

**“Their Glory Shall Not Be Blotted Out”:**

**The Acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War  
Service in Australian and New Zealand National  
Commemorations, 1918-2019**

**Rachel Caines**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of  
Philosophy (research only), Department of History, School of Humanities, Faculty of  
Arts,  
The University of Adelaide

February 2020

# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Thesis Declaration</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter I</b>	<b>23</b>
1914: A “European” War	23
1915-1916: A Question of Colour	30
1917-1918: Fighting for King and Country	36
<b>Chapter II</b>	<b>45</b>
Literature Review	46
1918-1964: Establishing a Commemorative Tradition	50
1964-2004: Contesting and Changing the Commemorative Landscape	53
2005-2019: The Centenary	60
Conclusion	66
<b>Chapter III</b>	<b>67</b>
Literature Review	67
1918-1964: Establishing the Commemorative Space	70
1965-2004: Changing Commemorative Landscape	82
2005-2019: The Centenary Commemorations	86
Conclusion	92
<b>Chapter IV</b>	<b>94</b>
Literature Review	95
1918-1964: Establishing the Commemorative Space	100
1965-2004: Changing Commemorative Landscape	110
2005-2019: The Centenary	115
Conclusion	128
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>Appendix I</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>Appendix II</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>Appendix III</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>144</b>

## **Abstract**

This thesis explores the extent to which Indigenous Australian and Māori First World War service has been acknowledged in national sites of commemoration in Australia and New Zealand over the past century. Between 1918 and 2019, the national commemorative landscapes in Australia and New Zealand evolved to accommodate changing national values and priorities. The thesis argues that the development of different Indigenous-non-Indigenous race relations in Australia and New Zealand ultimately informed the extent to which Indigenous First World War service was acknowledged at a national level. In New Zealand, some Pākehā acceptance of Māori society and culture at the outbreak of the First World War facilitated the active involvement of Māori in the conflict. As this limited acceptance developed into an official policy of biculturalism (albeit in an asymmetrical form), the acknowledgement of Māori war service was increasingly incorporated into mainstream national sites of commemoration. In Australia, by 1914 a broad national policy of exclusion and isolation of Indigenous Australians resulted in governmental restriction surrounding their participation in the First World War. Although official national attitudes towards Indigenous Australians changed with social and political developments from the 1960s onwards, by the beginning of the twenty-first century Australia's race relations with its Indigenous peoples remained strained and unresolved. The lack of a clear "bicultural" policy with regards to the inclusion, recognition, and representation of Indigenous Australians restricted the extent to which their First World War service has been acknowledged at a national level.

While historians have increasingly explored aspects of Indigenous Australian and Māori participation in the First World War and their subsequent inclusion in commemorations of conflict, the field remains small. In particular, comparisons between the two countries remain unusual, despite the inherently comparative nature of their First World War commemorations. By adopting a comparative approach, this thesis breaks new ground and provides a thorough discussion of the extent structural and institutional policies regarding race-relations have impacted the commemoration of Indigenous Australians. This thesis utilises a range of material, including military personnel files, committee minutes, floorplans, ephemera, newspaper articles, interviews with museum professionals, and the physical sites of commemoration themselves.

Following the Introduction, Chapter I provides an overview of the extent of Indigenous Australian and Māori participation on the war. In particular, it focuses on the ways in which official national policies regarding Indigenous war service evolved between 1914 and 1918, and the way these policies impacted the nature of Indigenous participation in the conflict. Chapters II through IV then examine how Indigenous war service has been acknowledged in the key sites of commemoration in Australia and New Zealand: days of remembrance (II), war memorials (III), and war museums (IV). The thesis concludes with a discussion of the importance of Australia and New Zealand's differing policies towards their Indigenous populations in shaping the ways in which Indigenous war service has been acknowledged at a national level. It also shows why the findings of this thesis are relevant beyond the end of the First World War centenary.

## Thesis Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

26/02/20

## **Acknowledgements**

It can be difficult to work with strong personalities, particularly if the owners of these personalities are both stubborn and indecisive. The first thank you, therefore, must go to my supervisory panel, who have helped me throughout my candidature, despite my stubbornness and my indecision. Robert Foster, as my primary supervisor, agreed to work with a student he had never met, and who had never taken one of his courses, even when I then changed my project before I had even commenced my candidature. In working with Rob, I have learnt so much about Australian history, and come to understand why so many people are passionate about it. Robin Prior's support as one of my co-supervisors throughout this project has been invaluable. Being able to discuss ideas with one of Australia's leading military historians has enabled me to develop a more robust argument, and opened up avenues of study I never anticipated beforehand. Finally, my third and final supervisor Gareth Pritchard deserves more than just thanks. From when I was an eager and precocious first year back in 2013, all the way through to today, Gareth has offered me unlimited guidance, support, and encouragement. His insight into this project has been greatly appreciated, as has his pestering about learning te reo Māori and keeping my options open.

I also need to extend my thanks to the History Department more broadly. Being in the same institution for six years may have its downfalls, but it has also given me the opportunity to develop strong relationships with many wonderful academics. I would especially like to acknowledge Claire Walker, whose support throughout my entire university career has been more appreciated than she will ever know. The current postgraduate students are lucky to have her as their Postgraduate Coordinator. Additional thanks go to Thomas Buchanan and Katie Barclay, whose support and enthusiasm for history have inspired me throughout my candidature.

On the research front, there are certain individuals whose support and generosity have made this project run smoothly. I would also like to thank the Weir family and the Barr Smith Library for their financial and personal support for this thesis. Being awarded the Hugh Martin Weir prize enabled me to undertake important research outside of Adelaide, and I am grateful for their support of my project and the opportunities the prize has afforded me. In addition, I would like to specifically thank Mr. Ian Proctor and Ms. Puawai Cairns. Their willingness to give up their time to speak to a postgraduate student

to help better her research is deeply appreciated. I have done my best to ensure that their wisdom and enthusiasm shine through in this thesis.

I have been lucky enough to meet many bright, interesting, and supportive postgraduates, early career researchers, and academics over the past two years, both at the University of Adelaide and at numerous academic conferences. The discussions we have had, the supportive tweets, and the shared articles and tips have helped me grow as a researcher. I would also like to thank Ms. Angela Alessi, who has not only been a firm friend throughout this project, but also took time out of her week to read it in its final form. A particular thank you to my friends on Level 3 of the Napier building, who I know will remain important to me years after this thesis has been submitted.

Of course, none of this could have happened without the support of my family. Even though they are in a different state, they have always encouraged me to chase my dreams, and sat on the phone listening to me talk about my thesis.

Finally, thank you to my partner, Alex. Agreeing to support a loved one undertaking postgraduate research is a big undertaking as it is, but agreeing to move back across the world to do so is a huge sacrifice. Cheers, pal.

## List of Figures

Figure 3.1.	The accepted design for the Australian War Memorial	75
Figure 3.2.	Aerial view of the Australian War Memorial from the north-west	76
Figure 3.3.	Dedication of the National War Memorial, 25 April 1932	78
Figure 3.4.	Sculptures of Indigenous Australian heads, Australian War Memorial	80
Figure 3.5.	Badges of the Corps and Services of the N.Z.E.F in the Hall of Memories	81
Figure 3.6.	<i>For Our Country</i> memorial sculpture	91
Figure 4.1.	Floorplan of the Melbourne War Exhibition	103
Figure 4.2.	Floorplan for the Australian War Memorial, 1950	104
Figure 4.3	Opening of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, November 1929	106
Figure 4.4	Close up of bronze wreath in the First World War Hall of Memories, Auckland War Memorial Museum	108
Figure 4.5.	<i>Kulatangku Angakanyini Manta Munu Tjukurpa</i>	118
Figure 4.6.	Photograph of the “Chunuk Bair” display, <i>Gallipoli: Scale of Our War</i>	126



Kei te kapu ringaringa noaiho to koutou tokomaha i waenganui i tenei mano mano hunga whawhai. Kei te titiro whakatōngātia koutou e te tangata, kei te patai ratou i tenei patai i roto i a ratou na, “He pewhea ra te ahua o tenei iwi i haramai rawa nei i nga topito o te ao?”

You are only a handful of warriors amongst the many thousands of men here. These people are watching you; they are asking within themselves, “What manner of men are these, who have come from the ends of the earth?”<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Chaplain Henare Te Wainohu, Sermon delivered to Māori before attack on Chunuk Bair, 6 August 1915. Reproduced in Monty Soutar, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E!: Māori In the First World War* (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd., 2019).

## Introduction

On 8 August 1915, on the hills of the Gallipoli peninsula in modern-day Turkey, two men from different parts of the southern hemisphere were killed fighting “for King and Country”. Private Edward Lewis Maynard was a 28-year-old farmer from Flinders Island, just north of Tasmania. He enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force on 21 May 1915, and embarked from Melbourne two weeks later. Maynard served at Gallipoli for only six days, before being killed in action during the final British push to seize control of the Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> Private Donald Ferris was also a farmer, and was 25 years old when he enlisted in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force on 4 January 1915. Ferris arrived in Egypt on 28 March 1915, and then was transferred to Gallipoli on 5 May 1915.<sup>2</sup> At dawn on 8 August, “Ferris was shot through the head and killed instantly”.<sup>3</sup> Edward Maynard has no known grave, though his name is amongst the 4,936 names on the Lone Pine Memorial at Gallipoli. The inscription on Donald Ferris’s gravestone in Embarkation Pier Cemetery, Turkey, provides the title for this thesis: “Their glory shall not be blotted out”. In many ways, the stories of Maynard and Ferris are like hundreds of other men who enlisted, fought, and died far from home during the First World War. However, in one key way, they are special. Both men were Indigenous: Maynard of Indigenous Australian descent, Ferris of Māori descent. Their deaths at Gallipoli form part of a wider story of Indigenous war service in the face of inequality, dispossession, and injustice, a story that has only recently come to the attention of many in mainstream Australian and New Zealand society.

Between 1914 and 1918, approximately 1,100 Indigenous Australian men and 2,200 Māori men served in the Australian Imperial Force and New Zealand Expeditionary Force. They made up only a small percentage of the 416,809 Australians and 120,000 New Zealanders who participated in the conflict.<sup>4</sup> Based on the estimated population numbers of Indigenous Australians and Māori in 1914, approximately 1.38 percent of the Indigenous Australian population and 4.17 percent of the Māori population

---

<sup>1</sup> Maynard, Edward Lewis, B2455, National Archives of Australia, Canberra, Australia.

<sup>2</sup> Ferris, Donald, WW1 16/519, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

<sup>3</sup> Rikihana Carkeek, *Home Little Māori Home: A Memoir of the Māori Contingent 1914-1916* (Wellington: Tōtika Publications Ltd, 2003), 79.

<sup>4</sup> Based on the known figures of Indigenous enlistment, Indigenous Australians made up 0.26 percent of all A.I.F. enlistments, while Māori made up 1.8 percent of all N.Z.E.F. enlistments.

enlisted in the First World War.<sup>5</sup> These small figures have contributed to the dismissal of Indigenous war service in the official national narratives of Australia and New Zealand during the First World War since the conflict ended. However, the statistics of Indigenous war service in Australia and New Zealand alone do not tell the full story of Indigenous participation in the war, nor of their subsequent acknowledgement in official national commemorations. This thesis investigates how Indigenous Australian and Māori First World War soldiers and their experiences have been acknowledged in national sites of commemoration in Australia and New Zealand since the end of the First World War. In doing so, it seeks to answer the following questions: To what extent has Indigenous war service been explicitly acknowledged in Australia's and New Zealand's national commemorative landscapes since 1919? In what ways has the explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous war service evolved and expanded over the past 100 years? What were the driving factors for the acknowledgement or exclusion of Indigenous war service from national commemorations, and how have they changed over time? In answering these questions, this thesis provides a comparative overview of how Indigenous war service has been acknowledged at a national level in two British settler-societies. Thus, this thesis also contributes to the broader discussion around the changing nature and inclusive potential of national war commemorations.

Australia and New Zealand have been chosen as the focus for this thesis due to their geographic proximity and historical parallels. As British Dominions during and immediately after the First World War, Australia and New Zealand shared similar political, social, economic, and cultural features that impacted the development of their societies. Both countries were colonised as settler states by the British in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both countries remained politically, militarily, and culturally tied to Britain throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and gradually transitioned from externally governed colonies to predominantly independent representative democracies from the 1950s onwards.<sup>6</sup> Australia and New Zealand continue to share a close political and cultural relationship, in part based around their shared experiences during the First World War. Despite these similarities, there are also key differences in both countries' histories that make their comparison useful. The most notable difference

---

<sup>5</sup> The figures for the Indigenous population of both countries come from Timothy Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 38.

<sup>6</sup> Both Australia and New Zealand are Constitutional Monarchies, meaning that the ruling monarch of Britain officially remains the Head of State.

for the purpose of this thesis is the different race relations between British settlers and their descendants and the Indigenous peoples of Australia and New Zealand. While there were differences between each of the Australian colonies, and indeed between urbanised and remote locations within these colonies, the overarching history of Indigenous-governmental relations in Australia is one of misunderstanding, dispossession, exploitation, and genocide.<sup>7</sup>

Misunderstanding, dispossession, exploitation, and violence also occurred in New Zealand. However, relations between Māori and Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) were framed from the beginning around the presence of the Treaty of Waitangi and a limited level of respect for and acceptance of Māori culture and society.<sup>8</sup> As Julie Evans et. al. argue in their book *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910*, Australia and New Zealand rapidly adopted contrasting approaches to the inclusion and representation of each country's respective Indigenous populations in their newly formed settler societies. As a result of different political, social, and economic circumstances, they argue:

Colonists on the Australian continent could afford to show contemptuous disregard of Aborigines' involvement in political processes. New Zealand settlers, by contrast, would need to surround their initially fragile dominance of the colony with safeguards against Maori potential to influence their political agendas.<sup>9</sup>

Thus from the early stages of colonisation in New Zealand, a limited level of Māori participation and inclusion in settler society was required to maintain Pākehā control over the colony. Such "safeguards" were not required to the same extent in Australia, resulting in a different level of Indigenous Australian inclusion in settler society by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Instead, as Patrick Wolfe argues, in colonial Australia "

Another factor in the differing race relations between settlers and Indigenous populations in Australia and New Zealand were the ways in which the idea of racial hierarchies were applied in both countries. British racial hierarchies developed during the

---

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Armitage, *Comparing the Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995), 14-27. For a discussion on whether the mass destruction of Indigenous lives and culture as a result of settler colonialism should be viewed as "genocide" or "elimination", see: Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the elimination of the native", *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 no.4 (2006), 387-409.

