque. The practice of Othering and pushing the Aboriginal soldier into an “other” position despite the overwhelming colonial and assimilative practices the military uses is still clear and evident in many scholars’ works. LaRocque’s work on dehumanization existing through “Othering” is useful here, explicitly stated that “Colonizers require a system of thought and representation to mask their oppressive behavior. In other words, they require an ideology to legitimate and to entrench the unequal power relations set up by the whole process of colonization” (LaRocque, 2010, p. 37).

Medals, Heroism and Aboriginal Soldiers

There is an emphasis on medals for bravery, such as the Military Medal and other forms of British and Canadian military decoration. Decorations are used by Western/ British military service as a reward for risking life and limb. The emphasis is placed on the idea of Indigenous soldiers being “civilized” enough to warrant such a medal. Given the imposition of colonial standards of warfare, and how Native peoples were only considered part of that narrative when it came to actual savagery and killing, being given a medal for bravery and valor in the face of war was seen as an exception and not the rule. LaRocque’s statements on the perception of Native peoples is beneficial, in that what forms is an “ideological container for the systematic

construction of self-confirming ‘evidence ’that Natives were savages who ‘inevitably ’had to yield to the superior powers of civilization as carried forward by Euro-Canadian Civilizers.” (LaRocque, 2010, p. 38).

Despite this, Native soldiers did receive medals, one of the highest being the Military Medal in which only 38 Canadians have been given a second bar in World War One. British war medals were also awarded. For example, Francis Pegahmagabow’s sniper record indicates that he had over 378 kills, though none of them have been confirmed because he always worked alone. According to Winegard (2011), This "fact ’exists because Scott took a statement from Pegahmagabow, looked at his military service records, and did not dispute it. Nevertheless, Pegahmagabow’s war record and decorations are evidence of his skill and bravery as a sniper.” (Winegard, 2011, p. 200).

There is a great deal of internalization of this colonial hero narrative, as Waubgeshig Rice explains:

Pegahmagabow is the most decorated Indigenous soldier for bravery in Canadian history, and that fact is echoed to our generation. To the ones that followed, he instils pride in us as we grow into adults. He became a sacred role model at a time when there were so few of our people reflected as such in history books and mainstream Canadian society. Many of us looked fondly at his photo with an unwavering sense of honour and accomplishment, and, whenever an outsider would question or recognize our community as the home of the great war hero, we would keenly affirm it. (Rice via McNinnis, 2016, p. xi).

A notation under the photograph of Leon Joseph Belanger in Remembrances: Métis Veterans claims “He was awarded the 1939-45 Star, The France and Germany Star, the Defence Medal, the Canadian Volunteer Service Medal and Clasp, the War Medal (1939-45), and the Normandy Medal" (Hutchinson, 1994, p.11).

“While racial estimations influenced the standing of indigenes as soldiers, their military participation correspondingly influenced racial perceptions." (Winegard, 2011, p. 189).

Depending on where along the racial perception scale an Indigenous group was, they would be given a full unit to themselves and run by their people compared to those who were not.

Winegard (2011) quotes Enloe in this regard, illustrating that the more assimilated and martial a group was, the more they were trusted to form and govern their units. Indigenous peoples of Canada were not considered particularly assimilated or colonized according to this theory. While there were no directly “all-Indian” units, sizeable units were comprised of Native soldiers who always had white officers to guide and govern (p.189).

This statement is not to say that Indians could not be made or possess the educational requirements to become officers within the military. While the officer class is usually reserved for nobility, there are also the requirements of education. While many Indigenous people did not have the necessary schooling because of the influence of residential schools, there were a few who made it into the officer class. However, that commission was solely based on the level of internalized colonization the person displayed. "Simply stated, Indians were commissioned according to their level of assimilation. This inclusion did not say, however, that these Indians viewed themselves as assimilated, nor did it mean that they rejected their Indian culture." (Winegard, 2011, p.202).

First World War

At the onset of the First World War, Indigenous peoples living within Canada volunteered to fight in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF). According to Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (2020) (Now Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada), "well over 4,000 Aboriginal people served in the Canadian Forces during the conflict". The reality may be that this number is much higher, given the myriad reasons why an Indigenous person may or may not have identified themselves as such, and it only reflects the number of Status people. Lasting from 1914 to 1918, initially, recruitment of Indigenous men into the CEF was discouraged. The Royal Navy had a policy that would only accept men "of British stock and white race," and many of the Air Force health and education requirements kept Indigenous men out of their ranks. While initially, Indigenous men were deliberately excluded from service, the Military Service Act of 1917 made conscription of service for Indigenous men a reality (Government of Canada, 2020).

Current estimates per Dempsey (1999) are that 35 percent of eligible First Nations men enlisted, compared with the 30 percent national average. Statistically, this is an impressive figure given the isolation of many Reserves and the number of people living on reserves at that time. It means that roughly four in ten men of eligible age enlisted. One of many reasons why communities fought so hard to have their enlistees returned home, or fought for exemptions to military service in the case of conscription.

At the start of the First World War, First Nations and Métis men enlisted to honor the Treaty agreements made between the British Crown and Indigenous Nations. How Indigenous Nations view that relationship varies, but many volunteers look towards military service to

uphold that agreement. Examples of historical alliances between the British and the Six Nations include assisting in the War of 1812 and the American War of Independence. Talbot (2011) also explains that “for First Nations, loyalty to Canada and loyalty to the Crown were not one and the same, as historic treaties and alliances with the Crown entailed a certain autonomy, even sovereignty, for their communities.”

Looking back to kinship networks established during the Fur trade, the reciprocal relationships created were not merely along the lines of fur trading and commercialism. Via the marriages and formalized Indigenous adoption ceremonies, Settlers were welcomed into Indigenous communities like family. From this familial relationship, Indigenous peoples enlisted because their families and brothers went to war as well. Some Indigenous Nations view the treaty relationships as a kinship tie per Chief Dennis Meeches at the Parks Canada Hometown Heroes Treaty 1 Commemoration on August 3rd, 2020 at Lower Fort Garry (<https://www.aptnnews.ca/tommy-prince/>, August 3rd, 2020). As per Brown and Peers (1999), “People fished, planted extensive gardens of Indian corn, and held ceremonies while individuals or small groups came and went on war expeditions or on visits to relatives in other communities” (p. 532). Language within Anishinaabe contexts indicate those kinship ties carefully, and Brown and Peers (1999) explain;

Thus European fur traders sometimes became “my/our brothers” or “my/our sons” besides the roles which many acquired by intermarriage (Brown and Brightman 1988, pp. 5, 11–12). Government officials often became “our fathers” (and Queen Victoria “our Great Mother”), entailing responsibilities the recipients usually did not understand or fulfill. Anthropologist Ruth Landes noted the intrinsic association of “relative” with kindness: “The generic term for [my] relative is *nda’koma.gan* or the synonym *ndinawema.gan*, and the associated generic obligation is kindness. The term is also used towards any non-relative who behaves kindly.” (Landes 1969a, p. 11). (p. 534).

Kinship ties within many Indigenous communities see all family members as immediate family members. The relationships developed with cousins, aunts and uncles are often as close as they would be with siblings and parents. With this kinship tie, there was an expectation that if an Indigenous community went to war, or engaged in warfare against another nation, their networks would join.

All Indian Units

The Department of National Defence et al. (2010) claims that “in principle, the government did not form ‘ethnic’ units during the 20th Century. As a result, there were no ‘all-

Indian 'units during the world wars. This makes any systematic analysis and generalizations about Indian contributions difficult. Nevertheless, several regiments boasted large numbers of Aboriginal soldiers" (p. 123). New Zealand seemed to be the exception with all Māori units in both World Wars (Gaffen, 1985, p.11). It is also important to note that Indigenous peoples in Canada are divided into many separate and distinct nations, in which some were engaged in long-standing rivalries. Past grievances did not stop individual Indigenous peoples from enlisting in those units that were close to large concentrations of Indigenous communities. Examples of units with a high number of Indigenous recruits were the 114th Battalion (Brock's Rangers), the 107th Battalion (Timber Wolf) and the various forestry units.

Gaffen (1985) and Dempsey (1999) claim that attempts were made to create an Indigenous-only military unit in 1914. Honorary Chief William Hamilton Merritt of Six Nations had made an offer to create an Indigenous Battalion called Six Nations Battalion at Brantford, Ontario. The offer was adjusted in 1915 to equip soldiers from Six Nations and further the creation of a Six Nations unit; however, the Militia Council rejected the offer. Gaffen (1985) claims that the Council of the Six Nations also initially refused Merritt's offer on the basis that they considered "themselves a separate national identity, [and] the Council wanted a formal request from the Crown that recognized this status, a request which the Canadian government did not wish to give" (p.7). Many of the Six Nations from Brantford had ended up enlisting in the 114th Battalion, which was broken up to reinforce other units once they moved overseas. Many Indigenous soldiers from the 114th ended up in the 107th.

When initially formed in December 1915 around the Winnipeg area, the 107th Battalion was created to have Indigenous soldiers from all across Canada, with non-Indigenous officers running it (Gaffen, 1985, p.10). It was run by Lieutenant-Colonel Glen Campbell, who was also a veteran of the forces that suppressed the North-West Resistance. Bell (2012) estimates that of the 900-man unit, over 500 soldiers were of Indigenous descent (p.73). It was later determined that there were not enough Indigenous soldiers in order to fill out the rank requirements, and non-Indigenous soldiers were added in order to meet that. Unlike the 114th Battalion, the 107th saw action overseas and was not dismantled or redistributed once troops arrived in England. It was, however, turned into a Pioneer battalion, according to Gaffen (1985) and Bell (2012) and engaged in many fronts in Belgium and France, such as Hill 70 near Lens. It is essential to note its conversion to a Pioneer battalion. Such units are responsible for combat engineering, typically

used for dismantling obstacles and preparing defenses, as it was initially created as an infantry unit (Bell, 2012, p. 73). Given its ability to fill both the roles of engineers and combat soldiers, the 107th was particularly useful against the forces stationed at Hill 70, under General Arthur Currie the 107th supported the 3rd Infantry Brigade of the 1st Division in the attack.

On the Home Front

While many Indigenous men were volunteering for both at-home and overseas service, those who remained behind provided exemplary contributions to the war effort. Communities worked together to provide items for care packages, such as hand-made socks, scarves, mittens and undergarments. Many women took on roles traditionally reserved for men in the work-force, and Indigenous women were no exception. They began to occupy roles in factories that manufactured items for the war effort, such as munitions, to allow the men who had occupied those positions to enlist. Given traditional gender roles within some Indigenous communities being more fluid than binary, Indigenous women were quickly able to operate in these realms and enjoyed a financial benefit that boosted their families and home communities.

According to Talbot (2011), some communities contributed significant amounts to Victory Bonds and other Patriotic funds. In total, Indigenous communities donated \$44,545.46, and in the case of some Numbered Treaty communities, they chose to forgo their \$5 annuity payment for the year and give it to the war effort. By March 1915, Indian Affairs states that 32 Indigenous communities had donated to the war effort.

Many communities, however, were reluctant to commit to the war effort in either men or money. There is a multitude of explanations that can be easily understood when engaging in other perspectives. Issues of Indigenous sovereignty, treaty obligations, and land use (as the Department of National Defense used bureaucratic measures to strip some reserve land for military use) were some of the reasons. Indigenous communities were resistant to much of the colonial narrative that existed during the Great War. On top of this, many institutions used the donations of Indigenous communities as propaganda in order to promote further assimilation policies to non-Indigenous Canadians. As Indians were “wards of the state,” and therefore unable to make their own financial decisions, these donations were seen as a hallmark of “civilization,” and later used to revoke Status at the discretion of the Indian Agent. As Clarke (2018) carefully outlines, “It follows, then, that the First World War contributed to the cause of colonialism in Canada” (p. 21).

While Indigenous men were fighting overseas or in forestry units for home service, many reserve communities were left without the very people who could advocate for them. With the 35% loss, "it was older generations -- especially Indigenous women and elders -- who were stripped of their political power during the First World War, even as they strained to offer their support and/or protest of the Canadian war effort" (Clarke, 2018, p.21), which led to the Enfranchisement of Indigenous women and Elders. As a result, it was easier for the Indian Agents and the Canadian state to remove children for residential school when the primary source of traditional education within communities were prevented from living on reserve or having a say in Band elections. Many of the men who would have held traditional protector roles and able to fight against many of the policies were away from the reserve fighting over-seas, leaving women and Elders particularly vulnerable.

The layers of bureaucracy involved in communications added an acute level of frustration to communities wishing to have news and knowledge of their people. If the Department of Defense was unwilling to provide information, the Department of Indian Affairs was not either. "Indigenous communities were doubly affected as wards of the Canadian state confined to reserves and subject to the bureaucracy of the DIA" (Clark, 2018, p. 28). Add on top of this the necessary diversion of men, money and propaganda; it is no wonder that the information Indigenous families did receive was either incorrect, an after-thought, or not in Indigenous languages so that they could be understood.

Conscription

In 1917, when the Military Service Act was introduced, it was initially applied to Indigenous men. The Act was introduced as a response to the loss of soldiers at Vimy Ridge, and recruitment standards by that time had relaxed in order to fill the vacant ranks. It was not until July 1918 that an Order-In-Council was passed to exempt Status Indians from military service. The Department of National Defence distinguishes, however, that this Order in Council still made military service within Canada mandatory, but enlistment for overseas duty was voluntary. "Indians could still be called upon to perform non-combat roles in Canada, but this legislation made it easier for them to claim deferrals for industrial or agricultural work" (Department of National Defence, 2010).

Clark (2018) also describes an instance of an Indigenous soldier's band requesting his release from service "on the basis that treaties between the British Crown and the band precluded

Indigenous involvement in military affairs outside of Canada and that Pine, whom the petitioners claimed to be underage at the time, had enlisted without the consent of his guardians" (Chief Shingwankoon Letter to D.C.S., 1915, Jun.2 via Clark, 2018, p.27).

Discharge, then, was a confusing and tightly controlled narrative on the part of the Canadian state. Civilians who wanted their family members home had to, as Clarke (2018) suggests, navigate the multiple levels of bureaucracy between the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) and the Department of Militia and Defense (p. 31).

The Gradual Civilization Act and the Soldier Settlement Act

The implications of both the Soldier Settlement Act and the Gradual Civilization Act were primarily the removal of Indian reserve land and Indian Status. Military service was seen as a goal towards those removals, and Gaffen (1985) even claims, "Life in the forces helped to promote integration as well as assimilation" (p.11).

While the initial onset of the benefits offered to veterans was aimed towards the support and re-integration of returning Canadian soldiers, at the time, there was tremendous civil support of these returning troops in order for them to have their veterans' pensions. According to the Canadian War Museum (n.d.), at least 20% of Federal revenues had gone into Veterans' pensions in 1920.

Under the auspices of the Gradual Civilization Act:

and for making due inquiries concerning them: and such Commissioners shall meet for the said purposes at such places and times as the Superintendent General of Indian affairs shall from time to time direct, and shall have full power to make such examination and inquiry: and if such Commissioners shall report in writing to the Governor that any such Indian of the male sex, and not under twenty- one years of age, is able to speak, read and write either the English or the French language readily and well, and is sufficiently advanced in the elementary branches of education and is of good moral character and free from debt, then it shall be competent to the Governor to cause notice to be given in the Official Gazette of this Province, that such Indian is enfranchised under this Act; (Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1857)

This terminology was included in the 1918 version of the Indian Act.

Upon their return to Canadian soil, the decision to enfranchise an Indigenous soldier was left to the Indian Agent on the reserve. Given that most soldiers were men of the age indicated via the Act, and also filled the necessary language and educational requirements, many Indian Agents forcibly enfranchised returning soldiers, effectively removing them from their home communities and reserves. Dempsey (1999) claims the idea of enfranchisement after the war

rested with many members of the public because of the significant service that Indigenous men gave (p.73). The issue became more confusing when the right to vote was extended to Indigenous soldiers during the war, and Dempsey (1999) explains the franchise was confirmed in 1916. Specific clauses in the Military Service Act and the Military Voters Act also further confused if Indigenous soldiers had the right to vote, and the Indian Act was asserted to apply first to Status Indians before anything else would legally apply.

In regard to the Soldier Settlement Act, “Initially the Indians benefitted little from the 1917 Soldier Settlement Act which allowed veterans to obtain land and farming implements at a low rate of interest” (Dempsey, 1999, p.77). It was a revision to the Soldier Settlement Act in 1919 that allowed for the release of Indigenous reserve lands to be assigned to non-Indigenous veterans, where “The Board may acquire from His Majesty by purchase, upon terms not inconsistent with those of the release or surrender, any Indian lands which, under the Indian Act, have been validly released or surrendered” (The Canadian Soldier Settlement Act, 1919, Section 10). Dempsey (1999) also illustrates an issue where there was a direct conflict of laws between the Soldier Settlement Act and the Indian Act of 1906. Indigenous people were considered incapable of holding homestead land. Even with amendments to the Soldier Settlement Act with respect to Indigenous veterans, the Indian Act remained the greatest obstacle to those Indigenous soldiers. They expressed an interest in farming and required the primary loan to pay for land and farming equipment.

Additionally, the amendment to the Soldier Settlement Act in 1919 ensured that the Department of Indian Affairs would administer all benefits from the Soldier Settlement Act for those Indigenous soldiers that were requesting assistance. Winegard (2012) claims that, at the time, individual applications would be subject to the review of individual agents who frequently denied requests in order to limit expenditures in the Department of Indian Affairs (p. 153). Dempsey (1989) explains the connection between a change in the Indian Act in 1906, which prevented Indigenous soldiers returning from the war from applying for land grants under the Soldier Settlement Act in prairie Provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta). In seeing the ambiguously grey area in regard to Indigenous veterans, the practice was usually to deny any land grants to Indigenous soldiers who had applied for them. Any compensation given to specific Bands directly affected by the loss of land was held in trust by the Department of Indian Affairs

(Winegard, 2012, p. 155). "On the prairies, only one in ten Indians who applied for financial assistance was granted a loan from the Soldier Settlement Board" (Dempsey, 1989, p. 8).

Concerning land theft that occurred, it seems on the outset that much of it was done in the post-war period in order to facilitate the Greater Production Effort of 1918 (Dempsey, 1999, p.74) which was a program aimed at redistributing land for agricultural purpose. In order for Canada's wheat and cereal products to feed Britain, orders were given to ensure that every inch of suitable land was attended to ensure that wheat was being produced. This was extended to "Indian Land" that was considered "idle," and the Indian Act was changed in 1918 for the government to simply take the necessary land required without the Band's consent. Winegard (2012) also points to an order-in-council that was ratified on April 23rd, 1919, which gave the Department of Indian Affairs the authority "to expropriate reserve land 'not under cultivation or otherwise properly used' without the consent of the Indians or their Councils" (p. 155). Any compensation given to specific Bands directly affected by the loss of land was held in trust by the Department of Indian Affairs (Winegard, 2012, p. 155). "On the prairies, only one in ten Indians who applied for financial assistance was granted a loan from the Soldier Settlement Board" (Dempsey, 1989, p. 8).

“Instead of reaping any benefits during and after the war, native veterans and their families found instead that they were excluded from many of the regular wartime and post-war programs” (Dempsey, 1999, p. 76) such as families back home gaining benefits from the Patriotic Fund. In many cases, because Indigenous serving members were already considered 'Wards of the State,' they were already under government supervision and therefore not entitled to benefits. The Department of National Defence (2010) also states something similar, with the added information that the Department of Indian Affairs took over the Soldier Settlement Act's administration when it came to Indigenous veterans that expressed an interest in farming (p.134). Furthermore, "Allegations that returned soldiers were being forcibly enfranchised (losing their Indian status), were denied War Veterans ' Allowance Act benefits, that the application of the Last Post Fund was inequitable, and also that 85,000 acres of allegedly 'surplus 'Indian reserve land were surrendered for non-Aboriginal veteran settlers, further frustrated Aboriginal veterans during the 1920s and 30s” (Department of National Defence, 2010, p. 134).