<sup>8</sup> Armitage, *Aboriginal Assimilation*, 138-151.

<sup>9</sup> Julie Evans, Patricia Grimshaw, David Philips, and Shurlee Swain, *Equal subjects, unequal rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 63.

eighteen and nineteenth centuries ranked “races” based on their level of “civilisation”, with the English at the top.<sup>10</sup> According to Christopher Bayly, during the period of British colonialism “British understandings of indigenous people and attempts to categorise them for the purposes of government were generated both out of ... widely held sociological ideas and ... by fractious issues arising from cultural military clashes across the colonial frontier”.<sup>11</sup> Māori and other Pacific peoples were ultimately placed relatively high on the ranking, above other Indigenous populations and many Asian “races”.<sup>12</sup> Conversely, as James Belich explains, “peoples like the Aboriginal Australians were never forgiven for their lack of interest in Europe”.<sup>13</sup> This racial hierarchy influenced the ways in which settlers and their newly-formed governments interacted with, and legislated for, the Indigenous populations in Australia and New Zealand.

This thesis demonstrates that the extent to which Indigenous First World War service has been acknowledged in the national commemorative landscapes of Australia and New Zealand is directly linked to the status of Indigenous peoples in mainstream national society.

However, it also interrogates the ways in which the New Zealand “myth of better race-relations” has impacted the explicit acknowledgement of the complexities of Māori war service.<sup>14</sup> The greater acceptance of some aspects of Māori society and culture into Pākehā New Zealand society in many ways facilitated the acknowledgement of Māori war service. Yet, in some ways it also served to minimise Māori inclusion through the assumption that the use of cultural rituals or the general acceptance of Māori into society were in themselves sufficient acknowledgements of Māori service. By comparison, governmental attitudes to Indigenous Australian involvement in the war, and inclusion in society more broadly, effectively prevented the explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian war service on a national level immediately following the war. From the mid-twentieth century onwards, debates and uncertainty over the place of Indigenous Australians in mainstream society and narratives further impacted the ways in which

---

<sup>10</sup> Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 467.

<sup>11</sup> Christopher Bayly, “The British and indigenous peoples, 1760-1860: power, perception and identity,” in *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, eds. Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 33.

<sup>12</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 40.

<sup>13</sup> James Belich, “Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand,” *New Zealand History Journal* 31, no. 1 (1997): 11.

<sup>14</sup> Belich, “Myth, Race, and Identity,” 12.

Indigenous Australian war service was acknowledged at a national level. Ultimately, this thesis argues that different race-relations in Australia and New Zealand were the most important factor in shaping the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service from 1918 until the end of the First World War centenary.

This thesis fits within the existing literature on the commemoration of the First World War over the twentieth and early twenty-first century. Academic inquiry into war commemoration emerged as a concrete field in the 1970s and 1980s. This emergence was concurrent with a renewed popular and government interest in memory and commemoration, particularly regarding war and conflict.<sup>15</sup> Jay Winter has highlighted the importance of war commemoration to the broader “memory boom” since the 1970s.<sup>16</sup> According to Winter, “the subject of war has dominated the memory boom for a host of reasons. It is not just the injuries of war, but its drama, its earthquake-like character, which has fuelled the memory boom”.<sup>17</sup> This insight reinforces the argument of Victor Roudometof, who divided the “memory boom” into two main areas: “the ways rituals and practices of commemoration contribute to the construction of specific interpretations of the national past in the present”, and the focus on the commemoration and memory of the Holocaust (Shoah) and the Second World War.<sup>18</sup> The memory and commemoration of war, and its study, has been central to the development of the wider field of memory studies over the past four decades.

Reflecting this link between war commemoration and memory studies, the majority of the literature on war commemoration and remembrance draws on the concept of “collective memory”. First articulated by Maurice Halbwachs, the concept of “collective memory” draws on the belief that memory can function beyond individual recollections. Shared recollections of the past within a social or cultural group – “collective memories” – can be transmitted to successive generations, even if they have not experienced the event first-hand.<sup>19</sup> Through this transmission of memory, social cohesion and group identity is reinforced and related back to a shared past – an “imagined

---

<sup>15</sup> T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, “The politics of war memory and commemoration: Contexts, structures and dynamics,” in *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, eds. T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), 5.

<sup>16</sup> Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War Between History and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), 1.

<sup>17</sup> Winter, *Remembering War*, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Victor Roudometof, “Introduction: Beyond Commemoration: The Politics of Collective Memory,” *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 31 no. 2 (2003): 161.

<sup>19</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 188

community”.<sup>20</sup> Jan Assmann expanded upon this concept in the 1990s, dividing collective memory into “communicative” and “cultural memory”. Communicative memory referred to memories grounded in the present or recent-past – no further back than eighty years – which could be shared between contemporaries who had also experienced these events.<sup>21</sup> Cultural memory described memories, by contrast, relating to events in the distant past, which had been shared between successive generations.<sup>22</sup> This division addressed some of the main criticisms levelled against the theory of collective memory, particularly the psychological argument that memories could not be transmitted or experienced by those who had not lived through the event being remembered.<sup>23</sup> Although the concept of collective memory remains divisive in some areas of memory studies, these understandings of the relationship between memory and social cohesion and identity remain central to the study of war commemoration.<sup>24</sup>

Ashplant, Dawson and Roper identify two main paradigms within the study of war commemoration: political-agency based and social-agency based.<sup>25</sup> Works adopting a political-agency approach tend to emphasise the political elements of commemoration, highlighting the role of official state and national apparatus in constructing and disseminating particular narratives of the past within their commemorations of war. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, for example, include commemorations within their categorisation of “invented traditions”. Hobsbawm describes “invented traditions” as “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past”.<sup>26</sup> In this sense, commemorations (and in particular the commemoration of war) are inherently political constructions which served to reinforce the values and norms of the nation/state in

---

<sup>20</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London & New York: Verso, 2006), 4.

<sup>21</sup> Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 111.

<sup>22</sup> Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory”, 110-111.

<sup>23</sup> Wulf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *History and Theory* 41 (2002): 180.

<sup>24</sup> See Mary Fulbrook, “History-writing and ‘collective memory’,” Stefan Berger and Bill Niven (eds.) *Writing the History of Memory*, eds. Stefan Berger and Bill Niven (London & New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 65-88 and Wulf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *History and Theory* 41 (2002): 179-197 for an overview of the criticisms levelled against the idea of collective memory.

<sup>25</sup> Ashplant et. al., “The Politics of War Memory”, 7.

<sup>26</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

question. Similarly, Benedict Anderson's monograph, *Imagined Communities* highlights the physical manifestations of war commemoration – cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers – as “arresting emblems of the modern cultural and nationalism ... saturated with ghostly national imaginings”.<sup>27</sup> Again, war commemoration here is inescapably linked to the identity and existence of the nation. In both cases, war commemoration is presented as a powerful, top-down tool used by nations to sustain shared imaginings, symbols, and ceremonies of nationhood, and in turn to reinforce loyalty, unity, and cohesion.

The centrality of nationalism in the commemoration of the First World War was most effectively explored by George Mosse in *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. Mosse draws upon his early work on the role of commemoration in the “nationalisation of the masses” to explore how commemoration was used after the First World War to create and intensify national myths and sentiments.<sup>28</sup> According to Mosse, through “the Myth of the War Experience ... the memory of the war was refashioned into a sacred experience ... putting at its [the nation's] disposal ever-present saints and martyrs, places of worship, and a heritage to emulate”.<sup>29</sup> The fallen soldiers “did not fulfil their mission as individuals but as a community of comrades” within the official narratives of commemoration that emerged after the war, strengthening the collective identity of the belligerent nations.<sup>30</sup> Here, as in Hobsbawm and Ranger and Anderson's works, war commemoration was primarily a political tool of identity consolidation and nationalism in the aftermath of the First World War.

In Australia and New Zealand, discussions of the political aspects of war commemoration tend to focus on the “Anzac Legend” – the term given to the official, national narratives of Australian and New Zealand involvement in the First World War.<sup>31</sup> This narrative emerged during the war itself, kindled by correspondents such as Charles E.W. Bean, Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, and Malcom Ross, and supported by politicians in

---

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 9.

<sup>28</sup> George Mosse, *The Nationalisation of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1975); George Mosse, *The Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>29</sup> Mosse, *The Fallen Soldiers*, 7.

<sup>30</sup> Mosse, *The Fallen Soldiers*, 79.

<sup>31</sup> Graham Seal, *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2004), 1.



both Australia and New Zealand.<sup>32</sup> The Anzac Legend highlighted the physical superiority and natural martial ability of Australian and New Zealand men, and framed the war as a “baptism of fire” through which the young Dominions emerged as fully-fledged nations onto the world stage.<sup>33</sup> Graham Seal, in his monograph *Inventing Anzac*, argues that the current narrative of war commemoration in Australia is actually the combination of “the folkloric tradition of the digger and the official tradition of Anzac”.<sup>34</sup> According to Seal, the folkloric digger tradition amongst soldiers during and immediately after the war was gradually tempered in the interwar years into a suitable national identity and narrative – the Anzac Legend.<sup>35</sup> Following the war, this narrative then became central to national commemorations of the conflict.<sup>36</sup> A similar argument is put forwards by Mark Sheftall, who argues that after the war national commemorations and narratives “emphasis[ed] the ‘positive’ outcomes of the war – the achievement of elevated national status and the revelation to the world of the exemplary qualities of Australian [and] New Zealand ... manhood”.<sup>37</sup> Other historians, including Jed Donoghue, Bruce Tranter, Phillipa Mein Smith, James Belich, Carolyn Holbrook, and Alistair Thomson, have also explored the political and national elements of war commemoration in Australia and New Zealand.<sup>38</sup>

Drawing upon the notion of war commemoration as an inherently political phenomenon, some historians have criticised what they view as the “militarisation of [national] history” through the prominence of the Anzac legend.<sup>39</sup> According to these historians, by focusing on narratives of war and commemoration in national identity an unbalanced view of the past is prioritised that fails to mention other non-military

---

<sup>32</sup> Christopher Pugsley, “Stories of Anzac” in *Gallipoli: Making History*, ed. Jenny Macleod (London: Routledge, 2004), 45.

<sup>33</sup> Mark Sheftall, *Altered Memories of the Great War: Divergent Narratives of Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 2.

<sup>34</sup> Seal, *Inventing Anzac*, 1.

<sup>35</sup> Seal, *Inventing Anzac*, 65.

<sup>36</sup> Seal, *Inventing Anzac*, 170.

<sup>37</sup> Mark Sheftall, *Altered Memories of the Great War*, 182.

<sup>38</sup> Jed Donoghue and Bruce Tranter, “The Anzacs: Military influences on Australian identity,” *Journal of Sociology* 51 no. 3 (2015): 449-463; Phillipa Mein Smith, “The ‘NZ’ in Anzac: different remembrance and meaning,” *First World War Studies* 7 no. 2 (2016): 193-211; James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography* (Sydney: NewSouth Press, 2014); Alistair Thomson, “Anzac Memories: Putting popular memory theory into practice in Australia”, in *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (London: Routledge, 2006), 244-254.

<sup>39</sup> Henry Reynolds and Marilyn Lake, “Epilogue: Moving On?” in *What’s Wrong With Anzac: The Militarisation of Australian History*, eds. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 166-167.

achievements and dates of importance. Most prominent in this school of thought is Marilyn Lake's and Henry Reynolds's edited volume *What's Wrong with Anzac?*<sup>40</sup> Alex McConville, Tim McCreanor, Margaret Wetherell, and Helen Moewaka Barnes put forwards a similar argument in their 2017 article, which argued that the commemoration of the First World War in New Zealand is used as "a site through which settler identity and cultural hegemony are reproduced".<sup>41</sup> Throughout this literature, the commemoration of the First World War in Australia and New Zealand is portrayed as a national project that promotes an "unrepresentative" or "militarised" view of national history. The political nature of war commemoration, therefore, is presented as an indisputable fact.

Conversely, Jay Winter has criticised overtly political interpretations of war commemoration as failing to acknowledge the inherently individual and "existential" function of war commemoration as a facet of mourning.<sup>42</sup> In other words, by interpreting war commemoration as primarily a political project, these studies overlook the social and cultural influences and purposes of commemoration. In both *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* and *Remembering War*, Winter highlights the importance of individual and local commemorative processes as a "cult of mourning".<sup>43</sup> Winter emphasises the psychological and cultural importance of war commemoration as a public act of remembrance, both immediately after the war and in more recent times.<sup>44</sup> While Winter acknowledges that the rhetoric of war commemoration was adopted by national political leaders, he nonetheless reinforces the "social practice, shared by millions of ordinary people" at the heart of the commemoration of the First World War.<sup>45</sup>

Several historians have explored the social-cultural function of war commemorations in Australia in recent years, particularly focusing on the role of such commemorations in the interwar years. According to Bart Ziino, home-front commemorations during the war and into the 1920s and 1930s were central to "Australians' attempts to come to terms with the distance that separated them from those

---

<sup>40</sup> Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynold, eds. *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010).