Notable People

Cpl. Francis Pegahmagahbow

Cpl. Francis Pegahmagabow from Wasauksing First Nation in Ontario served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force during World War One. He volunteered for service in 1914 and survived until the end of the war in 1918. As Canada's most highly decorated Indigenous soldier, he survived two of World War One's bloodiest conflicts; The Second Battle of Ypres 1915 and the Battle of Passchendaele in 1917 (Dickason and Newbigging, 2019, p. 263). He served with the 1st Battalion as a sniper and was given three Military Medals. His tally states, "unofficial 378 kills and more than 300 captured" (Winegard, 2012, p. 51).

Like many Indigenous soldiers during this time, many were still able to practice their culture and languages. Winegard (2012) recounts a story originally by Francis himself, saying the following:

When I was at Rosspport, on Lake Superior, in 1914, some of us landed our vessel to gather blueberries near an Ojibwa camp. An old Indian recognized me, and gave me a tiny medicine-bag to protect me, saying I would shortly go into great danger. The bag was of skin, tightly bound with a leather thong. Sometimes it seemed hard as a rock, at other times it appeared to contain nothing. What was really inside I do not know. I wore it in the trenches (p.113).

Francis Pegahmagabow suffered, like many from the War, from Shell Shock. We now know this as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, which has a multitude of symptoms and can be a debilitating lifelong mental health concern. According to Winegard (2012), He wrote to Duncan Campbell Scott in March 1917 to be released from the hospital in England, where he recovered from Shell Shock. "For my part I would sooner fight my human enemy while I am trying to fight my spiritual enemy as well" (p.114). Upon returning home, the Indian Agent in Wasauksing claimed that Pegahmagabow "was disabled and suffered from dementia" (p.153). Francis applied multiple times for a farming loan under the Soldier Settlement Act (SSA) and was denied each time because the Indian Agent refused to endorse his application.

Upon returning home, he became Chief of the reserve in 1921 and fought incessantly with the Department of Indian Affairs and the Canadian government about the treatment of Indigenous peoples. He remained as Chief until 1925, then became a band councilor until 1936. He wrote multiple letters to the DIA and challenged government authority (including that of the Indian Agent on reserve). In 1933 the DIA had to change its official correspondence policy to force communications to go through the Indian Agent first (Dickason and Newbigging, 2019, p.

263). According to Winegard (2012), Pegahmagabow brought forward complaints about the failure to uphold "promises of presents and pensions after the War of 1812" (p. 66) by the government.

There is, however, another side to Francis' story. It is a narrative that is not often spoken about, which is often seen as more personal and, therefore, not necessary to the historical record. Dr. Brian McInnes challenges that narrative by publishing his book Sounding Thunder, a collection of stories about Francis Pegahmagabow as told by his children. When his children asked him his reason for enlisting, the response was simple; "*Mii sa wenji-zhawendaaagwak bmaadziwin*" which translates to "It is because life is sacred" (Francis Pegahmagabow via McInnes, 2016, p. 141). It is important to note that Francis himself told his children that his participation in traditional ceremonial life was crucial to the management of his PTSD symptoms (McInnes, 2016, p.142). Not only that, but Francis also attributes his survival overseas to his connection to traditional life and walking the traditional path in tandem with the natural world of Wasauksing, Ontario.

A perhaps little-known fact about Francis is his "unflinching ambition and will to make life better for himself and his people" (McInnes, 2016, p. 143). On his return from the war, Francis felt that his skills as a warrior and a traditional person would be best used as Chief, where he could advocate for his community. He took great personal responsibility for the care of soldiers under his command and suffered greatly when a friend or fellow soldier was killed (McInnes, 2016, p. 144). One particular incident stayed with Francis, as McInnes (2016) illustrates:

Francis was leading a sniper expedition early in his military service when they were suddenly ambushed by the enemy. The men attempted to drop to the ground as the shots hit the overhead earthen ridge. Francis recalled a terrifying sound of the bullets hitting the ground and the feeling of dirt falling on his back. However, it was a dull thud that most captured his attention. He looked back to see his friend had been decapitated by enemy fire. He remembered hearing his name called out but only after hearing the sound of his friend hitting the earth. It was a memory that would haunt Francis long after the war, and it was no surprise he preferred to work alone after the incident (p. 144).

When speaking about his injuries, McInnes (2016) claims that Francis attributes these injuries to his lack of faith in traditional practices. "He regretted these occasions but admitted it was hard to always maintain a belief in conditions that so devalued life and often obscured the presence of any higher power" (p. 145). Considering that many Anishinaabe teachings and

ceremonial practices, even the very life paths of the people themselves, centrally focus on life and its creation, it is easy to understand how Francis could have a momentary lapse in the belief of Gitchi Manitou.

It is also important to note that while the Canadian government was actively trying to stop traditional spiritual practices, while an Indigenous person was away from Canada, it was difficult to enforce. Therefore, McInnes (2016) recounts that Francis did indeed tell his children that he made use of the cigarettes offered to service members to make tobacco offerings and prayers (p.145). He did so under concealment from his fellow soldiers unless a situation fully warranted it. One such occasion was the advancing of a mustard gas cloud, as Francis told to his son Duncan who then recounted it to McInnes (2016) as follows:

Francis was approached by a General with a cigarette in hand asking if he could do anything to shift the odds in their favor. Francis lit the cigarette, stood facing the east, and petitioned the wind spirits of that direction to hold back the cloud from advancing any farther. He then turned west and asked the wind guardian of that direction to overtake the menacing gas. He stood there quietly smoking that cigarette as his grandfathers would have done -- careful to never fully inhale -- but imparting that tobacco with his thoughts and prayers as it passed from his being into the spirit realm (p. 147).

In the end, the petition to shift the winds by a recognized "Wind Talker" forced the cloud of mustard gas into German trenches.

McInnes (2016) once again makes the point about respect for life taught in Anishinaabe traditions, and how it might entirely seem at odds with the military mindset. In having experienced violence and the horror of war directly, Francis rarely talked about his encounters or activities, if only to spare people from that trauma (p. 148). Much like many military members talking about their experiences, they are given out sporadically to non-military persons and only for teaching. Being in the presence of other military people meant that Francis could speak more openly. Going back to the necessity of expressing one's story about one's time in service, perhaps being able to talk about his experiences more would have benefited Francis in such a way that he could have gotten better treatment for his PTSD. As McInnes (2016) points out, "The ceremonial rights that helped returning warriors to reintegrate into their communities would have been helpful to Francis and other returning Native soldiers" (p. 149). However, all ceremonies had been outlawed under the Indian Act, and many communities feared the criminalization of traditional activities.

McInnes (2016) illustrates the necessity of having veteran-to-veteran contacts and approaches;

Maintaining contact with those who knew the reality of war, and helping to guide others who would one day go into battle, provided Francis with both a community of support and an opportunity to mentor others. Remembering the greater good that his military service had been dedicated to -- and helping that work to continue into the future through the efforts of others -- seemed to be a great source of healing and revitalization in the context of the various injuries he had sustained (p.152).

Even remembering, particularly given the broader context and meaning behind Remembrance Day, can take on a different meaning for those who served. McInnes (2016) recalls what Francis's daughter Marie had told him, stating that "Remembrance Day for Francis was about more than being honored or remembering the lives of his fallen friends and fellow soldiers; it was also a time to remember those whose lives he had taken (p.152).

Frederick Onondayoh Loft

According to a Senate (1995) publication, "War acted as a stimulant to Aboriginal politics and many of the veterans of WWI and II became part of a new class of leaders. On his return from WWI, F.O. Loft, a Mohawk from Six Nations, spearheaded efforts to form a national League of Indians" (p. 10). Frederick Onondayoh Loft was a Kanienkehaka man from Six Nations at Grand River Reserve (Dempsey, 1999; Lackenbauer and McGowen, 2007; Dickason and Newbigging, 2019) who is credited with the formation of the famous League of Indians after the war in 1919. It was the first "nationwide Indian political organization" (Winegard, 2012, p. 162). Using his time and connections via his service as an officer in the Canadian Forestry Corps, he drafted the initial governance structures in 1918. It also included "denouncements of the residential school system, equality in post-war veteran programs, and the creation of an accommodating Canadian-British-Indian political forum" (Winegard, 2012, p. 164). According to Dickason and Newbigging (2019), he also advocated "giving Indigenous people the vote without having to give up their special status, allowing them greater control over band funds and properties, and improving the standards of education for Indigenous children" (p. 257).

According to Winegard (2012), both Francis Pegamagabow and Fred Loft were outspoken in the realms of advocating for Indigenous self-determination. The fact that other Indigenous veterans joined with them posed a threat to the Canadian government, the Department of Indian Affairs and the assimilation and integration of Indigenous peoples and

communities into settler-Canadian culture (p. 164). In joining the military, Indigenous peoples had greater access to one another, considering the great lengths the Canadian state went through to prevent communities from discussing their situations and experiences.

In retaliation for his advocacy work, the laws of the Indian Act were changed to prevent the League of Indians from gathering the necessary funds to organize at the political level, or to organize politically. Duncan Campbell Scott used the 1920 changes to the Indian Act to threaten the removal of Onondayoh's Status to "hopefully eliminate trouble makers and educated Indians from the ranks as a whole" (Winegard, 2012, p. 164). Dickason and Newbigging (2019) also explain that "his efforts led to police surveillance and his being branded by Indian Affairs officials as an agitator" (p. 257).