<sup>41</sup> Alex McConville, Tim McCreanor, Margaret Wetherell, Helen Moewaka Barnes, "Imagining an Emotional nation: the print media an Anzac Day commemorations in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Media, Culture & Society* 39 no. 1 (2017), 94.

<sup>42</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 79.

<sup>43</sup> Winter, *Remembering War*, 25-26.

<sup>44</sup> Winter, *Remembering War*, 279-280.

<sup>45</sup> Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 173.

they mourned”.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Joy Damousi’s and Tanja Luckin’s work on grief, loss, and mourning reinforces the importance of personal and public commemoration in the process of mourning following the war.<sup>47</sup> Little has been written on the social and cultural nature of war commemorations in New Zealand, in comparison to the body of Australian literature.

Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper argue that “there is a tendency to construe these two paradigms [political-agency versus social-agency] as if they were unrelated alternatives, and to focus analysis in terms of one or the other”.<sup>48</sup> Acknowledging both the social and political aspects of war commemoration provides a deeper understanding of the nuances of commemoration. This is particularly pertinent as individual and state-based commemorative narratives are inescapably interconnected. In order to remain relevant and politically effective, broader national commemoration needs to engage with individual memories and memorial practices.<sup>49</sup> The social-cultural aspect of war commemoration as a widespread, psychological process of public grieving and memorialisation is undoubtedly important. However, “in the modern era, it has been the nation which has been the prime arena for the articulation of war memorials and the mobilisation of commemoration”.<sup>50</sup> This thesis focuses on solely national war commemorations, though it acknowledges both the political and social functions of commemorative sites. This is in part due to the central role of the governments of Australia and New Zealand in sustaining a unified official commemorative narrative over the course of the past century. However, a national focus has also been adopted in order to more thoroughly investigate the link between governmental/national approaches to race relations with Indigenous peoples and the acknowledgement of their First World War service in national commemorations.

Little of the existing literature on war commemoration specifically addresses the acknowledgement and inclusion of Indigenous people. Since the 1990s a separate field detailing the ways in which non-white peoples have been included in the First World War

---

<sup>46</sup> Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (Crawley, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2007), 3.

<sup>47</sup> Joy Damousi, *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory and Wartime Bereavement in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Joy Damousi, *Living with the Aftermath: trauma, nostalgia and grief in post-war Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Tanja Luckins, *The Gates of Memory: Australian People’s Experiences and Memories of Loss and the Great War* (Fremantle: Curtin University Press, 2004).

<sup>48</sup> Ashplant et. al., “The Politics of war memory”, 22.

<sup>49</sup> Ashplant et. al., “The politics of war commemoration”, 18.

<sup>50</sup> Ashplant et. al., “The Politics of war memory”, 22.

has emerged. This field draws upon the wider body of work that has sought to diversify the existing literature on the First World War and discuss the experiences of non-white soldiers who were involved in the conflict. Academic interest in non-white war service increased in the years leading up to and during the centenary of the First World War, as governments, minority groups, and academics alike grappled with what multicultural commemorations of the war might look like. Most of the literature regarding non-white peoples' involvement in the First World War examines their participation through the lens of Imperialism, linking wartime involvement to broader Imperial power structures and control. Much of this literature has focused on Africa and the Indian subcontinent, where large colonial populations were mobilised to assist with the war effort.<sup>51</sup> Similar academic inquiries have been made into the experiences of Indigenous peoples in the British settler-societies (known as Dominions by the First World War), as well as of Native American soldiers in the United States.<sup>52</sup> Worth highlighting is Timothy Winegard's monograph *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*, which provides the sole comparative study of Indigenous participation across Britain's five Dominions (Australia, Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, South Africa).<sup>53</sup>

The majority of the work on Indigenous Australian war service focuses on providing an overview of Indigenous military service throughout the twentieth century, rather than specifically dealing with Indigenous Australian involvement in the First World War. Early works in this field, including Desmond Ball's *Aborigines in the Defence of Australia* and Alick Jackomos and Derek Fowell's *Forgotten Heroes*, only briefly mention Indigenous Australian involvement in the First World War, often with limited and now-outdated statistics.<sup>54</sup> More recent works by John Maynard, Allison Cadzow, and Noah Riseman have sought to expand on Indigenous Australian

---

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, Michelle Moyd, *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2014); and Santanu Das, *India, Empire, and First World War Culture: Writings, Images, and Songs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>52</sup> Russel Barsh, "American Indians in the Great War," *Ethnohistory* 38 no. 3 (1991): 276-303; Thomas Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); James Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review* 70 no. 1 (1989): 1-26; Melvin Page, ed. *Africa and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1987).

<sup>53</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*.

<sup>54</sup> Desmond Ball, *Aborigines in the Defence of Australia* (Sydney: Australian National University Press, 1991); Alick Jackomos and Derek Fowell, *Forgotten Heroes: Aborigines at war from the Somme to Vietnam* (Melbourne, Victoria Press, 1993).

involvement in the First World War within their broader histories.<sup>55</sup> Works dealing solely with the First World War remain uncommon, with Phillipa Scarlett's monograph *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers for the AIF* the most comprehensive of those written.<sup>56</sup>

In New Zealand, James Cowan's *The Maoris in the Great War* was the earliest mainstream history of Māori involvement in the First World War.<sup>57</sup> Although now somewhat outdated in its language, Cowan's monograph remains an important source of information about Māori participation in the First World War. More recent research by P.S. O'Connor, Christopher Pugsley, Alison Fletcher, and Monty Soutar has expanded on Cowan's work, and provide important details regarding the recruitment, service, and experiences of Māori soldiers in the First World War.<sup>58</sup> Most recently, Monty Soutar's 2019 monograph provides a comprehensive exploration of the motivations, experiences, and service of Māori men who enlisted in the First World War, along with photographs of the majority of Māori soldiers.<sup>59</sup> These works fall into what P. Whitney Lackenbauer and R. Scott Sheffield labelled the "forgotten warrior" genre – texts intended to name Indigenous soldiers and recognise their involvement.<sup>60</sup>

Literature dealing specifically with the commemoration of Indigenous Australian and Māori First World War service remains limited. Typically, works discussing the

---

<sup>55</sup> See, John Maynard, "The First World War", in *Serving Our Country: Indigenous Australians, War, Defence and Citizenship*, eds. Joan Beaumont and Allison Cadzow (Sydney: NewSouth Press, 2018), 55-68; Allison Cadzow and Mary Anne Jebb (eds.), *Our Mob Served: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Histories of War and Defending Australia* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2019); Noah Riseman, *In Defence of Country: Life Stories of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Servicemen and Women* (Canberra: Aboriginal History, 2016).

<sup>56</sup> Phillipa Scarlett, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers for the AIF* (Macquarie, ACT: Indigenous Histories, 2015). See also Rod Pratt, "Queensland's Aborigines in the First AIF", reprinted in P. Whitney Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield and Craig Leslie Mantle (eds.) *Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Canadian and International Perspectives* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007 [1990]), 215-236; David Huggonson, "Aborigines and the Aftermath of the Great War," *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1 (1993): 2-9; David Huggonson, "The Dark Diggers of the AIF," *The Australian Quarterly* 61 no. 3 (1989): 352-357.

<sup>57</sup> James Cowan, *The Māori s in the Great War* (Auckland: Māori Regimental Committee, 1926).

<sup>58</sup> P.S. O'Connor, "The Recruitment of Māori Soldiers, 1914-1918," *Political Science* 19 (1967): 48-83; Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhita a Tu: The Māori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2006); Alison Fletcher, "Recruitment and Service of Māori Soldiers in World War One," *Itinerario* 38 no. 3 (2014): 59-78; Monty Soutar, "Te Hokowhita-a-Tu", in *Māori and Oral History: a collection*, eds. Rachel Selby and Alison J. Laurie (Wellington: National Oral History Association of New Zealand, 2003 [1998]), 1-3.

<sup>59</sup> Monty Soutar, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E!: Māori in the First World War* (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2019).

<sup>60</sup> P. Whitney Lackenbauer and R. Scott Sheffield, "Moving Beyond 'Forgotten': The Historiography on Canadian Native Peoples in the world wars", in *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historiographical Perspectives*, eds. P. Whitney Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield, and Craig Leslie Mantle (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 209-232.

commemoration of Indigenous war service tend to focus on war service more broadly, rather than on a specific conflict. Robert Hall's 1990 article "Black Australians and the Anzac Legend" was one of the first to openly criticise white Australian cultural and commemorative institution for excluding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups from mainstream war commemoration.<sup>61</sup> According to Hall, this exclusion had forced Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander veterans to adopt radical political action in an attempt to gain recognition within the mainstream commemorative landscape.<sup>62</sup> Historians including Ann Curthoys, Clemence Due, Joan Beaumont, and Peter Stanley have expanded upon Hall's work, linking the exclusion of Indigenous Australians from war commemoration to broader national priorities and racial tensions in Australia.<sup>63</sup> Additionally, both Noah Riseman and James Bennett have explored the evolution of Indigenous inclusion in national war commemoration over the course of the twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries.<sup>64</sup> Similar work in New Zealand remains less common. Two notable contributions are Sue Abel's exploration of the role of Māori television in war commemoration, and Puawai Cairn's discussion of the ways in which Indigenous stories can be incorporated into mainstream commemorations of the First World War.<sup>65</sup> This small body of literature fits into broader international trends regarding the acknowledgement of non-white soldiers in First World War commemorations, with historians such as Claire Eldridge and Meghan Tinsley working on how imperial soldiers have been commemorated in Europe.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Robert Hall, "Black Australians and the Anzac Legend", *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 16 (1990): 51-52.

<sup>62</sup> Hall, "Black Australians", 52.

<sup>63</sup> Ann Curthoys, "National narratives, war commemoration and racial exclusion in a settler society: The Australian case," in *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, eds. T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), 128-144; Joan Beaumont, "Commemoration", in *Serving Our Country: Indigenous Australians, War, Defence and Citizenship*, eds. Joan Beaumont and Alison Cadzow (Sydney: NewSouth Press, 2018), 201-212; Clemence Due, "Lest We Forget': Creating an Australian National Identity from Memories of War", *Melbourne Historical Journal* 36 no. 1 (2008): 23-39; Peter Stanley, "'He was black, he was a White man, and a dinkum Aussie': race and empire in revisiting the Anzac legend," in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, ed. Santanu Das (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 213-230.

<sup>64</sup> Noah Riseman, "Evolving Commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service," *Wicazo Sa Review* 32 no. 1 (2017), 80-101; James Bennett, "Lest we forget black diggers: recovering Aboriginal Anzacs on television", *Journal of Australian Studies* 38 no. 4 (2014): 457-475.

<sup>65</sup> Sue Abel, "Māori Television, Anzac Day, and Constructing 'Nationhood'," in *The Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand*, eds. B. Hokowhitu and V. Devadas (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 201-215; Puawai Cairns, "The Wait and the Fight – Telling Māori WWI Histories and the Search for Alternative Platforms", Unpublished Article. 2015.

<sup>66</sup> Meghan Tinsley, "'We Will Re-Member Them': Muslims in the Great War Semi-Centenary," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 14 no. 3 (2014): 399-417; Claire Eldridge, 'The Forgotten of this Tribute': Settler Soldiers, Colonial Categories and the Centenary of the First World War," *History and Memory* 31 no. 2 (2019): 3-44.

This thesis provides an insight into the commemoration of Indigenous First World War service, which is lacking from the emerging body of literature. It uniquely contributes to the broader field in two key ways. Firstly, it is explicitly comparative, discussing the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service at a national level in both Australia and New Zealand. Such comparative work remains absent from the field. Its comparative approach enables this thesis to investigate themes of Imperialism and national race relations that emerge in the existing literature, and identify the ways in which these influences operated in different British Dominions. Secondly, this study focuses solely on the acknowledgement of First World War service, rather than Indigenous war service more broadly. There is inevitably some level of overlap between the commemoration of First World War service and of subsequent conflicts. However, this thesis aims to highlight the experience of First World War soldiers, which has traditionally been overshadowed in both the literature and popular memory by experiences of soldiers from the Second World War onwards. Given the increased accessibility of Indigenous First World War stories in recent years, and the recent interest in the conflict prompted by its centenary, the focus on the First World War is a timely and relevant contribution to the existing body of literature.

Throughout this thesis, a cultural studies methodology has been adopted that highlights the role and significance of cultural sites in understandings of war commemoration. In particular, this thesis draws on Jay Winter's adaptation of Pierre Nora's sites of memory framework. Pierre Nora is typically credited with inventing the term "site of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*). According to Nora, "if the expression *lieu de mémoire* must have an official definition, it should be this: a *lieu de memoire* is any significant entity, whether material or intangible in nature, which by hint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community".<sup>67</sup> Jay Winter applied the concept of sites of memory to the First World War, viewing them not necessarily as sites of national importance (though they can often serve that purpose), but first and foremost as sites in which memory and mourning interact.<sup>68</sup> It is this interaction between memory and mourning which makes sites of memory central to the commemoration of the First World War. They simultaneously transcend national

---

<sup>67</sup> Pierre Nora, "From *Lieux de Memoire* to *Realms of Memory*" in *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, ed. Pierre Nora. Volume I: (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), xvii.

<sup>68</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 10.

boundaries, whilst also reinforcing national narratives and values.<sup>69</sup> Importantly, sites of memory for the First World War acted not only as “sites of mourning” as Winter identifies, but also as sites of commemoration – tangible points within an intangible commemorative landscape through which remembrance and commemoration could be practiced and reinforced.

When examining the national commemorative landscape, three key sites of memory emerge as being of the most significance: days of remembrance, war memorials, and war museums. Days of remembrance and war memorials have received significant academic attention in their roles as sites of memory. In the English translation of *Les Lieux de mémoire*, for example, Antoine Prost dedicates a chapter to “monuments to the dead”, linking them to the ceremonies held on days of remembrance of war.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, Jay Winter devotes an entire chapter to war memorials in *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning*, and highlights the importance of days of remembrance in drawing “attention to the victims, both living and dead” of the First World War.<sup>71</sup> Another key text in this field is Ken Inglis’s *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*. Although focused on the Australian context, Inglis’s examination of the importance accorded to war memorials and days of remembrance from prior to the First World War into the present day highlights the importance of both these sites of commemoration.<sup>72</sup>

War museums have also increasingly been identified as nationally significant sites of commemoration.<sup>73</sup> This draws upon work in the broad field of museum studies that has highlighted the importance of museums as sites of national and colonial memory.<sup>74</sup> These three sites – days of remembrance, war memorials, and military museums – are referred to as “sites of commemoration” throughout this thesis, due to their centrality to the commemorative landscape in Australia and New Zealand.

---

<sup>69</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 10.

<sup>70</sup> Antoine Prost, “Monuments to the Dead”, in *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, ed. Pierre Nora. Volume II: Traditions (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 307.

<sup>71</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning*, 30, 78-116.

<sup>72</sup> Ken Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998).

<sup>73</sup> Jay Winter, “Museums and the Representations of War,” in *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representations of Violence in Exhibitions*, ed. Wolfgang Muchitsch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 21-37.

<sup>74</sup> See, for example, Robert Aldrich, *Vestiges of the Colonial Empire in France: Monuments, Museums and Colonial Memories* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Maryse Fauvel, “Museums as sites of memory and oblivion: the persistence of alterity in museums of the Western World,” *Contemporary French Civilisation* 40 no. 3 (2014): 331-349; Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, distributed by Random House, 1993).



This thesis utilises a diverse range of primary material throughout, reflecting the broad range of sources required to study a national commemorative landscape. In terms of traditional archival sources, the files concerning the Māori Contingent and Māori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War held at Archives New Zealand in Wellington provided valuable insight into the decisions that shaped the nature of Māori war service. Additionally, the digitised Military Personnel Files provided service information for the identified Māori First World War soldiers.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, the First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers, 1914-1920 at the National Archives of Australia in Canberra were crucial in compiling a list of known Indigenous Australian soldiers, and mapping the details of their individual wartime experiences.<sup>76</sup> Although not contained in the final version of this thesis, the large spreadsheet created from these records provided the data for the table presented in Appendix I, and subsequently a source for all of the statistical data concerning Indigenous Australian war service in Chapter I. Documents, committee reports, and correspondence held at the Australian War Memorial, National Archives of Australia, Auckland War Memorial Museum, and Archives New Zealand were also particularly useful in providing information regarding the construction of Australia and New Zealand's major war memorials and war museums, as well as details regarding days of remembrance. In particular, the collections of ephemera relating to days of remembrance at the above archives were particularly useful in mapping changes to Anzac Day and Remembrance Day services where recorded footage of the services was not available. This thesis has also drawn upon historical and modern news media, both in written and audio-visual form. For this, the collections on Trove from the National Library and Australia and Papers Past have been essential.

The digitisation of records (particularly personnel files from both Australia and New Zealand) provided access to a number of sources that would be otherwise inaccessible within the scope of a Master's thesis. However, research trips to Canberra and New Zealand were required to access some archival sources. These research trips also offered an opportunity to conduct interviews with curators at both Te Papa Tongarewa and Auckland War Memorial Museum, which provided important context to the analysis in chapter IV. The creation of a six-part mini-documentary series detailing the process of curating *Gallipoli: The Scale of our War* also provided valuable insight

---

<sup>75</sup> Military Personnel Files – AABK 18805 W5530/5, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

<sup>76</sup> First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers, 1914-1920, B2445, National Archives of Australia, Canberra, Australia.

into the creative curatorial process directly from members of the exhibition team. The documentary's free availability through Te Papa Tongarewa's website meant that it was possible (to some extent) to gain insight into the perspectives of individuals not interviewed in person. It should be noted that due to time constraints and conflicting schedules it was not possible to interview staff at the Australian War Memorial.

Drawing on the cultural studies tradition of using sources typically outside the scope of the archive, this thesis also engages with the physical sites of commemoration as primary material in and of themselves. The design of the war memorials, as well as the wider commemorative landscape they sit in (i.e. the park surrounding the National War Memorial and the gardens surrounding the Australian War Memorial) have been considered as tangible material sources. A similar approach has been taken to the study of war museums, with not only the artefacts in the galleries but the broader environment of the exhibitions themselves considered throughout the final chapter of this thesis. Such an approach draws upon existing practice in museum studies, which prioritises physically visiting sites where possible in order to experience the "embodied memory" of the site.<sup>77</sup> By travelling to each of the tangible sites of commemoration, a fuller appreciation for the affective and narrative aspects of war memorials and war museums was able to be ascertained. This in turn has enabled a more robust analysis of the extent to which Indigenous war service has been acknowledged in these sites throughout the First World War centenary, and in decades prior in the case of war memorials.

The primary material utilised throughout this thesis provides a broad range of perspectives on and approaches to the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service in the national commemorative landscapes of Australia and New Zealand. By moving beyond traditional archival sources and printed newspapers, a more comprehensive understanding regarding the creation and evolution of national sites of commemoration has been gained. This in turn enables a more nuanced analysis of the ways in which Indigenous war service have been acknowledged in these sites.

Unfortunately, largely absent from the primary material utilised is the voice of Indigenous people themselves. The nature of official national sites of commemoration means that typically the creators and governments involved were predominately white. Particularly in material prior to the 1970s, the majority of the creators were white males.

---

<sup>77</sup> Jason Dittmer and Emma Waterton, "Embodied memory at the Australian War Memorial," in *Memory, Place and Identity: Commemoration and Remembrance of War and Conflict*, ed. Danielle Drozdewski, Sarah de Nardi, Emma Waterton (London: Routledge, 2016), 169-188.

While the perspective of educated “Māori elite” such as Apiranga Ngata, Sir. Peter Buck, and Maui Pomare feature throughout the material, the experiences and responses of the majority of Māori to their war service and their inclusion in national sites of commemoration is largely inaccessible due to language, location, and the timeframe of a two-year Master’s thesis. Indigenous Australian voices were even less common at a national level prior to the late-twentieth century. While the voices and experiences of Indigenous curators and officials have been included, they are far from comprehensive. The scope of this thesis concentrates on the national sites of commemoration, and by extension the views and attitudes of predominately white historical figures. However, future research utilising Māori-language sources, as well as non-written methods of knowledge dissemination and oral interviews, would shine important light on Indigenous perspectives beyond what is possible to accomplish in this thesis.

Wherever possible, this thesis has avoided using explicitly derogatory or offensive language. As this was typically absent from official national reports, this has not been a difficult task. However, the terms “Maoris”, “Aborigine”, and “native” have been used when drawn directly from a quotation. This thesis also makes use of te reo Māori text in places. Te reo Māori words and phrases have been written with correct macrons. Translations of Māori text are provided alongside the first time a word or phrase is used. In order to reflect the continued cultural and political significance of te reo Māori and Indigenous Australian languages, phrases and words in these languages have not been italicised (except for where they appear in titles).

It is important to note from the outset that this thesis does not claim to speak for Indigenous groups in either Australia or New Zealand. Instead, it contributes to the ongoing discussion in academic and public circles regarding the diversification of war commemoration at a national level in Australia and New Zealand. Undoubtedly, many Indigenous Australians and Māori are not concerned with their inclusion in national war commemorations, instead choosing to focus their attention on continuing issues of sovereignty (both cultural and political), acknowledgement of colonial violence and genocide, and systemic healthcare, education, and resource issues that continue to face Indigenous communities. However, these interests do not invalidate the desire for the families of veterans of the First World War to see their loved ones recognised and commemorated at a national level, as well as at a local level. Additionally, as Noah Riseman posits, the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service in national

commemoration may in fact facilitate the discussion of colonial violence and genocide, as well as other Indigenous issues, at a national level.<sup>78</sup> However, this thesis does not engage with the arguments surrounding the representation of frontier violence, as it is beyond the scope of this study.

The thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter provides a chronological overview of Indigenous Australian and Māori participation in the First World War. In particular, it focuses on the policies surrounding Indigenous enlistment and participation that were adopted by the Australian Imperial Force and the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, and by the respective national governments. By focusing on official policies, and how these were enacted at a local level, this chapter is able to offer a comparative insight into how the imperial, national, and sub-national contexts in Australia and New Zealand informed attitudes towards Indigenous participation in the war. This chapter provides the context for the rest of the thesis. It establishes how many Indigenous men fought in the First World War from Australia and New Zealand, how the two countries approached Indigenous war service on a national and local level, and how these decisions were informed by pre-existing cultural and political factors. Overall, this chapter argues that national values and interests had the most influence over the nature of Indigenous war service in Australia and New Zealand, and laid the groundwork for the acknowledgement of Indigenous soldiers in post-war commemorations.

The three subsequent chapters each deal with a different type of site of commemoration: days of remembrance, war memorials, and museums respectively. Chapter II discusses the development of Anzac Day and Remembrance Day in Australia and New Zealand, tracing the origins of the events through the tumultuous period of the 1960s and 1970s and into the centenary commemorations of 2014-2018. Within this, the explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War service is discussed, as well as the broader inclusion of Indigenous servicemen and Indigenous cultural rituals into these national days of remembrance. Chapter III focuses on the Australian War Memorial and the New Zealand National War Memorial. It analyses the extent to which Indigenous service has been acknowledged in these sites of commemoration over the course of their construction and subsequent redevelopments and additions. Finally, chapter IV discusses the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service in the Australian War Memorial's

---

<sup>78</sup> Noah Riseman, "Evolving Commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service," *Wicazo Sa Review* 32 no. 1 (2017), 88-93.

museum and the Auckland War Memorial Museum from their construction to the end of the centenary. It traces the different strategies the institutions have used to address growing pressures for Indigenous recognition over the course of their histories. This chapter also discusses Te Papa Tongarewa's exhibition *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* as a major institutional contribution to New Zealand's centenary commemorations.

Each of these chapters adopts a chronological structure, identifying three key periods in the development of war commemorations over the past 100 years in Australia and New Zealand. The first stage – Establishing a Commemorative Tradition – occurred over the first fifty years of commemoration, from 1918 to 1964. During this period, each of the sites of commemoration was developed, drawing on national interests and popular memorial needs in the decades following the war. Throughout these initial decades of commemoration, the focus in Australia was primarily on white male soldiers. Indigenous Australian service was almost entirely absent from the national commemorative sites. In New Zealand, however, Māori participation was acknowledged to a limited extent in the national commemorative landscape. This first stage ends at the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the First World War, by which time a strong, national commemorative tradition had already been established in both Australia and New Zealand.

The second stage – Contesting and Changing the Commemorative Landscape – occurred between 1965 and 2004. Framed between the fiftieth anniversary of the Gallipoli landings, and the unveiling of the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in New Zealand, this stage traces the ways in which national commemoration evolved in the second half of the twentieth century. During this period, the national commemorative landscapes in Australia and New Zealand underwent the most change, reflecting the changing cultural, social, and political values in both countries at the time. In particular, this period saw the expansion of the national commemorative narrative to include previously marginalised groups, as well as the renewal of First World War commemorations as an important aspect of Australian and New Zealand national identity. This stage represents a time of transition in the national commemorative landscape with regards to the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service. Although many of the social and political developments that pushed for greater recognition of Indigenous peoples in both Australia and New Zealand occurred during this period, these developments did not necessarily provoke greater inclusion in the national commemorative landscapes during this period. In Australia, Indigenous Australian war service remained on the fringes of

national commemoration, if it was acknowledged at all. By comparison, by the 1990s Māori war service was increasingly highlighted in the national sites of commemoration, particularly the museum.

The final stage – The Centenary – covers the period from 2005 to 2019, the lead-up to and years of the centenary commemorations of the First World War. The national centenary commemorations in both Australia and New Zealand were large affairs. The Australian government committed to spending at least AUD140 million on its centenary commemorations (with some calculations placing this figure over AUD500 million), while the New Zealand government projected NZD19 million for its commemorations (although including the NZD109 million redevelopment of Pukeahu National War Memorial Park the figure rises to NZD140 million).<sup>79</sup> Following the political and social developments of the previous stage, the centenary commemorations offered the potential for the greater acknowledgement of Indigenous service at a national level. Ultimately, Indigenous war service was acknowledged in national commemorations across each of the three sites of memory over the course of the centenary. However, this acknowledgement was, for the most part, marginalised and conservative.

Ultimately, the acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War service in the national sites of commemoration in Australia and New Zealand was minimal and conservative until the 1990s in both countries. Over the course of the past century, approaches to this acknowledgment have been informed by gradually changing national political and social contexts. In New Zealand, where more positive race relations and some level of biculturalism were already more developed than in Australia by the time of the outbreak of war, this process of acknowledgement began earlier. Subsequently, developments over the past 50 years have enabled a deeper and more complex understanding of Māori war service, rather than focusing on rectifying their absence in the national commemoration landscape. Conversely, the social and political climate in Australia immediately following the First World War prevented Indigenous Australian service from being explicitly acknowledged at a national level. Further, as Australia is still resolving its national approach to the reconciliation with and recognition of its Indigenous population, the acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War service has remained limited at a national level. Thus, although similar phases can be identified in

---

<sup>79</sup> Jenny Macleod, “The Gallipoli Centenary: an International Perspective“, in *War and Commemoration*, ed. Brad West (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 90. These figures include both domestic and international commemorative projects.