The League of Indians disbanded by the 1940s (Dickason and Newbigging, 2019, p. 257), but the need for political representation was highlighted by his work and Western communities' work. As Kulchyski (1988) states "a few published historical treatments that exist by and large content themselves with illustrating the State's attempts to undermine and attack his efforts rather than drawing out the importance of the pattern of struggle he initiated and the significance of his own position" (p. 96). Loft's work set the stage for future political activism nearly 40 years later. It is rarely acknowledged that Loft's calls for self-sufficiency and self-government at the time would become the cornerstone of modern Indigenous activism. It was the League's aim to push for Indigenous Nations' unification to address problems that the Canadian state saw as most problematic. "League meetings gave delegates who returned from them enough moral support and sense of direction that they could publicly challenge the Indian Affairs Branch and its local representatives" (Kulchyski, 1988, p. 103). This political formation or movement allowed Indigenous nations to see that they required adequate representation. As Kulchyski (1988) points out, "for many bands, the League represented an opportunity to articulate the fact that Indian Affairs was a part of the problem, not the path to a solution" (p. 104). It was Loft's protesting of the reserve lands relinquishing to give out to individual veterans in the 1919 Soldier Settlement Act that drew the personal ire of Duncan Campbell Scott (Kulchyski, 1988, p. 106).

Second World War

The Second World War began in 1939 and ended in 1945. Most British Commonwealth countries were involved, including Canada. However, the difference this time was that Canada's participation in this war was strictly voluntary, as opposed to mandatory when it was still under

British rule. The Statute of Westminster released control to Canada to make its own decisions when it came to participating in armed conflicts.

Canada and its Indigenous peoples served in record numbers again as they had in the First World War. Accounting only for Status Indians who enlisted, the current figure released by the Department of National Defence is about 3000, both men and women. At this time, many service support branches opened their ranks to women entering the armed forces, but not without enlistees facing significant military and civilian sides.

Reasons for enlistment vary, but the majority of enlistees joined for several reasons; Family or warrior service traditions, employment, level of assimilation, residential school experiences, travel or gaining broader world experience (Dempsey, 1999; Meadows, 2002, p. 111).

Indigenous Women in the Military

According to Gouveia (1994), over 65,000 people left reservations in the United States to participate in the armed forces or related industries, and at least one-fifth of them were women (p. 153). Indigenous women's reasons for joining the service were similar to what men experienced. Aside from the perception of the 'Warrior Ethic' presented in many Nations, Indigenous women joined the Armed Forces out of a sense of duty, excitement, desire to travel off reserves and to gain the necessary experience in order to better themselves. While male veterans were treated quite poorly after both World Wars, both men and women reported equal treatment with non-Indigenous soldiers while still in service.

Finances were also a reason for enlistment, as indigenous women's socioeconomic status during the Great Depression before the war and the 'relief' offered to Indigenous communities was only 15% of what was offered previously. If anything was offered at all, it is no wonder that Indigenous women would look towards the military as a source of stable income. The promise of food, clothing, shelter and pay would provide an appealing alternative to the options presented to many Indigenous women as either domestic help or waitressing (Poulin, 2007, p. 18). It is interesting to note, however, that in Poulin's work, only one of the women veterans she spoke to claimed to experience any sort of racism while they were in service. The one woman who had explained that "people knew she was Indian" (Poulin, 2007, p. 39), which prompts the understanding of white-passing servicewomen not facing racial discrimination. As Poulin (2007)

states, "They were invisible, as though one expected to find an Aboriginal woman in the service" (p. 39).

The United States Indian women reported similar experiences, in which Indian women who joined military service were not placed into segregated units, unlike African-American women (Gouveia, 1994, p.157). Further to this, the United States Secretary of War Henry Stimson "ordered Indians integrated into white units. The only unit composed solely of Indians was the Navajo Code Talkers, who used their language to send messages the enemy could not interpret" (Gouveia, 1994, p. 157). Many did not experience overt discrimination, and Gouveia (1994) suggests that it was because Native American women were not particularly visible in American society (p. 161). However, it should be noted that Gouveia (1994) expresses "For Indian women, both race and gender tempered their experiences as they increasingly faced the predicament of being female in a male-dominated society, Indian in a White society, and women in Indian society" (p. 157).

Up until World War II, with the introduction of the Women's units, many of those women who joined the military did so in a nursing capacity. From the Northwest Resistance in 1885, women could only provide services in the form of nursing sisters of the Army Medical Corps (Poulin, 2007, p.1; Gayle, McKenzie, Belcourt, and Venne, 2003, p. 5). While women's units were initially auxiliary or paramilitary, it was not until 1942 that women's units became integrated into the Canadian Armed forces under the auspice of the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC). "One argument against women in the armed services was that military involvement went against the prevailing attitudes towards traditional female and male roles. These attitudes included the fear of loss of femininity and that close-quartered work with men would lead to promiscuity of women" (Poulin, 2007, p. 2).

In the United States, Gouveia (1994) suggests that many women moved to learn new job skills that would typically not have been made available to them, and engage in wage work for the first time (p. 154). Much of the government propaganda issued at the time was insisting that women leave their traditional role in the home in order to serve in the workplace. Despite this, there was still a standard of femininity and beauty that women at work were expected to maintain. "It was women's wartime duty to maintain an attractive appearance in order to boost men's morale" (Poulin, 2007, p.3). However, it should be noted that the beauty standards that were being promoted were those of white, middle-class Anglo-Saxon women, which Indigenous

women would have a hard time fitting. Frequently, Indigenous women were depicted in the stereotypical racist sentiments of the "Indian Princess" or the "Dusky Maiden of the Forest," which would pose an issue with CWAC's moral standards. Poulin (2007) claims that many Indigenous women who offered their volunteer service to the military were turned towards domestic service work, much as they had experienced during their time in residential schools (p. 26). All magazines or newspaper articles from the time focus on the racial qualities of these women, rather than their capabilities as working women. "The articles appeared to praise women's patriotism but simultaneously caricatured them as Pocahontas-like 'maidens' and as inherently 'warlike' people who were always on the 'warpath'" (Poulin, 2007, p. 29-30).

Even with the various government backing of women in military service, rumors of impropriety would frequently circulate about the women who joined the Forces and family members of serving women removing themselves from proximity. Poulin (2007) states that "Canadian servicemen and officers' wives shunned the women upon arrival in England and the servicewomen received pep talks about morals" (p.3). Servicewomen frequently worked as nursing, kitchen or clerical staff well behind the front lines. However, they were also subjected to sexist pay rates -- about 80% or two-thirds compared to men, and married women were not eligible for pension or Veterans benefits after the war (Poulin, 2007; Gayle, McKenzie, Belcourt and Venne, 2003).

Within the United States, despite boarding school education turning towards industry training that would support the war efforts, many women were pushed towards specific jobs. While many took clerical jobs, others took jobs and were trained in non-combat specialties such as radio operators, cartographers, chemists, weather forecasters, gunnery specialists, carpenters, plumbers and electricians (Gouveia, 1994, p. 159).

Indigenous women were not entitled to benefits from the Department of Veterans Affairs, despite numerous changes to the various Veterans Acts that provided health, prosthetic, educational, and land benefits to soldiers following the war. As with their male counterparts, Poulin (2007) explains that Indigenous Veterans were also excluded from the Royal Canadian Legion, a group designed to assist with returning soldiers into civilian life, based on liquor sales (p.15). This rule also kept Indigenous veterans from learning about the various benefits available to them, and even less so when the Indian Agents on Reserves acted as intermediaries between the Department of Veterans Affairs and Indigenous veterans themselves. It was not until 2003

that a compensation package was offered to surviving Indigenous veterans, both male and female, after numerous pushes from the National Aboriginal Veterans Association and the testimonies from veterans at the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996 (Poulin, 2007, p.17).

Following the end of the war in 1945, and the subsequent disbanding of women's military units, men's and women's roles were returned to the standard middle-class, Anglo-Canadian vision that they were before the war. Indigenous women's perspectives were frequently excluded, and many were simply forgotten. Many women took advantage of the Canadian Vocational Training program post-service, but their education was still geared towards gender-centered jobs. It is also clear that, even though the 2003 Benefits compensation package was intended for both male and female service members, those who were Métis or non-status were excluded (Poulin, 2007, p. 40) if they even knew about the benefits package in the first place. There also seems to be a great deal of confusion around the compensation package because of the issue surrounding women's loss of Status via the Indian Act. Many women, at the time of their discharge, were instructed by Indian Agents to give up their Status in order to have better access to benefits being offered by the Department of Veteran's Affairs. Most were stripped of their Status the moment they married a non-Indigenous man, and some women had their Status removed because they did not return to their Reserve right after their discharge (Poulin, 2007, p. 41).

As far as enfranchisement, it is vital to keep in mind that Indigenous people did not gain the right to vote until 1962, despite having the right to vote while serving in the military. If an Indigenous person wanted the right to vote, they had to give up their Status in order to do so voluntarily. However, it was also possible for them to involuntarily lose their Status as well. Involuntary enfranchisement usually came when a Status person became a member of the clergy, was able to pursue post-secondary education (Dickason and Newbigging, 2010, p.198), or enlisted for military service. Considering the clauses for enfranchisement claimed that an Indian had to be able to speak English or French reasonably well, as well as being 'of good moral character.' Dickason and Newbigging (2010) also explain that compulsory enfranchisement came at the hands of the superintendent-general or the various Indian Agents on Reserves (p.241), and this would not be repealed until the Indian Act revision of 1951. Even with the Wartime Elections Act and the Military Voters Act, Indigenous women were still excluded from voting. According to Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, "First Nations women were not allowed

to vote without loss of status until 1960, except for Charlotte Edith Anderson-Monture, an Aboriginal woman who served as a nurse during the First World War, because she was an active member of the military" (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2014).