## Introduction

the development of the commemoration of the First World War in both countries, their differing political and social contexts regarding race relations resulted in different levels of acknowledgement of Indigenous service.

## **Chapter I**

### **Indigenous Participation in the First World War**

At least 3,000 Indigenous Australian and Māori men served overseas in the Australian Imperial Force (A.I.F.) and New Zealand Expeditionary Force (N.Z.E.F.) between 1914 and 1918. In many cases, these men encountered structural barriers preventing their enlistment, as well as economic, social, and political disadvantage and oppression at home prior to and following the war.<sup>1</sup> This chapter presents a chronological overview of the enlistment and war service of Indigenous Australians and Māori during the war to contextualise the subsequent chapters of the thesis. Over the past 20 years, a small number of key monographs discussing Indigenous Australian and Māori involvement in the First World War have been published.<sup>2</sup> These works provide a detailed overview of Indigenous war service, including the enlistment, service history, wartime experience, and casualty rates of Indigenous Australian and Māori soldiers. Rather than trying to replicate these comprehensive, operational studies in a limited space, this chapter focuses on the ways in which Indigenous war service was shaped by imperial, national, and sub-national attitudes and ideals surrounding ideas of race and belonging. Pre-war understandings of race throughout the British Empire were important factors in shaping the participation of non-white peoples in the First World War globally. In framing the discussion of Indigenous participation around official policies and attitudes, this chapter highlights the wartime structural differences in Australia and New Zealand regarding understandings of race and the place of Indigenous peoples in both societies.

#### **1914: A “European” War**

At the outbreak of the war, the British Colonial Office had no official policy on the recruitment of Indigenous peoples across its Dominions and colonies.<sup>3</sup> However, as Winegard argues, “contemporary science, social biases and public opinion [in Britain] accepted that certain identifiable ethnic groups lacked the intelligence and integrity to

---

<sup>1</sup> Noah Riseman, “Introduction: Brothers and Sisters in Arms,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 32 no. 1 (2017): 6.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example: Phillipa Scarlett, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers for the A.I.F.* (Macquarie, ACT: Indigenous Histories, 2012); Monty Soutar, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Māori in the First World War* (Auckland: Bateman Books, 2019); Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu a Tu: The Māori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2006 [1995]).

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.



fight modern war”.<sup>4</sup> These assumptions built upon pseudo-scientific theories that placed Europeans at the pinnacle of human civilisation, whilst relegating Indigenous populations to earlier, “primitive” stages of development.<sup>5</sup> Although Indigenous peoples across the empire “greeted the war with enthusiasm”, they were not initially considered as essential manpower for the British war effort.<sup>6</sup> In the absence of an official British stance on Indigenous involvement, the inclusion of Indigenous Australians and Māori into the A.I.F. and N.Z.E.F. depended on pre-existing national policies and contemporary attitudes towards military service and social inclusion.<sup>7</sup>

Section 138(b) of the *Australian Defence Act 1909* excluded “those who [were] not of European origin” from compulsory military training.<sup>8</sup> Indigenous Australians were not explicitly mentioned in the section. One possible explanation for this is the fact that Indigenous Australians were excluded from Commonwealth jurisdiction under the *Constitution*. As a result, the Commonwealth government had no responsibility to consider Indigenous inclusion or exclusion from the *Defence Act*. However, Pratt explains that: “the assumption [was] that Aborigines would be included in the blanket definition of those ‘not substantially of European origin’”.<sup>9</sup> As Huggonson asserts, “the young Commonwealth was to have an all-white citizens’ army ... to defend the white Australia ideal”.<sup>10</sup> The *Defence Act* reinforced contemporary attitudes towards Indigenous Australian involvement in military engagements. Indigenous Australians “were never [officially] admitted into Australian [colonial] military forces” despite the fact that a small number were deployed within the Australian colonial forces in the South African War.<sup>11</sup> By contrast, New Zealand’s *Defence Act 1909* “drew no distinctions between Māori and Pākehā” in terms of armed service.<sup>12</sup> Although compulsory military training for men aged 18 to 25 was not applied universally to Māori under the *Defence*

---

<sup>4</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> James Belich, “Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand,” *New Zealand History Journal* 31 no. 1 (1997): 10.

<sup>6</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 70.

<sup>7</sup> At least one Māori man (Jack Reihana) enlisted in the A.I.F., while two Indigenous Australian men (Charles Allen Firth and James Smale) enlisted in the N.Z.E.F.

<sup>8</sup> *Defence Act 1909* (Cth), s 138(b). <https://legislation.gov.au/Details/C1909A00015>.

<sup>9</sup> Rod Pratt, “Queensland’s Aborigines in the First A.I.F.” *Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Canadian and International Perspectives*, eds. in P. Whitney Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield, and Craig Leslie Mantle (Winnipeg: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 219.

<sup>10</sup> David Huggonson “The White Australia Ideal and Australia’s Defence Policy,” *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 17 no. 8 (2000): 373.

<sup>11</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 48.

<sup>12</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 61.

*Act*, they were not excluded from volunteering for the Territorial Force.<sup>13</sup> This legislation reinforced pre-1909 attitudes towards Māori involvement in New Zealand's military forces. Māori had participated in British Imperial conflicts since 1817.<sup>14</sup> At least 21 men of Māori descent served with the New Zealand Contingent during the South African War. This was despite the fact that a separate Māori Contingent was refused by the British government.<sup>15</sup> These differences between Australia and New Zealand reflected broader understandings of racial inclusion in each society. While in Australia Indigenous Australians had been increasingly excluded from "mainstream" white society throughout the nineteenth century, in New Zealand aspects of Māori society and culture had become increasingly integrated into Pākehā society.<sup>16</sup> The different roles accorded to Indigenous Australians and Māori in Australia and New Zealand directly informed the context of Indigenous participation following the outbreak of the First World War. While in Australia Indigenous service (along with all other non-white service) had been prohibited in official legislation, in New Zealand Māori war service was supported in both legislation and practice, reflecting their broader social and political integration.

Following Britain's declaration of war against Germany in August 1914, the Australian and New Zealand governments immediately offered material and manpower to support the war effort. However, the two countries adopted differing official policies regarding Indigenous enlistment from the outset. A note in the A.I.F.'s Recruiting Regulations Booklet in 1914 reminded recruiting officers that: "Aborigines and half-castes are not to be enlisted. This restriction is to be interpreted as applying to all coloured men".<sup>17</sup> The explicit exclusion of Indigenous people from the A.I.F. reinforced the pre-war ideal of a white Australian defence force, and by extension a white Australian society.<sup>18</sup> According to Andrew Markus, "by the end of the [nineteenth] century ... non-European blood imposed a permanent barrier to admission into Australian society".<sup>19</sup> By

---

<sup>13</sup> Bradford Haami, "Māori in the Armed Forces", in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, ed. Ian McGibbon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 302.

<sup>14</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 47.

<sup>15</sup> Ashley Gould, "'Different Race, Same Queen': Māori and the War" in *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War 1899-1902*, John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), 123.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Havemann, "Indigenous Peoples, the State and the Challenge of Differentiated Citizenship," in *Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Australia, Canada & New Zealand*, ed. Paul Havemann (Auckland: Oxford University Press New Zealand, 1999), 469.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Timothy Winegard, "A Case Study of Indigenous Brothers in Arms during the First World War," *Australian Army Journal* 6 no. 1 (2009): 195.

<sup>18</sup> Huggonson, "White Australia", 376.

<sup>19</sup> Andrew Markus, *Australian Race Relations*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 111.

excluding Indigenous Australians from military service, federal politicians reinforced Indigenous exclusions from the responsibilities, and therefore the privileges, of Australian society.

Conversely, according to Winegard the New Zealand government “never intended to deny Māori the ability to serve” in the N.Z.E.F.<sup>20</sup> On 1 September 1914 the Department of Defence released a “Notice to all Māori Tribes”, which stated: “It is our earnest hope that, though the Māori Race is among the smallest of those within the British Empire, its name may not be omitted from the roll of the peoples who are rallying to maintain the mana [(prestige)] of King George the Fifth.”<sup>21</sup> The question was whether Māori would be able to serve in a distinct unit, as a similar unit had been denied by the British during the South African War.<sup>22</sup> Immediately after the outbreak of the war, the Department of Defence admitted that “it is unlikely that a Native Contingent will be sent to the front”.<sup>23</sup> However, New Zealand Prime Minister William Massey argued on 1 September 1914 that the presence of Indian colonial soldiers in the British Army should enable the creation of a separate Māori Contingent:

There is an embargo that a Native force should not take part in wars between the White races. But as Native troops from India have arrived in Europe ... a way has been paved for the offer of the Māori people ... our equals in the sight of law. Why then should they be deprived of the privilege of fighting and upholding the Empire when assailed by the enemy?<sup>24</sup>

Five days later, the British War Office accepted the offer of a contingent of 200 Māori for service in Egypt.<sup>25</sup> The acceptance of this offer further reinforces the importance of national attitudes towards Indigenous people in facilitating their participation in the opening stages of the war. The lack of an overarching British policy regarding Indigenous war service in 1914 thus enabled Australia and New Zealand to shape policies towards service that reflected each country’s official attitudes towards their Indigenous peoples.

---

<sup>20</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 80.

<sup>21</sup> Department of Defence, “Notice to all Māori Tribes”, 1 September 1914, 9/32/1, Expeditionary Force – Māori Contingents N.Z.E.F., Box 707, AAYS 8368 AD1, Archives New Zealand (herein ANZ), Wellington.

<sup>22</sup> “Maoris Offering Services in Expeditionary Force”, August 1914. 9/32. Expeditionary Force – Māori Contingents N.Z.E.F., Box 707, AAYS 8368 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>23</sup> Colonel E.W.C. Chaytor to the Reverend W.T. Fraser, 11 August 1914, 9/32. Expeditionary Force – Māori Contingents N.Z.E.F., Box 707, AAYS 8368 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>24</sup> Speech by William Massey, 1 September 1914, 9/32 Expeditionary Force – Maoris offering Services in Expeditionary Force, Box 707, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>25</sup> Telegram from Harcourt to Liverpool, 6 September 1914. Harcourt Papers, 468.

As official policies on Indigenous war service were being established by national governments in the opening weeks of the war, both Indigenous Australians and Māori enlisted in the A.I.F. and N.Z.E.F. In Australia some Indigenous Australians were able to join while there was still confusion at a local level regarding the A.I.F.'s official policy.<sup>26</sup> Even after the recruiting regulations had explicitly excluded Indigenous Australians from volunteering, men continued to enlist. Recruits occasionally lied about their race in order to successfully enrol, either by claiming they held Māori, Indian, or Southern European heritage or “passing” as white.<sup>27</sup> Others were allowed to join by recruiting officers who deliberately ignored the instructions given in the recruiting booklet, or by those who were willing to ignore the Indigenous heritage of the man in question in order to secure large quotas.<sup>28</sup> Of the 45 men known to have enlisted in the A.I.F. in 1914, the personnel records of each soldier revealed that only one – Pte. Duncan Ferguson from New South Wales – was not successfully deployed for overseas active service.<sup>29</sup> This figure demonstrates that there was a pronounced disconnect between the official policy of the A.I.F. and the reality of enlistments at a state and local level.

In New Zealand, Māori enlisting in the N.Z.E.F. in early 1914 did not face the same risk of rejection on the grounds of race as Indigenous Australians. Māori from urban and semi-urban areas enlisted alongside Pākehā at recruiting stations from August onwards, despite continuing questions over the creation of a specific Māori unit.<sup>30</sup> As Fletcher argues, many of these Māori men had likely already undergone pre-war military training alongside Pākehā, and as a result “enlisting in regular units of the N.Z.E.F. would not have raised concerns for them in terms of acceptance or language”.<sup>31</sup> In comparison, Māori in rural areas often faced linguistic, geographic, and cultural barriers to enlisting. Many Māori in regional areas “had limited English language skills”, and were typically regarded as less hygienic and civilised than their urban counterparts.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, most

---

<sup>26</sup> Noah Riseman, “Enduring Silences, Enduring Prejudices: Australian Aboriginal Participation in the First World War”, in *Endurance and the First World War*, eds. Katie Pickles, David Monger and Sarah Murray (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 178-179.

<sup>27</sup> Riseman, “Enduring Silences, Enduring Prejudices”, 183.

<sup>28</sup> Here, the south-eastern states refer to New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. Riseman, “Enduring Silences”, 183.

<sup>29</sup> According to his A.I.F. file, Ferguson “apparently did not embark”, and there was “no trace” of him. Ferguson, D., B2455, National Archives of Australia, Canberra.

<sup>30</sup> Christopher Pugsley, “Images of Te Hokowhita A Tu in the First World War”, in *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, ed. Santanu Das (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 194.

<sup>31</sup> Alison Fletcher, “Recruitment and Service of Māori Soldiers in World War One,” *Itinerario* 38 no. 3 (2014): 62.

<sup>32</sup> Fletcher, “Recruitment and Service”, 61.