Despite this, many women during World War I and II did pioneer women's inclusion into the Armed Forces just as their male counterparts did, such as nurse Edith Anderson from Six Nations Reserve in Brantford, Ontario. Anderson-Monture's time as a nurse within the Nursing Units of the Canadian Expeditionary Force allowed her to have access to other Indigenous women and other pioneering women within women's rights movements, like Pauline Johnson (Poulin, 2007, p.8). Anderson-Monture's experiences seem to be the exception to the rule, however, and Poulin (2007) theorizes that Edith's attendance was at an on-reserve day school instead of a residential school, which might have given her the necessary educational requirements. Gaffen (1985) also claims, "the formal education of the Indian varied in quality but was usually poor. During the war the shortage of qualified teachers was even more pronounced in Indian schools" (p.72).

Code Talkers: Using Indigenous Languages

The Navajo Code talkers are the most well-known of all the code talkers but are far from the first. Before the Second World War, Indigenous languages were in use to prevent the enemy from gaining intelligence about troop movements, potential attacks and other military information. Despite active efforts to destroy and erase Indigenous languages through residential/boarding schools, the military made use of fluent speakers during both world wars. As suggested by Meadows (2002):

Potential factors affecting the native language fluency of Native American service members in World War II include varying levels of isolation or proximity of individual native communities to Anglos; formal Anglo education; the age of entry into, duration of enrolment in, and experiences in boarding schools; intertribal and non-Indian intermarriage; assimilation; and changes in residence (p. 89).

The languages used are very diverse. From World War One we know that the Choctaw language was used to code messages, and Canada's involvement in the code talker program during World War II was primarily with Cree speakers. In contrast, the American Marines used Navajo, Lakhóta and Comanche (Dickason and Newbigging, 2019, p.268). Meadows (2002) explains, "the Comanches represent one of at least nineteen Native American groups known to

have used various coded and noncoded forms of their native language for United States armed forces military communications in World Wars I and II" (p. XV).

Part of the reason why other Indigenous groups are not identified or as well-known as code talkers is because of the military security system. Languages and codes used during the World Wars were considered classified information, and not available for use outside of those specific units with the language designation. Troops who served as code talkers were also sworn to secrecy never to discuss the codes, the language programs, or the role of code talkers. As Meadows (2002) states, "no prior comprehensive account of the Comanche Code Talkers' experience exists" (p. XVII). Compounding this issue is the fact that Indigenous languages are frequently not recorded during this era, despite some books of translation existing around 1940, that were Navajo specific (Meadows, 2002, p. 93).

Choctaw Code Talkers were integrated during World War I. While there are relatively few publications specifically about the Choctaw, the Tribal newspaper *Bishinik* featured numerous articles (Meadows, 2002, p. 49). The conditions on the front during World War I precipitated the need for Indigenous languages to transmit messages. Various line taps, code-breaking and capturing of messengers made it exceedingly difficult to transmit messages during that time. During the 36th Division's movement in October 1918, it was credited with the first recording of Choctaw language being used to transmit messages (Meadows, 2002, p. 50). As the war progressed, it was noted that the Choctaw had to come up with words in their language to describe specifics within a military context. As Meadows (2002) states:

Thus patrol became "many scouts," a grenade became known as a "stone," regiment became "tribe," casualties became "scalps," and Second Battalion became "two grains of corn." The Choctaw vocabulary that was used for transmitting telephone messages combined both regular Choctaw vocabulary and other specialized or "coded" vocabulary invented to convey specific military items (p. 52).

Navajo was the most successful Indigenous language used during the Second World War, for one main reason: the unavailability of the language for non-Indigenous speakers. "The marines were encouraged to use the Navajo because of the difficulty of their language, the knowledge of it by fewer than thirty non-Native Americans, and the apparent lack of foreign inquiry, characteristics that classified the Navajo language as a 'hidden' language" (Meadows, 2002, p. 94). Despite some attempts at infiltration and learning native languages by non-Indigenous peoples, Navajo was considered one of the most difficult to master. Mostly due to

complexity, Indigenous languages have a structure in them vastly different from languages like English, French, or others (Meadows, 2002, p. 95).

Despite paternalistic and imperialist attitudes, and numerous forced relocations and implemented policies, Indigenous peoples participated at some of the highest numbers during the World Wars. They served in many capacities, though their roles as code talkers were some of the most important.

Notable People

Sgt. Tommy Prince

Thomas George Prince was an Anishinaabe man from Brokenhead Reserve in Manitoba, serving not only in World War II but also in the Korean Conflict. As a residential school survivor, Prince had experience with military life before enlistment. He was a member of the Elkhorn cadet squadron and had left residential school with only a grade eight education. Enlisting with the regular force in 1940 at the age of 24, Prince was initially a sapper with the Royal Canadian Engineers. However, he soon took a role in the 1st Canadian Special Force (also known as the 'Devil's Brigade') as a paratrooper. He earned the Military Medal during his time in Italy and was awarded the U.S. Silver Star for a campaign in southern France (Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier, 2010, p. 152). Many authors (Lackenbauer, 2007, p. 35-36; Summerby, 1993), recount the most well-known story of Prince's Italian campaign;

During what would become a 24-hour solo watch, Prince's communication line was severed by shelling. Unfazed, the sergeant donned civilian clothing, grabbed a hoe and, in full view of German soldiers, acted like a farmer weeding his crops. He slowly inched his way along the line till he found where it was damaged, then, pretending to tie his shoelaces, quickly rejoined the wires. His reporting continued and so did the damage to enemy artillery posts. In all, four German positions were destroyed, and Prince had earned the MM (Summerby, 1993, p. 27).

Much of Prince's difficulty adjusting to civilian life began at his return home in 1945. Lackenbauer (2007) details several events in Prince's life, including the divorce of his first wife, death of his father, being attacked by a woman with a broken bottle on reserve, as well as difficulty in job security, made it difficult for him to adapt (p. 40-41).

In 1946, Prince became the spokesperson for the Manitoba Indian Association. He travelled all across Canada to represent Indigenous communities' interests, as he "agreed to represent his people's interests, motivated by the awareness that Native peoples faced dismal prospects after the war" (Lackenbauer, 2007, p. 41). He addressed the Special Parliamentary

Joint Committee in 1947, hoping to sway non- Indigenous lawmakers into honouring the treaties and removing the Indian Act. Prince believed that pushing Indigenous communities in Brokenhead into farming would provide more significant economic opportunities for his band.

Tommy Prince staunchly defended Indigenous veterans and spoke about their treatment at the hands of the Canadian government. Lackenbauer (2007) explains, "If any group could bring about meaningful change, Prince believed it was Indian veterans who had served overseas. Instead, they were constrained by inequitable and insufficient veterans' benefits compared to non-Natives" (p. 42). Unfortunately for Tommy, many of the policymakers made life too difficult to enact meaningful change. Lackenbauer (2007) states;

As the hearings dragged on, Prince tried to convince other Indian leaders to appeal directly to King George VI for change. It did not happen. Although amendments eventually removed some of the most offensive provisions of the Indian Act, Prince left Ottawa disillusioned. He was convinced that the myth of the simple-minded, backward Indian needed to be shattered (p. 43).

In 1950, Tommy Prince re-joined the military as a part of the 2nd Battalion Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry. In Korea, "he earned another three campaign medals, bringing his total to 11 in all – the most ever held by a Canadian Indian" (Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier, 2010, p. 161). He served two tours in Korea and was discharged from the military in 1954 due to medical issues with his knees.

However, evidence suggests that it was not just his physical conditions that prompted his discharge from the military. Lackenbauer (2007) explains that "His little-known breakdown in the field in December 1952 revealed that this proud warrior was not superhuman. Acknowledging that Prince ended up a psychological casualty, however, does not diminish his heroism or his courage" (p. 28). It is here that Lackenbauer (2007) suggests that issues within the Army at the time of the Korean conflict began to exacerbate Prince's issues with alcohol addiction (p. 44). During this time, many of the stories about Prince paint him as an irritable, hard man with little tolerance for inexperience. Lackenbauer (2007) also suggests a personal conflict between Prince's platoon commander and his company commander (p.46).

Even on his second tour, many of the people that Prince had insulted during his time as a sergeant at Camp Borden had no interest in hearing Prince's exploits or working with him longer than they had to. It was a particular patrol incident that left a soldier wounded and unconscious that finally prompted Prince's superiors to recognize what was happening. In a situation that would have resulted in a dishonourable discharge and military discipline, "his superiors did not

insist on a court martial; in their informal assessment, Prince was clearly suffering from 'battle exhaustion'" (Lackenbauer, 2007, p. 53). It is important to note that Lackenbauer (2007) also states the following:

In light of his comrades' assessments, it is appropriate to deduce that, by the end of 1952, Prince was suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), a psychological injury caused by the reaction of the brain to severe stress. Operational stress injuries have always been a part of war, but the serious study of acute anxiety neuroses brought on by combat began in the twentieth century (p.53).

It was the military's culture discouraging the seeking of mental health treatment that prevented Prince from finding the necessary help to cope with his PTSD. Without access to his cultural traditions and understanding of what Operational Stress Injury (OSI), Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI) and PTSD are, many suffering soldiers, including Prince, turned to alcohol and drug addiction to cope. Without meaningful employment because of his education and job skills, and facing racist perceptions from the wider public, Prince found himself wandering the streets of Winnipeg, homeless. When he was staying with his common-law partner "The Winnipeg police, some of whom knew Prince well, always drove him home rather than to the 'drunk tank.' This was their way of recognizing and taking care of the hero" (Lackenbauer, 2007, p. 58).

After years of alcoholism, he eventually treated his addiction at the Deer Lodge Centre. It did not address his mental health issues, however, and as Lackenbauer (2007) explains, "Prince never overcame the operational stress injuries he had sustained in wartime" (p. 59). Thomas George Prince died at Deer Lodge Center in Winnipeg in 1977, after years of battling addiction and mental health issues.

Korean Conflict and Beyond

According to numerous sources (Senate, 1995, p.10; Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier, 2010, p. 158), The Korean conflict began on June 25th, 1950. It is important to note that the first positive changes to the Indian Act that would impact Indigenous communities would come in 1951, though the Korean Conflict itself would not end until 1953. The Senate (1995) states, "The Canadian Army Special Force for Korean service was raised by voluntary enlistment and trained as part of the regular army." While initially, it was requested that Indian agents keep track of numbers of Indigenous soldiers, the final number of Indigenous soldiers that participated in that conflict is unknown (p. 10).