Māori in rural areas had been excused from participating in the compulsory pre-war military training set out in the *1909 Defence Act*.<sup>33</sup> Apirana Ngata (MP Eastern Māori) explained in September 1914 that “although the Māori was as enthusiastic as the Pākehā, he had greater need for training”.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, while Māori successfully enlisted in the N.Z.E.F. prior to the creation of the Māori Contingent, these were often urban Māori who had already engaged in military training, and were to some extent integrated into Pākehā society. The creation of a Māori Contingent was intended to bridge the cultural divide between Māori and Pākehā, particularly those from rural areas, and thus facilitate their wider involvement in the war effort.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, Māori Members of Parliament (MPs) advocated for a separate Māori unit in order to make their war service more visible on both a domestic and an international scale.<sup>36</sup>

Following the acceptance of the offer of a Māori Contingent from Britain, General Alexander Godley, the General Commanding Officer of the N.Z.E.F., suggested that “the best way to arrange for the organisation of the Māori Contingent ... would be that it should be done by a committee of leading Māori gentlemen and of others particularly connected with the Maoris”.<sup>37</sup> This decision was not only to avoid “get[ting] mixed up in their tribal jealousies, degrees of rank etc.”, but also reflected the role of the Māori MPs in advocating for the creation of a separate Māori Contingent.<sup>38</sup> As Soutar argues, the Māori MPs believed that a separate Māori unit would “raise the profile of Māori ... to prove that they were the equals of their Pākehā comrades”.<sup>39</sup> The Māori War Management Committee was created in mid-September. Following the advice of Godley it contained the five Māori MPs: Sir. James Carroll (Waiapu – non-Māori electorate), Apirana Ngata (Eastern Māori), Maui Pomare (Western Māori), Dr. Peter Buck (Northern Māori), and Taara Parata (Southern Māori).<sup>40</sup> According to Fletcher, “these men had excelled socially and politically in the Pākehā system”, and were thus able to negotiate both Māori and

---

<sup>33</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 61.

<sup>34</sup> Apirana Ngata, quoted in “Maoris and the War: Why Not? Some Wish to Go. Indians Are Going.”, *Timaru Herald* (2 September 1914).

<sup>35</sup> Fletcher, “Recruitment and Service,” 61.

<sup>36</sup> Wira Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi: The Story of the Māori Battalion* (Auckland: Reed Books, 1992), 13.

<sup>37</sup> Memorandum: Godley to Department of Defence, 19 September 1914, 9/32/1, Expeditionary Force – Māori Contingents N.Z.E.F., Box 707, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>38</sup> Memorandum: Godley to Department of Defence, 19 September 1914, 9/32/1, Expeditionary Force – Māori Contingents N.Z.E.F., Box 707, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>39</sup> Monty Soutar, “Te Hokowhitu a Tu”, in *Māori and Oral History: a collection*, eds. Rachel Selby and Alison J. Laurie (Wellington: National Oral History Association of New Zealand, 2003 [1998]), 1.

<sup>40</sup> Dr. Peter Buck (also known as Te Rangi Hīroa) was replaced by Taurekareka Henare (Northern Māori) following his decision to resign his seat in parliament to join to First Māori Contingent as a medical officer.

Pākehā society.<sup>41</sup> This duality enabled the Māori War Management Committee to bridge the divide between Māori and Pākehā, and campaign throughout the war for their inclusion in the N.Z.E.F. The creation of the Māori War Management Committee demonstrates a key difference between Australia and New Zealand. The presence of Māori in the New Zealand parliament enabled members of New Zealand's Indigenous population to influence the nature of Māori recruitment in the N.Z.E.F. By comparison, in Australia throughout the war Indigenous men relied on the generosity or indifference of white recruiting officers and the wishes of white government officials.

The Committee established quotas for the four Māori electoral districts, and had the freedom to “name all except the Major and the Captain” of the Contingent, as long as the senior officers were Pākehā.<sup>42</sup> Initially, the Department of Defence intended for the Contingent to be split into two units: 200 men for Egypt and 300 men for Samoa. It was hoped that this would “relieve ... European men for other fronts” to assist with fighting in Europe.<sup>43</sup> However, the Commander of the Samoan Expeditionary Force (SEF) advised that the Samoans “look down on the Māori ... and could not fail to bitterly resent the presence of armed Māori in their midst”.<sup>44</sup> Ultimately, it was therefore decided that the 500-strong Contingent would remain as a unit in Egypt, with Pākehā senior officers and Māori junior officers.<sup>45</sup>

By the end of 1914, national attitudes towards Indigenous peoples in both Australia and New Zealand, rather than Imperial policy, had determined the official nature of Indigenous participation in the war. In New Zealand, Māori had been officially admitted in the N.Z.E.F. from the earliest stages of the war, and additional Māori recruitment had been facilitated from September onwards through the creation of the Māori Contingent. In Australia, by contrast, official policy barred the enlistment of Indigenous Australians in the A.I.F. Despite these restrictions, however, at least forty-four Indigenous Australian men had enlisted in the A.I.F. and been deployed for overseas service by the end of 1914.<sup>46</sup> This break with official policy demonstrates a disconnect

---

<sup>41</sup> Fletcher, “Recruitment and Service”, 62.

<sup>42</sup> P.S. O'Connor, “The Recruitment of Māori Soldiers,” *Political Science* 19 (1967): 49. O'Connor's article remains the most thorough exploration of the policies and events surrounding the recruitment of Māori soldiers to date.

<sup>43</sup> Defence Department Memorandum, 28 September 1914, 9/32/11. Box 707, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>44</sup> Logan to Allen, 27 October 1914, 9/32/11. Box 707, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>45</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 87.

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix I for breakdown of Indigenous Australian enlistments and service by year and state.

between the official national and more individualised sub-national attitudes in Australia, which would continue throughout the war.

### **1915-1916: A Question of Colour**

Although both Australia and New Zealand had begun to mobilise and train military forces throughout 1914, neither country had been involved in any major campaigns by January 1915.<sup>47</sup> During 1915 and 1916, however, “Dominion forces ... became key components of the fighting strength of the B.E.F. [British Expeditionary Force] on the Western Front and at Gallipoli”.<sup>48</sup> The need for additional infantry and support auxiliaries for the British and Dominion armies ultimately led to the Imperial Office adopting a more explicit policy regarding Indigenous participation. In October 1915, the War Office in Britain established an official Imperial policy on Indigenous recruitment across the Empire. While the first memoranda, issued on 8 October, merely “asked for a report as to the possibilities of raising native troops in large numbers ... for Imperial service”, the final request from 25 October “required the military inclusion of Indigenous men”.<sup>49</sup> By late October 1915, the Imperial policy regarding Indigenous participation in the war had been codified and disseminated throughout the Dominions. However, national attitudes towards Indigenous peoples and their inclusion into society in Australia and New Zealand continued to inform recruiting policies to a far greater extent than Imperial policy throughout 1915 and 1916.

Indigenous Australians remained officially barred from enlisting in the A.I.F. throughout 1915 and 1916. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the highest number of Indigenous Australian enlistments occurred during this period. The service records of known Indigenous soldiers reveal that at least 681 men enlisted between January 1915 and December 1916 – over 50 percent of the total Indigenous Australian enlistments for the entire war.<sup>50</sup> These high enlistment rates were not met with similarly high rates of

---

<sup>47</sup> The Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force (AN&MF) had captured German New Guinea on 17 September 1914, while the New Zealand Samoan Expeditionary Force (SEF) had captured German Samoa on behalf of the British Empire on 30 August 1914.

<sup>48</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 97.

<sup>49</sup> The middle document specifically referred to the situation in South Africa, and thus did not impact Australia or New Zealand. Memorandum: Colonial Office to Governors-General and Administrators of British Dominions, Colonies and Protectorates, 8 October 1915. BL/55/16, Andrew Bonar Law Papers, House of Lords Record Office/Parliamentary Archives (PA), London, UK; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 98.

<sup>50</sup> See Appendix I.

discharge – 9.1 percent in 1915 and 16.1 percent in 1916.<sup>51</sup> This is despite the fact Indigenous Australian participation was officially prohibited and that medical officers were able to determine race and subsequently reject men who did not adhere to the requirements of the Defence Act.<sup>52</sup> Eighty of the men who enlisted were subsequently discharged, representing only 11.75 percent of all enlistments.<sup>53</sup> As Riseman argues, “being Aboriginal was rarely mentioned explicitly in the records as grounds for rejecting recruits; racial rejections usually came under the category ‘medical grounds’”.<sup>54</sup> As a result, it is difficult to determine whether Indigenous heritage was the reason men were discharged, particularly where the reason for discharge is listed as “medically unfit” or “unlikely to become an effective soldier”. Of the 80 men discharged, Indigenous descent was explicitly listed as the reason for the discharge in three cases: Benjamin Manger (Qld), Arthur Thomson (WA), and Tom Cooper (WA).<sup>55</sup> However, as Scarlett and Riseman note, Indigenous descent was likely a factor in the discharge of other Indigenous men, even if it was not explicitly listed as such.<sup>56</sup> The rejection of Indigenous Australian men following their successful enlistment into the A.I.F. thus demonstrates the tensions between sub-national and national policy. Enlistment was officially barred, and men could be rejected prior to deployment if they were not of “substantial European descent”, but the A.I.F. records show that the majority of Indigenous men were successfully deployed after enlisting during this period.

Throughout 1915 and 1916, members of the Australian state governments increasingly questioned why Indigenous Australian men were not allowed to enlist in the A.I.F. In South Australia, Chief Inspector of the Aborigines J.P. Beckett argued “for the training of Northern Territory blacks in useful and protective avocations”.<sup>57</sup> According to Beckett, “the smartest horse and cattle men and the best shots in the Territory are half-castes”, and failure to utilise them was disadvantageous to the Australian war effort.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, Mr Archibald Meston, the former Southern Protector for Aborigines in Queensland, offered to “take from 30 to 100 aboriginal North Queensland warriors to the

---

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>52</sup> *Defence Act 1909* (Cth.), s. 131.1(b).

<sup>53</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>54</sup> Riseman, “Enduring Silences”, 183.

<sup>55</sup> See Benjamin Manger, B2455, National Archives of Australia, Canberra.; Arthur Thomson, B2455, National Archives of Australia, Canberra.; Tom Cooper, B2455, National Archives of Australia, Canberra.

<sup>56</sup> Scarlett, *Volunteers*, 11; Riseman, “Enduring Silences”, 183.

<sup>57</sup> “Aborigines and the War. A Territory Suggestion” *Chronicle* (Adelaide, SA), 6 March 1915, 38.

<sup>58</sup> “Aborigines and the War”, 38.



front”.<sup>59</sup> In his letter to the Minister of Defence, Meston assured the minister that: “the aboriginals selected by me are capable of doing useful and creditable work as scouts, and as hand grenade throwers, and that their courage will not fail them when called upon to face hand to hand combat with weapons”.<sup>60</sup> Another letter, “suggesting the formation of an aborigines and half-caste company for service at the front”, was sent to the Department of Defence by Mr. George Black, the Chief Secretary for the New South Wales government.<sup>61</sup> In February 1916, the Aboriginal Protection Board for Victoria explicitly stated that “it had no objection to half castes enlisting for military service if they be accepted by the authorities”.<sup>62</sup>

By the beginning of 1916, therefore, the Chief Protectors or governments of all Australian states except for Western Australia had enquired “as to whether Indigenes could be accepted into A.I.F. units”.<sup>63</sup> Additionally, recruiting officers and local politicians from regional towns throughout Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, had argued in favour of allowing Indigenous men to enlist.<sup>64</sup> However, at the beginning of 1916 the Department of Defence responded to these requests by confirming that “with reference to applications for enlistment of Aborigines, full-blood, or half-caste, please note that it is not considered advisable that such should be enlisted in the Australian Imperial Forces”.<sup>65</sup> Although Imperial policy requested the inclusion of Indigenous men into Dominion defence forces and hundreds of Indigenous Australian men had already enlisted, the A.I.F. continued to officially reject Indigenous war service throughout 1916. This continued rejection, even after the change in Imperial policy, reinforces the importance of official understandings of race and its role in Australian society in shaping national policies regarding Indigenous war service.

While the A.I.F. continued to officially oppose Indigenous Australian enlistments, in early 1915 the Māori Contingent of the N.Z.E.F. was deployed for overseas service in Egypt. Upon arriving in Egypt in February 1915, the Māori Battalion

---

<sup>59</sup> “As Good as Gurkhas. Aborigines for the Front”, *The Evening Telegraph* (Charters Towers, Qld), 28 June, 1915, 3.

<sup>60</sup> “As Good as Gurkhas”, 3.

<sup>61</sup> “Aborigines for the Front: New South Wales Suggestion”, *The Argus* (Melbourne), 20 August 1915, 8.

<sup>62</sup> Board for the Protection of Aborigines to Manager of Lake Tyers Station, 23 February 1916, VPRS 10309. Victorian Public Records Office, Melbourne.

<sup>63</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 131. Tasmania did not have an Aboriginal Protection Board, as the state was considered to no longer have an Aboriginal population.

<sup>64</sup> Jessica Horton, “‘Willing to Fight to a man’: The First World War and Aboriginal Activism in the Western District of Victoria,” *Aboriginal History* 39 (2015): 203; Scarlett, *Volunteers*, 57.