Canada's contribution to the Korean Conflict started with naval support, using the various "tribal class" destroyers at the time (Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier, 2010, p. 159). There was only a small number of Indigenous people serving in the Navy at that time, though more would join via voluntary enlistment. In August 1950, the formation of the "Canadian Army Special Force (CASF) was organized, recruited in a rush, and the first unit arrived overseas before the year was out. This infantry brigade numbered roughly five thousand and was built around a cadre of Second World War veterans" (Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier, 2010, p. 160-161).

After this time, stretching into the Cold War period, Indigenous peoples were no longer identified when they joined military service (Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier, 2010, p.168). The only exception to this seems to be with the formation of the Canadian Rangers, where over 50% of their number are indigenous people (Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier, 2010, p.177). The creation of the Rangers began within the Cold War era, as a direct response to the potential conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. According to Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier (2010), they were mostly unpaid volunteers given a Lee Enfield rifle and 100 rounds dispensed yearly to provide patrol service and other peacekeeping duties (p. 175).

Since their initial creation, there has been some revision to the Rangers. During the Arctic sovereignty issues of the 1970s, a renewed interest in the Ranger's capability for military service came into sharp view. It was seen as a mutually beneficial initiative in which security could be provided at low cost by people who already knew the terrain and communities (Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier, 2010, p.176). Although the Rangers are a military branch within the Canadian Armed Forces, they have several unique aspects. Aside from the high numbers of Inuit peoples, many of whom speak Inuktitut as their primary language, the Rangers also elect their leadership (Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier, 2010, p.177). There is also no retirement age, meaning that this sort of military service can provide a life-long career for those who join. In the bulk of the military, the compulsory retirement age is 60 years, though it was 55 until 2004. As Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohier (2010), indicate "So long as Rangers can still perform their duties on the land, they are not forced to step down as active members" (p. 177).

Conclusion

In conclusion, I pause to reflect on the teachings and academic spheres in which I find myself. As Brian Black (2018) explains;

Mr. Johns talked about getting more veterans involved as caseworkers who are out in the field, getting them out to identify... Veterans aren't going to sit in a circle room and express their feelings. There isn't one program that is going to suit all veterans, and that's why there are so many of those groups out there. Definitely the peer-to-peer, veteran-to-veteran approach would get the best results. How to go about that is outside my purview.

Having veterans' "programs" in a traditional way allows for Indigenous veterans to come and go as time affords, but also allows them the tools and resources necessary to maintain their connections. It includes other veterans, establishing a network of culturally sensitive support, and having them take an active hand in their culture, care, and well-being. It is a holistic approach embodied within many Indigenous teachings, though variations depend on the Indigenous group. Veterans and currently serving members of the military comprise the formation of the Defense Aboriginal Advisory Group, which provides direction, information, and education for members of the military in the specific needs and concerns of Indigenous peoples. It uses the direct peer-to-peer approach and involves all members of the community.

Ms. Shelly Claus, Metis Veteran and Women's Representative of the Métis Nation of Ontario (2018) states;

Throughout our own community, not being full first nation myself, I do not go to a sweat lodge. I do not seek out elders to help me in any of my process. I don't have PTSD that I'm aware of, but I try to reach out to our Métis veterans, whether by a phone call or by organizing events in my local area to get the veterans out. I've been on Remembrance Day parades wearing my sash, my beret, and my medals, and it's like, "Are you a veteran? Are you a Métis veteran? Oh, why are you wearing your scarf around your waist?"

It is interesting to note that Ms. Claus' experiences are very much like my own, in that female veterans are frequently forgotten. There are few resources in both academic and veterans' resources specifically aimed towards supporting Indigenous women's veterans. This omission has prompted me to serve in the Veterans Affairs Ombudsman's Office and The Centre for Excellence on PTSD to advocate for the need for visibility of Indigenous women's concerns.

There is a bridge between both military and Indigenous cultures, where there are a few areas of overlap; kinship affiliations, use of uniform as regalia as a means of identification, the discussion of military medals, and introductions.

ascertain at this time if this is a cultural phenomenon resulting from Indigenous spiritual teachings revolving around humility, or from military framework. McInnes' work in *Sounding Thunder* opens the door to further discussion.

The last bridge between Indigenous and Military culture is the ways in which Indigenous people and soldiers/veterans introduce themselves. Unit affiliations are geographically located, as specific units come from specific areas. While the structure may be further broken down, training and experience will also vary per geographical location. This line of thinking is the same as Indigenous peoples who use the clan system or traditional governance structure to identify the self. Indigenous peoples introduce themselves as being from a specific geographical location to position themselves and their experience. Military people do the same thing.

There is also a cultural phenomenon within Indigenous communities where the sacrifices and efforts of soldiers and veterans are constantly honoured in very visible spaces. Rather than a single parade once a year, Indigenous veterans hold a place of prominence within every powwow for grand entry. They are always at the head of the line, carrying the flags of the various nations that Indigenous people come from, and they are physically present any time an eagle feather drops from a dancer's regalia. That honouring also goes beyond the powwow arena. In the case of Joe Meconse, because he was so well known within the community, many people would ensure that his time in service was remembered. If the Indigenous community knows that a person is a veteran, they will go to great lengths to accommodate the veterans needs. It is not always about the grand gestures of thanks, but remembering and honouring veterans can come in the form of a shared cigarette and a conversation over a cup of coffee. These events serve to replace the older warrior traditions that were eradicated or hidden from settler view.

In reflection of the veterans who spoke as part of this work, military service taught them about who they were and what path they wanted to follow but also allowed them to see the disparities with Indigenous soldiers. They follow in a long line of Indigenous soldiers who engage in political discourse and challenge the current establishments of Veterans Affairs and the Department of Indian Affairs to change perceptions. It gave them the confidence to pursue their traditional teachings, which was reinforced once connecting with other Indigenous veterans. As Meadows (2002) points out, "Thus while significant Indian military service gained widespread non-Indian support, it simultaneously served to restrengthen traditional culture and ethnic identity within the tribal communities" (p. 114).

This thesis also notes that frequently the Inuit experience is forgotten. While the researcher had no direct access to Inuit veterans, work that is currently being done in the Veterans community frequently does not include the Inuit perspective because of that lack of contact and cultural understanding. The formation of the Canadian Rangers is part of military service in the North, and has been little studied aside from the work of a few noted academics such as Lackenbauer and Sheffield. Lackenbauer's work does include personal communications with Inuit and First Nations Rangers but does not always venture outside the realm of military service. It is important to note that, while the Inuit and northern First Nations experiences are frequently forgotten, current statistics on Indigenous participation "[do] not include Aboriginal persons serving with the Canadian Rangers, a unique military formation: sixty percent of its ranks are filled with persons of Aboriginal ancestry" (Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield and Gohair, 2010, p. 174).

The Jay Treaty figured more predominantly than initially thought, given how many "Canadian" Indigenous peoples have crossed the border to enlist in military service. Charles Tomkin, a Cree-speaking Métis man, was part of the code talker program with the US Air Force during World War 2. It is speculated that many of the Indigenous enlistees from Canada during World War One and Two were transferred to the United States military services by using the Jay Treaty, as it would be significantly less paperwork and less concern over issues about citizenship. Currently, many of the more recent veterans the author spoke with had been enlisted in the American Armed Forces. While it may have been less of an issue at the time, one can currently only imagine access to veterans' services. As veterans of the American Armed Forces, they would have to access services in the United States per the Department of Veterans Affairs. Given the numerous complaints of Veterans' treatment from the Canadian Department of Veteran Affairs, it can only be speculated that access on the American side is challenging.

At the Senate's 1995 meeting, several recommendations were made at that time, to assist in bridging the inequities that many Indigenous soldiers and veterans face. Of particular note are the following;

6.1 that the Department of Veterans Affairs creates new procedures, appropriate to Aboriginal communities, to reach out to Aboriginal veterans. Consideration should be given to the appointment of Aboriginal employees to serve the needs of Aboriginal veterans.

6.2 that an independent investigator, in the manner of an ombudsperson, be appointed to provide quick intervention on behalf of Aboriginal veterans. The

investigator should be situated within the Department of Veterans Affairs, but should operate freely in addressing the concerns of Aboriginal veterans.

Many Indigenous veterans have expressed concern about the lack of accountability within Veterans Affairs. Within the last few years, awareness about the unique position that Indigenous soldiers and veterans find themselves in is starting to be addressed. In the meantime, Indigenous veterans try to reach out to one another where supports are lacking. The veteran-to-veteran approach allows the sharing of experiences and solutions to help support the veteran in a culturally appropriate way. Many of the other recommendations that were made in the report have been completed, including recognition of Indigenous peoples' services and the creation of National Aboriginal Veterans Day on November 8th. It should be noted, however, that recommendation 6.1 has yet to be implemented or addressed, despite the office of the ombudsman.

In Lackenbauer, Moses, Sheffield, and Mohier (2010), an interviewee named Stephen Simon, a Korean Conflict veteran, illustrates an exciting and universally accepted thought about military service, being a veteran and the experiences of veterans;

"It's not easy, when a soldier goes to war and comes back, the war does not end there, 'Stephen Simon explained. 'Like the Korean War, they say it was over in 1953, but [for] most of us, it doesn't end there, it ... stays with us ... the rest of our lives. 'That is why Simon always participates in Remembrance Day: 'We show our gratefulness to all the veterans, in general, that had fought and sacrificed their lives in the dark days of war'"

Without any tours of duty, without having served overseas, or within a conflict setting, many Indigenous veterans retain their military habits. From what time they arrive at an event, to how their clothing is cared for, to how they speak with others, Indigenous veterans carry with them the experiences of their time in service.