<sup>65</sup> Letter from Colonel, Commandant, 1<sup>st</sup> Military District to P.J McDermott, 16 February 1916. 861783. Correspondence and Papers re Great War, 1914-1918. Queensland State Archives, Brisbane.

was informed that they would be confined to garrison duty on Malta.<sup>66</sup> This decision was made despite Godley's assertion that the Māori "have earned golden opinions by their smartness and bearing and general efficiency" and that he "would be very glad to have them [on Gallipoli]".<sup>67</sup> Peter Buck's insistence that: "We would sooner die from bullets of the enemy than from sickness and disease ... Give us an opportunity for active service with our white kinsmen" also did not alter the decision of the officials.<sup>68</sup> Continuing questions over the long-term feasibility of Māori enlistments made officials reluctant to deploy the Contingent as infantry. However, following heavy losses during the opening weeks of the campaign, Harcourt informed Allen that the "Army council propose sending Maoris on service ... and ask whether New Zealand government can supply drafts of 250 men every three months".<sup>69</sup> Although Allen and the Māori Committee approved the request on 12 May, Allen noted in his letter to Liverpool that while a first reinforcement of 300 Māori would be raised, it was "difficult to guarantee further Māori Reinforcements".<sup>70</sup> Despite continuing questions over reinforcements, the Māori Contingent was deployed to the Gallipoli peninsula in July 1915 as Pioneers.

The decision to utilise the Māori as pioneers at Gallipoli reflects the continuing uncertainty over the unit's feasibility as an active infantry battalion.<sup>71</sup> Following their participation in the attack on Chunuk Bair in August 1915, during which they sustained 100 casualties over four days, the Contingent was divided between separate infantry battalions. Additionally, four Māori junior officers were dismissed for perceived insubordination by their commanding Pākehā officer.<sup>72</sup> Although condemned by the Māori Committee, the decision to split up the Contingent reflected the reality that it "could not sustain a separate infantry battalion".<sup>73</sup> The issue of regular reinforcements would need to be addressed for the Contingent to continue as a separate unit beyond the Gallipoli campaign.

By contrast with the A.I.F., the N.Z.E.F. (and particularly the Māori War Management Committee) attempted to increase Māori enlistment numbers throughout

---

<sup>66</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 100.

<sup>67</sup> Godley to Allen, 2 April 1915, 9/32/1. Box 707, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>68</sup> Peter Buck, quoted in J.B. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1971), 126-128.

<sup>69</sup> Harcourt to Allen, 2 May 1915, 9/31/1. Box 707, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>70</sup> Allen to Liverpool, 12 May 1915, 9/31/1. Box 707, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>71</sup> Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu a Tu*, 34.

<sup>72</sup> O'Connor, "Recruitment", 55.

<sup>73</sup> Pugsley, "Images", 202.

1915 and 1916. The major concern was the sustainability of providing adequate reinforcements for an active infantry battalion. As Winegard argues “the ‘rush of the Māori to offer his life in the nation’s service’ was far more evident in the actions of the committee than within actual Māoridom”.<sup>74</sup> Although the initial September 1915 reinforcements had met their target of 300 men, the February 1916 draft contained only 111 Māori, with 148 Niue Islanders and 55 Rarotongans to boost numbers.<sup>75</sup> In part, the low enlistment numbers reflected a reluctance amongst some iwi (Māori extended kinship group) to “send more of their men overseas and so assist the decrease of their race”.<sup>76</sup> However, the Māori Committee had also threatened to halt recruiting unless the four Māori officers dismissed from service in September 1915 were reinstated and the Māori Contingent was reformed.<sup>77</sup> Winegard points to the success of this threat: only 120 Māori were training at Narrow Neck camp in January 1916, and Godley ultimately reinstated all four officers.<sup>78</sup> Although it is difficult to qualify how much of the dip in recruit numbers was due to the Committee’s threats, it can be assumed that they played at least some role.

In an attempt to explain low numbers of Māori enlistments, Pomare argued in late 1915 that the shortage of Māori recruits was due to the fact that “large numbers had volunteered for the ordinary Expeditionary Force”.<sup>79</sup> Pomare wanted this option removed, and insisted that Māori serving in other units be transferred to the Māori Contingent.<sup>80</sup> Although Allen partially complied with this request, and invited Māori serving in other units to transfer to the Māori Contingent, he “did not feel it was right to compel them”.<sup>81</sup> O’Connor notes that by mid-1916, only eight Māori had agreed to transfer units, possibly due to reluctance at moving from active service to a support role.<sup>82</sup> Additionally, even after Pomare’s request some Māori continued to enlist in regular N.Z.E.F. units.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 96.

<sup>75</sup> O’Connor, “Recruitment”, 60.

<sup>76</sup> O’Connor, “Recruitment”, 53.

<sup>77</sup> Māori Committee to Department of Defence, 9 December 1915. 9/32/1 Box 707, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>78</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 106.

<sup>79</sup> O’Connor, “Recruitment”, 61.

<sup>80</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 106.

<sup>81</sup> Allen to CGS, 7 December 1915. 42/4, AD10, box 20, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>82</sup> O’Connor, “Recruitment”, 61.

<sup>83</sup> Fletcher, “Recruitment and Service”, 68.

The formation of a separate New Zealand Division on 1 March 1916 enabled Godley to create a Pioneer Battalion “composed of about half Māori”.<sup>84</sup> Although the Battalion initially also contained Pākehā, Godley promised the Māori Committee that “all the Māori Reinforcements will be posted to this battalion and eventually it may become practically entirely Māori”.<sup>85</sup> The creation of the Pioneer Battalion resulted in complaints from citizens who were disgruntled that Maori were to be relegated to support roles. However, the Māori Committee supported the proposal in order to maintain a coherent Māori unit.<sup>86</sup> The Pioneer Battalion arrived at the Somme in August 1916, and remained at the Western Front throughout the rest of the war.<sup>87</sup> Although the Pioneer Battalion did participate in frontline conflict, “their principal role was that of providing a labour source for front-line infantry”.<sup>88</sup> Over time, as more Māori (and Pasifika) reinforcements were added to the Battalion, the number of Pākehā gradually diminished. By December 1916, only one of the four companies contained Pākehā soldiers.<sup>89</sup> The creation of the Pioneer Battalion points to the unique power of the Māori Committee within the New Zealand war effort. Godley had insisted that “the incorporation of the Contingent into the New Zealand Brigade is done purely in the interests of the contingent and of the Māori race”.<sup>90</sup> Yet, ultimately, the wishes of the Māori Committee for a separate Māori unit were fulfilled. Over the course of 1916, therefore, the Māori Committee demonstrated its unique ability to influence the nature of Māori participation in the war effort. This was in stark contrast to the experience of Indigenous Australians, who remained subject to white Australian priorities.

Throughout 1915 and 1916, the Australian and New Zealand governments adopted radically different policies on Indigenous enlistment. In Australia, the A.I.F. continued to officially reject Indigenous enlistments on the grounds that they were not of substantial European descent. This reinforced contemporary ideals about what the emerging Australian society should look like, and the role Indigenous Australians were intended to play in mainstream society moving forwards. Conversely, in New Zealand the Māori Committee and N.Z.E.F. actively encouraged Māori enlistment and facilitated

---

<sup>84</sup> General Godley’s cable message, quoted in “The Māori Force. Special Battalion in Egypt.” *Dominion* (Wellington), 9.2721 (16 March 1916), 6.

<sup>85</sup> Department of Defence Press Release, 13 March 1916. 9/32/1. Box 707. AAYS 8638. ANZ. Wellington.

<sup>86</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 107.

<sup>87</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 110.

<sup>88</sup> Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*, 21.

<sup>89</sup> Gardiner, *Te Mura O Te Ahi*, 21.

<sup>90</sup> Godley to Allen, 20 October 1915. 42/4, Box 20, AD10, ANZ, Wellington.

the recreation of a distinct Māori unit. The involvement of the Māori War Management Committee in the actions of the Māori Contingent (and later Māori Battalion) reinforces the unique position afforded to Māori during the war. Māori leaders were, to some extent, given agency over their peoples' participation in the war, and were thus able to shape Māori enlistment policies to benefit their own interests as well as the interests of the broader New Zealand government. Again, the position of Māori MPs and the N.Z.E.F.'s willingness to facilitate a separate Māori unit reflect the greater level of social inclusion afforded to Māori at the beginning of the twentieth century. Even with the introduction of an Imperial policy in October 1915 that supported Indigenous war service, the A.I.F. and N.Z.E.F. continued to be influenced more prominently by national approaches to Indigenous inclusion or exclusion. However, in Australia sub-national pressures continued to impact Indigenous Australian enlistment, with pressure from the Australian states demonstrating the rift between national and sub-national interests.

### **1917-1918: Fighting for King and Country**

In the final years of the war, Britain and its Dominions were placed under increased pressure. High casualty rates from the Western Front were not being offset by similarly high levels of recruitment to provide reinforcements. As Winegard argues, "Britain, the Dominions and France continued to shoulder the weight of the war", particularly from October 1917 as the Italians struggled to maintain a coherent military force and the Russians withdrew from the war.<sup>91</sup> The need for manpower in the face of these challenges altered recruitment strategies throughout the British Empire. These changes in turn impacted the nature of Indigenous participation in the war across the Dominions. In particular, the successful introduction of conscription in New Zealand, and the rejection of conscription in Australia, acted as a catalyst for further changes to national policies regarding Indigenous participation in the war.

At the beginning of 1917, Australia was the only British Dominion that was not actively recruiting from its Indigenous population.<sup>92</sup> However, this changed in mid-1917. On 11 May 1917, Military Order 200(2) was sent to the Chief Protectors of Aborigines in each of the Australian states. The order explained that: "Half-castes will now be accepted for service in the Australian Expeditionary Forces provided that they satisfy the

---

<sup>91</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 149.

<sup>92</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 150.

medical authorities that one parent was of European origin”.<sup>93</sup> Indigenous Australian service was thereby permitted during the final two years of the war, albeit in a restricted sense that still reinforced ideals of white Australian superiority.

According to Winegard, “manpower requirements, fuelled by modern war with its ever-increasing casualties, necessitated that elements of racial prejudice ... be discarded” towards the end of the war in Australia.<sup>94</sup> The initial high enlistment rates of 1914 and 1915 had slowed significantly by 1917; 82.5 percent of all A.I.F. enlistments for the war had already occurred by the end of 1916.<sup>95</sup> Along with war-weariness caused by the prolonged conflict, especially after the losses sustained during the Gallipoli campaign (25,725 casualties), the A.I.F. emerged from the Battle of the Somme with 27,000 casualties, including 6,800 dead.<sup>96</sup> Enlistment numbers, which had already been decreasing prior to July 1916, were unable to replenish the lost strength of the Australian Divisions. In August 1916, the Governor General explained in a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that “until recently voluntary recruiting proved sufficient to meet the demands, but latterly it has quite failed to do so”.<sup>97</sup> According to the Governor General, parliament had been informed that 32,500 reinforcements were required for September (immediately following the Battle of the Somme), with 16,500 per month required from October 1916 onwards.<sup>98</sup> The government hoped that conscription, which had already been enacted in Britain and New Zealand, would facilitate an increase in enlistments. However, conscription was narrowly defeated in the referendum held in October 1916, and as a result the A.I.F. remained a volunteer-only force.<sup>99</sup> As the need

---

<sup>93</sup> Circular No 17/7, Officer of the Chief Protector of Aborigines, South Brisbane, 11 May 1917, quoted in David Huggonson, “The Dark Diggers of the A.I.F.,” *The Australian Quarterly* 61 no. 3 (1989): 353.

<sup>94</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 161.

<sup>95</sup> Arthur Graham Butler, *The Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services in the war of 1914 to 1918*. Vol. III. Special problems and services. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1943), 889. Comparatively, only 65 percent of Indigenous Australian enlistments for the war had occurred by the start of 1917.

<sup>96</sup> Robin Prior, *Gallipoli: The End of the Myth* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009), 424; Leslie Lloyd Robson, *The first A.I.F.: a study of its recruitment 1914-1918* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1970), 83.

<sup>97</sup> Governor General of Australia to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 31 August 1916, Melbourne, Australia. NAA: A406, E1916/3585, War Conscription. NAA, Canberra, Australia.

<sup>98</sup> The enlistment figures for the previous three months were as follows: June: 5,375, July: 6,170; August (up to 23 August 1916): 4,144. Governor General to Secretary of State, 31 August 1916, NAA: A406, E1916/3585.

<sup>99</sup> 1,087,557 voted in favour, whilst 1,160,033 voted against the referendum. Parliamentary Library, “Plebiscite Results”, in *Parliamentary Handbook of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 33rd Edition (Canberra: Department of Parliamentary Services, 2014), 404.

for recruits did not subside, however, Winegard argues that the A.I.F. relaxed restrictions on Indigenous service to bolster declining number.

John Maynard presents an alternative explanation for the passing of Military Order 200(2). Maynard argues that:

the relaxation of barriers to Aboriginal enlistment was likely to have been motivated not by the A.I.F.'s need to recruit more men after huge losses in the Battle of the Somme and the failure of the conscription referendum of October 1916, but rather that the military authorities acknowledged that large numbers of Aboriginal men were already fighting overseas – and had proven themselves effective soldiers.<sup>100</sup>

Given the high numbers of Indigenous enlistments in the A.I.F. (and subsequent overseas deployments), this theory holds merit. It is likely that both the need for increased enlistments and the presence of Indigenous soldiers in the A.I.F. prior to 1917 influenced the change in official policy. As Winegard points out, the Defence Act was not altered in 1917 to reflect the acceptance of Indigenous Australian men, suggesting that pragmatism, rather than a genuine acceptance of Indigenous Australian men, ultimately influenced the decision. Regardless of the motivations, the passing of Military Order 200(2) saw the A.I.F. remove some of its official restrictions around Indigenous Australian enlistment, though still within the scope of official Australian racial ideals.