It is also noted that many First Nations, Inuit, and Métis veterans still complain about the lack of access to or information about veterans' services. During several meetings with the Veterans Affairs Ombudsman's office, it was noted that many Indigenous veterans lack access to Veterans Affairs services in several areas. All applications for benefits are made online, and many veterans lack access to a personal computer, reliable internet or phone service. Instead of this, having a physical office in which veterans could either come to physically, or at least call via a land-line, would make applications more accessible. However, due to budget cutbacks, many of those Veterans Affairs offices were closed, leaving veterans in remote communities without access.

The other issue that emerged was the lack of support for ceremony practice. There are no travel or ceremony stipends for traditional Indigenous ceremonies (I.E., sweat lodges, sun dance ceremonies, or funeral services). That lack has been taken up by the various Indigenous veterans' organizations to a degree. Some Indigenous veterans attending powwows get paid, amounts depend on the location of the powwow, and what is done with that money depends on the organization. Aboriginal Veterans Autochtones members tend to compile their funds to provide some financial support for ceremonial events, usually in the form of a feast over the winter solstice.

Throughout the year, many veterans will maintain communication and contact with one another, with younger veterans still able to do much of the physical labour necessary. As within many Indigenous cultures, helping out those who cannot do specific tasks ensures that the entire community is looked after. Elders are given food, taken to appointments, and looked after as well as possible. There are limitations to such things, however, even more so when running into medical issues. Veterans' Affairs and the veterans' associations can work together to provide the necessary services to those who need them. While this may be limited in the forms of medical or therapeutic support, it provides the necessary contact with people who have shared experience and brings the cultural connection.

Many Indigenous veterans also end up taking positions as activists in some form or another. Whether it is political or not, many veterans take leadership roles within their communities. Joe Meconse was considered a Dene Elder within the community and provided service to give back. In the same lines as Fred Loft, Francis Pegahmagabow and Tommy Prince, many veterans take up positions of activism in the realms of veterans' concerns. Many will work together to address inequalities linked with Veteran's Affairs and use a tiered approach when doing so.

One veteran will work with a peer-to-peer approach directly with the person experiencing difficulty, while another might serve on a council or advisory group that works directly to influence change at an institutional level. In using the clan systems inherent in Indigenous social structures, veterans can provide support in many different ways. Members of the bear clan might provide alternative health methods in conjunction with Western medicine for PTSD or addictions treatments. At the same time, those of loon, eagle or crane clans might work within organizations

to propose changes in service delivery. These models can serve as a marker for the delivery of services to Indigenous communities as a whole.

Appendix

Definitions and Frequently Used Terms

Aboriginal, Indigenous, Native American

Throughout this work, several terms have been used. There are more than a few terms used to describe Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island, and it is the researcher's aim and the aim of this thesis to be as respectful as possible when using terminology. The preferred term of use is Indigenous, which indicates First Nation, Inuit and Métis peoples as defined by the Canadian Constitution.

Where there is a need to be more specific, the author uses the terms for those specific groups of people. Specific nations are broken down by their community location (E.G., Wasauksing First Nation) or their nationhood affiliation (E.G., Anishinaabeg, Nêhiyaw). The term 'Native American' is exclusive to the United States.

Aboriginal Veterans Autochtones (AVA)

Formerly NAVA (National Aboriginal Veterans Association) created in 1981. When NAVA split into two factions in 2011, AVA retained most of the Ontario, Quebec and Eastern seaboard constituents, but there are members nationally. The current President is Robert Thibeau. They aim to represent indigenous veterans at the national level by advocacy, community service and remembrance. It is currently the only group to be recognized from Veteran Affairs and the Department of National Defence for Remembrance Day Ceremonies, wreath-laying and advocacy work. Many members work with the Defence Aboriginal Advisory Group and provide cultural leadership roles for programs such as Bold Eagle, Black Bear and Raven programs within the Canadian Armed Forces. Many members can be identified by their deer-hide vest in a cream or yellow colour, wearing of a personal ribbon shirt or a black, burgundy and white ribbon shirt with the AVA logo (optional) and head wear that might reflect unit affiliations, or the AVA crest.

Basic Military Training (BMT) or Basic Military Qualification (BMQ)

Used in most military training, Basic Training, or "Basic" provides the rudimentary skills necessary for soldiers of any level to know. It includes drill, dress, expectation, weapon handling, communications and first aid. It is a requirement of all ranks, though officer training has additional leadership training requirements. It can be a 6-8 week long summer course, or a longer 3-4 month part-time course.

“Being in”:

It is used as slang or shortened term for having served in the military. It is a term frequently used amongst veterans and service-peoples alike.

Canadian Aboriginal Veterans and Serving Members Association (CAVSMA)

An Indigenous veterans’ and serving members association that also includes those who served in the American military. Currently, the President is Richard Blackwolf, who is a former naval officer. This group is not officially recognized as an organization that works with the Department of Veterans Affairs or the Department of National Defence, and tends to do more community events such as powwows. Their particular ‘uniform’ is a burgundy blazer, usually with unit patches, medals and other awards decorating the lapels or sleeves and a pair of black slacks. Most will also wear black parade boots.

Defense Aboriginal Advisory Group (DAAG)

The Department of National Defence (2018) states, “The members of the Group support the chain of command in their mandate to foster awareness of Aboriginal issues and recruiting and retention issues, and also provide a forum for Aboriginal peoples to gather and support one another as they exercise their unique cultural, spiritual and traditional identities within DND and the CAF.” It is specifically comprised of Indigenous members of the military, past and present. They work together to advise commanders on the specific needs of Indigenous peoples and address systemic barriers to recruitment and retention within the CAF. It was established in 1995, and reviewed again as a response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s recommendations. It specifically looks to include community support for its members, and allowing the CAF to create the necessary relationships and partnerships for Indigenous members.

Gradual Civilization Act

A law passed in 1857; it was aimed at assimilating Indigenous peoples via enfranchisement, which is the process of removing an Indigenous person's Status. It was based on the assumption “that Aboriginal people would be willing to surrender their legal and ancestral identities for the ‘privilege’ of gaining full Canadian citizenship and assimilating into Canadian society” (Crey, 2009, ubc.ca). It is also known as “An Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Province.” It was the first to define Indian Status and was compiled into the later Indian act.

Gradual Enfranchisement Act

A secondary act to regulate self-determination, identity and creation of Bands and councils to enfranchise Indigenous peoples. Considering the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857 was a complete failure, in 1867, the Gradual Enfranchisement Act was created in order to provide extraordinary control measures to the head of the Department of Indian Affairs. It and the Gradual Civilization act were the pre-cursors to the Indian Act. During World War One and beyond, the head of the Department used the acts to forcibly enfranchise Indigenous soldiers when they began to fight back against many assimilation policies. For example, Duncan Campbell Scott used it as a threat against Fred O. Loft and Francis Pegahmagabow when both men began to engage in activism in regards to their treatment at the hands of the Government.

Indian Act

In 1876, the Indian Act compiled previous legislation regarding Indigenous peoples into one document. It codifies the Status identification system, how one can lose status, and numerous other considerations on the civilization and assimilation of Indigenous communities. There have been numerous amendments to the Indian Act since creation, and most of the restrictive policies were removed in 1951.

Moral Injury

As defined by Kamkar (2017) at the Canadian Association of Mental Health, “Moral injury is a loss injury; a disruption in our trust that occurs within our moral values and beliefs. Any events, action or inaction transgressing our moral/ethical beliefs, expectations and standards can set the stage for moral injury”. Moral Injury can come from a number of events or even a single event that causes particular feelings of loss, anxiety, worthlessness, anger and a number of other symptoms.

Operational Stress Injury (OSI)

This is a mental health issue that is common with Veterans. Resulting from prolonged exposure to stress (both physical and mental), much like Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder it results in several clinical signs and symptoms. According to Deer Lodge Centre Manitoba (2020), “Operational stress is a concept rather than a medical term. The term was devised by the Canadian Forces to describe the range of negative health effects caused by military service. It is the same as the term combat stress, and it encompasses a range of health problems.”

Many mental health diagnoses fall under the umbrella term of Operational Stress Injury, such as anxiety, depression, substance abuse, and phobias, but it also encompasses social

concerns, such as family relationship and dynamic breakdown. It “can produce physical symptoms such as stomach upset, headaches, or sleep problems, and they can also make chronic pain problems worse” (Deer Lodge Centre, 2020).

Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI)

Founded in 1914 by an offer submitted by Captain A. Hamilton Gault, Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry was named after the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn’s daughter, Princess Patricia. It was “the first and only Canadian infantry regiment in a theatre of war in 1914” (Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry, 2019). It was one of many units that participated in World War 1 and 2 and were made a permanent force in 1919. It was divided into four companies (A-D) in 1920, located in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Esquimalt, British Columbia. In 1945, the Battalion was divided into two units to form a Pacific Force for the campaign against Japan. It was designated as 1st Canadian Infantry Battalion, PPCLI, 2nd Canadian Infantry Regiment. With Japan’s surrender, the Pacific force was disbanded and re-organized into 2nd Battalion, PPCLI, Canadian Infantry Corps (Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry, 2019) which then included returning PPCLI from the European campaign.

Post-World War Two, the PPCLI has participated in numerous United Nations efforts, including The Balkans (Croatia, Bosnia, Kosovo), Cyprus, Korea, Lebanon, Kuwait, Iraq, Vietnam, the Congo, Somalia and Rwanda. More recently, they have been part of anti-terrorism efforts in Afghanistan.

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

A mental health issue that affects many soldiers and veterans to various degrees, in World War 1 and II was commonly referred to as either Shell Shock or Battle Fatigue. Signs and Symptoms, as well as treatment options, will vary according to the affected person. In the context of soldiers, prolonged exposure to acute states of heightened awareness causes the body to react to protect itself.

According to the Canadian Mental health Association (2020), it is a result of “exposure to trauma involving death or the threat of death, serious injury, or sexual violence”. It can cause nightmares, flashbacks, or intrusive thoughts. Many people who have PTSD report feeling like they are hyper-vigilant of their surroundings, and will actively avoid situations that remind them of the trauma. Many who suffer from PTSD will have significant mood shifts and will sometimes look to alcohol and drugs as a way to cope.

Rangers

Unique to the Canadian Armed Forces and created in 1947, the Canadian Rangers provide a defence system and allows for claims of Canadian Arctic sovereignty. While their role as a defence against an incoming nuclear attack against the United States is lessened, they still provide valuable services within their respective regions. Rangers provide survival assistance to southern Units looking to train in harsh climate conditions, significant weather and environmental changes, Search and Rescue and community work. Many of the members are Inuit, Dene, Tłchq, Innu or Nêhiyaw peoples.

Soldier Settlement Act

When established in 1919, the Soldier Settlement Act was designed to support returning soldiers during World War 1, World War 2 and the Korean Conflict. It would provide financial, housing and land support for those that wished to take up farming or fishing activities.

TBI: Traumatic Brain Injury

Traumatic Brain Injury is a result of physical trauma to the head and brain, including falls, gunshots, concussive force or anything that might cause a shaking of the brain. Most people fully recover from traumatic brain injury, but for some, there are significant and permanent concerns. It can cause emotional disturbances, irregular sleeping patterns, headaches and difficulty in processing new information or thinking clearly.

“The field”:

A slang term used to describe being in training in an outdoor, remote environment. Usually, this training takes place on a base with a large exercise area, such as C.F.B. Shilo, Dundurn or Wainwright. It is the distinction between formalized training in a classroom setting versus practical, hands-on training.

“The Purge”:

A span of history from the 1950s to the early 2000s where there was active homophobia within the Canadian Armed Forces that was integrated into systemic policy aimed towards members of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Two-Spirit (LGBTQ2S) community. Even after the decriminalization of homosexuality in June of 1969, much of the homophobic attitudes allowed for the wide-spread removal of LGBTQ2S peoples working in the Canadian Armed Forces and Royal Canadian Mounted Police. According to lgbtpurge.com (2019) “Members of the LGBTQ2S community that worked in departments that were affected by

the purge faced sanctions, which included dismissal, transfer, demotion, denial of opportunities for promotion, and other types of discrimination”. They also faced numerous invasive attempts to determine sexuality or gender identity.

“tour”:

Slang term that is formally known as a tour of duty. A soldier who serves on an overseas assignment (sometimes called a tasking) for at least nine months in a combat situation qualifies as having been on tour. Soldiers can also have multiple tours of duty in either the same rotation (or ROTO) or in peace-keeping capacities.

Two-Spirit

A part of the LGBTQ2S+ spectrum, Two-Spirit peoples are a specific identification within Indigenous communities. Possessing a unique role historically within their communities, at the onset of First Contact, many Two-Spirit peoples, teachings and traditional roles have been actively suppressed. The term Two-Spirit is relatively modern in its origin, and many communities have traditional words used to describe Two-Spirit peoples. According to ReGBT:Searching for LGBTQ2S+ Health (2020) the term originates from Albert McLeod, who advocated for its use in 1990 at the Third Annual Inter-Tribal Native American, First Nations, Gay and Lesbian American Conference. In Anishinabemowin, the term used is *Niizh-manidoog*, literally meaning “Two Spirits,” indicating the presence of masculine and feminine spirits residing within one person.

United Nations (UN)

Created in 1945, the United Nations is an International organization that focuses on human rights, sustainable development, environmentalism, humanitarian and health emergencies and gender equality, amongst other initiatives. It is currently comprised of 193 member states from across the world. The U.N. does combine efforts from multiple countries in order to address situations. As an example of the military side; The Korean Conflict was a U.N. led mission, as was the support to Rwanda.

Land, Navy, Air distinction/ Military structure

Currently, the Canadian Armed Forces is divided into smaller designations of Land, Navy and Air Force. Some trades and rank classifications are specific to those designations, such as the difference between a Sergeant (Land and Air based) versus Petty Officer (Naval). In an informal

context, these three branches of service will compete with or harass one another until a task is given. If there is a requirement to work together, all three branches do so without hesitation.

There is also a clear distinction between full-time service and part-time service. Anyone in the Regular Force (or “Reg Force”) is considered a full-time service member. Anything else is usually considered Reserves or Part-time service. There is the capability to move between part and full time within several contexts and scenarios. A part-time person (or Reserve) will move to full-time in order to be able to complete a tour of duty (known as a “tour”). Another way to move to Full-time employment is to take on a “tasking” that involves short-term full-time work (also known as Class A employment). Most Class A employments are for courses ranging from teaching Basic Training or trades qualifications to leadership training.

Abbreviations

CAF: Canadian Armed Forces. The current term of use.

CEF: Canadian Expeditionary Force. Speaks specifically to the First World War.

CFB: Canadian Forces Base. Known in the past as Camps. I.E., Camp Shilo.

DIA: Department of Indian Affairs. Currently, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNAC).

DVA.: Department of Veterans’ Affairs.

MIR: Medical Inspection Room

MM: Military Medal. Issued for bravery by the Canadian Forces.

NCO: Non-Commission officer. Via the rank classification system, an N.C.O. is typically the rank of Private to Chief Warrant Officer.

Sample Consent Form



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August 20, 2019

Boozhoo, Aniin, Tansi!

My Master's thesis at the University of Manitoba Native Studies program is titled "War Stories: Voices of Indigenous Veterans post-Korean Conflict" and it is a collection of stories from Indigenous veterans such as yourself, along with the current literature review surrounding storytelling as a form of cultural resiliency for both Military and Indigenous cultures.

Aside from my Master's thesis, this work will hopefully be published further in journal articles and presented at conferences. This information will fill in a significant gap of the current Academic research, but also allow the AVA membership to see where the necessary cultural supports are and in which regions, as well as who the current traditional knowledge carriers are. It will also provide clear direction as to the roles of Veterans within the AVA, as well as within their home communities, and the ability to control the narrative about them and their

experiences. I have spoken with and obtained permission from Robert Thibeau, president of AVA, and will be providing him with a dissemination of my research afterwards. You can expect to receive my dissemination results no later than June 30th, 2020.

I have a questionnaire for you to fill out with 20 questions about your experience within the Canadian Armed Forces and your role as a traditional person (if you are). It should take you roughly half an hour to complete at minimum, depending on what information you wish to give to me. If there is a need to further expand on the answers in your questionnaire, we can record them in a format of your choosing (recording device, e-mail, or letter). You can take as much time as you need to answer the questions, though I would like to have them back by no later than March 7th, 2020.

I encourage you that if a question makes you feel uncomfortable, you are more than welcome to skip that question. If a question happens to trigger an unpleasant memory from your time in service, speak with me and we will look at getting culturally appropriate care via speaking with an Elder, or seeking out counselling services in your area.

You are welcome to withdraw from participating at any point in the process, until March 7th, 2020. There will be no penalty for withdrawing, any honorariums are yours to keep, and the data collected on you will be returned to you in a format of your choosing. Your standing within AVA will be unaffected, as well as your Indian Status (as applicable).

In terms of these stories, I will have direct access to this information. There are three options to choose from for identification and inclusion in this study; You can be quoted anonymously, you can be quoted under a pseudonym or you can be quoted under your real name. The choice will be given to you, though I will have to note it via the Consent Form. If you agree to use your real name, you have the choice between using your Western name, or your Spirit Name. Prior to publication, I will provide you with a copy of the story in a format of your choice for review to ensure accuracy and authenticity. You will also be given all data in a format of your choosing, and all information collected by me will be deleted by September 1st, 2020. A research summary will be provided to you by June 30th, 2020 so that you can see how your information fits within my thesis work.

Two-factor authentication on my password protected computer is how the story and information will be stored. If you wish to withdraw up until March 7th, 2020, please contact Shauna Mulligan at ummulli8@myumanitoba.ca. You may also contact my Thesis advisor, Dr. Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair at niigaan.sinclair@umanitoba.ca if you have any other questions, concerns or feedback.

I will provide you with tobacco (as appropriate), tea, coffee or juice during in person meetings, and a small card of thanks after the story collection is complete.

I will check in with you periodically during my research work, to give you the opportunity to add more if necessary, to check on you, to keep you up to date on the process of my research and to ensure that you still wish to participate in this project.

Risks and Benefits: As with all forms of research, there are always risks and benefits. Benefits include helping to explain and establish cultural protocols that pertain to Indigenous veterans, allowing you to form further working relationships with one another, and the organization itself. The other benefit is being able to have narrative control over how your story is told, having adding depth to the issues surrounding Indigenous Veterans.

Risks are minimal at this time. There is little chance of indirect identification. There will be no risks to your AVA standing or membership, or your Indian Act or Treaty status. If a particular question evokes unpleasant memories, I encourage you to skip it. If you do find yourself in distress from the question, I will help you find culturally specific ways for addressing that; either by Elder, by a specific Indigenous healing initiative or by assisting with seeking out traditional methods of harm reduction.

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study before March 7th, 2020, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the JFREB for Fort Gary Campus at the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact Dr. Niigaan Sinclair (Thesis Advisor) at niigaan.sinclair@umanitoba.ca or 204-4747026 or the Human Ethics Coordinator (Pinar Eskicioglu) at 204-474-7122 or humanethics@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Do you consent to participate in this storytelling?

Yes No _____ Date of consent _____ Consent withdrawn

Opting out of anonymity: Do you wish to be identified with your story?

Yes No

If Yes, how would you wish to be identified?

_____ Western name _____ Spirit/Traditional name _____ Other

If Other, how would you wish to be identified?

Do you want to receive a copy of a Research Summary?

_____ Yes _____ No

If yes, how would you like to receive it?

_____ E-mail

_____ Physical copy (Please provide your mailing address)

If I have need to contact you again for follow up questions, do I have your consent to do so?

_____ Yes _____ No

Thank you, Meegwitch, Marsi,

Shauna Mulligan

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