The existing literature on Indigenous Australian participation in the First World War has largely regarded Military Order 200(2) as a significant turning point, particularly in Queensland.<sup>101</sup> Huggonson, for example, argues that “this official action ... chiefly affected recruiting policy in Queensland”, where more Indigenous men were supposedly able to enlist.<sup>102</sup> Additionally, Winegard reinforces that “there was a significant increase in Aboriginal enlistment after May 1917”, particularly in Queensland, drawing on lists of Indigenous Australian soldiers compiled by the Australian War Memorial in 2007 and data compiled by Rod Pratt.<sup>103</sup> Enlistment numbers in Queensland did jump from 62 in 1916 to 91 in 1917.<sup>104</sup> The influx of recruits was recorded by James Bleakley, the Chief Protector for Queensland in his memoir: “Large numbers immediately volunteered, all claiming to come within that category [half-caste]. The recruiting officers scratched their

---

<sup>100</sup> John Maynard, “The First World War”, in *Serving Our Country: Indigenous Australians, War, Defence and Citizenship*, eds. Joan Beaumont and Alison Cadzow (Sydney: NewSouth Books 2018), 56.

<sup>101</sup> See, for example, Huggonson, “White Australia”, 377; Pratt, “Queensland’s Aborigines”, 223; Scarlett, *Volunteers*, 15.

<sup>102</sup> Huggonson, “White Australia”, 377.

<sup>103</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 161; Pratt, “Queensland’s Aborigines”, 224.

<sup>104</sup> See Appendix I.

heads, as one of them said, ‘some of these are the blackest half-castes I’ve ever seen’.<sup>105</sup> However, each of the other states saw a decrease in Indigenous enlistments in 1917.<sup>106</sup> Although not drastic, this decrease in enlistments outside of Queensland compared to previous years confirms that the introduction of Military Order 200(2) did not substantially impact enlistment numbers in the other states, and thus may not have presented as significant a turning point as has previously been suggested.

Importantly, rates of discharge for Indigenous soldiers increased significantly in 1917 – 34.72 percent of Indigenous soldiers who enlisted in 1917 were not deployed, compared to 16.1 percent in 1916, 9.1 percent in 1915, and 2.22 percent in 1914.<sup>107</sup> In Queensland, 29 of the 91 enlisted Indigenous men were discharged, with only 62 men deployed overseas.<sup>108</sup> All of the 29 men who were discharged had enlisted following the introduction of Military Order 200(2), and 22 were discharged for “having been irregularly enlisted”.<sup>109</sup> Further, 15 of the 23 discharges in New South Wales were due to a lack of substantial European origin, while 17 of the 30 discharges in Western Australia specifically mentioned Indigenous descent or a lack of European origin. Thus, although at a national level Military Order 200(2) represented the acceptance of Indigenous Australian men into the A.I.F., the figures for both enlistment and subsequent discharge demonstrate that it did not increase Indigenous participation in the A.I.F. substantially. Military Order 200(2) can be viewed as representing a shift in official attitudes towards Indigenous enlistment, even if it did not actually alter enlistment numbers substantially. However, the discharging of soldiers because of their racial heritage following May 1917 demonstrates the continued potency of official racial ideals in shaping the involvement of Indigenous Australian men in the First World War.

Māori participation in the war was also impacted by the issue of conscription from 1917 onwards. The *Military Service Act* introducing conscription into New Zealand had been passed on 1 August 1916 after parliamentary debates. The Act gave the government the ability to call up “male natural-born British subject[s]” between 20 and 45 for military

---

<sup>105</sup> J.W. Bleakley, *The Aborigines of Australia: Their History – Their Habits – Their Assimilation* (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1961), 170.

<sup>106</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>107</sup> The overall rejection rate for the A.I.F. over the course of the war was 30.31 percent. Ian Bell, *Australian Army Mobilisation in 1914* (Canberra: Australian Army History Unit, 2016), 29.

<sup>108</sup> This is only four more men than were deployed for active service from Queensland in 1916, despite 29 more men enlisting in 1917. See Appendix I.

<sup>109</sup> This reason for discharge is unique to Queensland throughout the war, and was used solely in response to the enlistment of Indigenous Australians who did not fit the requirement of “one European parent”.



service in the N.Z.E.F.<sup>110</sup> Initially, the *Act* specifically excluded “Natives, within the meaning of the Native Land Act 1909” from the reserve of men that could be called upon for conscription.<sup>111</sup> This decision was the result of disagreement amongst the members of the Māori Committee during the parliamentary debates. Although Pomare and Ngata supported the extension of conscription to Māori, others within the committee disagreed. During the debate on the conscription bill, Pomare insisted that: “It [conscription] is the fairest way: it treats every man alike, no matter what his creed, no matter what his wealth, and no matter what his colour may be ... I say it should apply to all alike; and for that reason I believe in conscription”.<sup>112</sup> However, Ta Henare (MP for Northern Māori) argued: “If the native race had not done their duty in the past I would have no hesitation in asking that conscription should be applied to them; but they have done their duty, and are still doing it”.<sup>113</sup> In his speech, given entirely in te reo Māori and translated for the other members of parliament, he asserted that “the Government should show special consideration for the Māori people, because ... [the race] will vanish altogether if most of the men go to the front”.<sup>114</sup> Ngata provided a solution to the question of Māori inclusion in the bill, suggesting that:

there can be no harm in exempting the Maoris generally from the provisions of the Bill before us. I do not propose to exclude them eventually ... After generally exempting the Maoris, power should then be taken to bring them within the provisions of the Bill by Order in Council.<sup>115</sup>

Ngata’s compromise was followed when the bill passed. Section 50 of the Military Service Act stated that “the Governor may ... extend the provisions of this Act ... to provide for the compulsory calling-up of Natives for military service within the Expeditionary Force”.<sup>116</sup> Therefore, although initially conscription was not extended to Māori, the Act contained provisions to include them in the future if the need arose. This decision, and the debates that proceeded it, demonstrate how the inclusion of Māori into

---

<sup>110</sup> *Military Service Act 1916* (NZ) s. 3 (2).

<sup>111</sup> The *Land Act 1909* defined “Native” as “a person belonging to the aboriginal race of New Zealand and includes a half-caste and a person intermediate in blood between half-castes and persons of pure descent from that race”. *Native Land Act 1909* (NZ) s. 2.

<sup>112</sup> *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* v. 175 (1 June 1916), 519-520. (Herein *NZ Parliamentary Debates*).

<sup>113</sup> *NZ Parliamentary Debates* v. 175, 573.

<sup>114</sup> *NZ Parliamentary Debates* v. 175, 573.

<sup>115</sup> *NZ Parliamentary Debates*, v. 175, 614.

<sup>116</sup> *Military Service Act 1916*, (NZ) s. 50.

New Zealand society through military obligations was debated by both Pākehā and Māori at a national political level.

The debates over conscription also reflected ongoing tensions over the willingness of Māori to enlist in the N.Z.E.F. In particular, the resistance of Māori in the Waikato-Maniapoto Land District to participate in the war effort had troubled the Māori Committee from the beginning of the war. Supporters of the Kīngitanga (Māori King Movement) throughout the central North Island largely rejected Māori participation in the war.<sup>117</sup> In part, this was due to residual tensions between Waikato and Taranaki iwi over the confiscation of their lands following the New Zealand Wars.<sup>118</sup> The official stance of Kingite leaders towards war service was that “some Maoris had gone to the help of King George and if others wished to they could. No-one should be forced to serve”.<sup>119</sup> However, the Māori King and his supporters actively protected Māori who either deserted or refused to enlist, which led to multiple altercations with law enforcement officers.<sup>120</sup> During the parliamentary debates surrounding the introduction of the Military Service Act, Ngata attributed support for conscription amongst Māori to “the reluctance – not to use a harder word – of some of the tribes of the North Island to contribute to their quota”.<sup>121</sup> Similarly, Pomare asserted that conscription was needed to restore utu (balance) following the sacrifice of other Māori:

Why should some tribes give their best under the voluntary system while others refuse to send their sons to the front ... the Māori won their spurs on the fields of Gallipoli – fields which they have made sacred ... to the Maoris of this country by spilling their blood there. That blood cries out to us for utu [(reciprocation/balance)] ... and if by conscription utu is to be exacted, then, Sir, let it be conscription.<sup>122</sup>

In February 1917, Pomare renewed his call for conscription of the Waikato Māori, insisting that: “There is only one way ... of getting at the Waikatos, that is by having Section 50 of the Military Service Act, 1916, brought into operation”.<sup>123</sup> These tensions,

---

<sup>117</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 158.

<sup>118</sup> Fletcher, “Recruitment and Service”, 62.

<sup>119</sup> Quoted from minutes from a *Hui* in January 1917 by O’Connor, “Recruitment”, 62.

<sup>120</sup> The full details of the role of the King movement in aiding Māori from avoiding military service can be found in O’Connor, “Recruitment”, 62-66 and Michael King, *Te Pūea: A Biography* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977).

<sup>121</sup> *NZ Parliamentary Debates*, v. 175, 611, 614.

<sup>122</sup> *NZ Parliamentary Debates*, v. 175, 519.

<sup>123</sup> Pomare to General Sir. Alfred Robin, 1 February 1917, 29/108, Establishments and Recruitment – Recruiting for the N.Z.E.F. (New Zealand Expeditionary Force) – Māori, Box 828, AAYS 8638 AD1, Archives New Zealand (ANZ), Wellington.

and the continued reluctance of Māori from the Waikato and Taranaki to enlist in the Māori Pioneer Battalion, ultimately shaped the way conscription would be applied to Māori for the remainder of the war effort.

In June 1917, conscription was extended to Māori. While in theory all Māori men were eligible for conscription, in practice it was applied primarily to iwi from the Waikato and Taranaki.<sup>124</sup> As Fletcher explains, when conscription was extended to Māori “it was argued other iwi had already filled their obligations”, thus shifting the focus for conscription onto the Waikato iwi.<sup>125</sup> This decision reflects the Māori War Management Committee’s belief that Māori participation in the Great War was an important way to demonstrate Māori equality with Pākehā, and subsequently a key duty of Māori across New Zealand. As Soutar argues, “the intended contribution to the war effort was part of an ongoing plan to raise the profile of Māori ... to prove that they were the equal of the Pākehā comrades, and ... to acquire the full benefits and privileges due to citizens of [New Zealand]”.<sup>126</sup> The success of Pomare and Ngata in arguing for the extension of conscription to Māori, and in particular to the Waikato iwi, demonstrates the way in which the Māori MPs were able to influence national ideas around Māori social and military inclusion to address their own agendas of inclusion and recognition.

Māori conscription was plagued with problems from its introduction in mid-1917. Initially, the first Māori draft was delayed by three key factors: the lack of complete records of rural Māori, the difficulty of distributing rural ballots, and the required pause for the autumn harvest and shearing seasons.<sup>127</sup> These issues meant that the first draft, consisting mainly of men from the Waikato district, was not compiled until February 1918.<sup>128</sup> Difficulties with the draft continued throughout 1918. More than 50 percent of men in the first draft did not appear for their medical checks.<sup>129</sup> By November 1918, 552 Māori had been summoned for compulsory war service in four ballots. 254 were deemed ineligible or medically unfit, 139 were unaccounted for, 11 were imprisoned for resisting enlistment, 74 were in the administrative process to be either enlisted or imprisoned, and only 74 were actively training at Narrow Neck camp, and none had served overseas.<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> O’Connor, “Recruitment”, 62.

<sup>125</sup> Fletcher, “Recruitment”, 71.

<sup>126</sup> Soutar, “Te Hokowhitu a Tu,” 1.

<sup>127</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 159.

<sup>128</sup> O’Connor, “Recruitment”, 69.

<sup>129</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 159.

<sup>130</sup> Paul Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, conscription, and the Great War* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988), 220.

Despite the efforts of the Māori Committee, “no conscripted Māori ever served overseas”.<sup>131</sup> Instead, the Māori Pioneer Battalion maintained its full strength (over 900 men) solely from volunteers. Reflecting on conscription in 1943, Ngata wrote: “As a device for securing men for the Māori contingent conscription was a dismal failure”.<sup>132</sup> The Māori Committee was ultimately not able to compel Māori to serve, despite their efforts throughout 1917 and 1918.

During the final years of the war, national governments in both Australia and New Zealand responded to the increasing pressure of wartime with policies that were intended to alter the nature of Indigenous participation. However, in both Australia and New Zealand, these overarching national policies did not significantly impact the number of Indigenous men serving in the A.I.F. and N.Z.E.F. Indigenous Australian enlistments did not increase in 1917, and instead rates of discharge prior to deployment increased significantly, particularly in New South Wales, Queensland, and Western Australia.<sup>133</sup> Similarly, attempts to extend conscription to Māori in June 1917 were largely unsuccessful, with no Māori conscripts serving overseas in the First World War. Thus, although national policies undoubtedly influenced the overall nature of Indigenous participation, in the final stages of the war sub-national pressures had a more tangible impact on enlistments and service.

## Conclusion

The nature and scope of Indigenous involvement in the First World War was ultimately dictated by a combination of national and sub-national, as opposed to Imperial, policies and attitudes. In Australia, the government and A.I.F. officially rejected Indigenous involvement in the war, in line with pre-1914 legislation that excluded Indigenous Australians from participating in the military. It was not until 1917 that the right to enlist was officially extended to “half-caste” Indigenous Australians by the A.I.F. In New Zealand, the greater integration between some Māori and Pākehā communities, as well as active Māori involvement in parliament, enabled more inclusive policies for Māori participation from the beginning of the war. This reflected the legacy of Māori participation in New Zealand’s military expeditions from before 1914. Ultimately,

---

<sup>131</sup> Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 159.

<sup>132</sup> Apirana Ngata, “The Māori in the Second World War”. Unpublished manuscript (1943), MS-Papers-6919-0234, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

<sup>133</sup> Throughout the war, these three states contributed the most Indigenous Australian enlistments. See Appendix I.

## Chapter I

official policies towards Indigenous participation in the First World War in both Australia and New Zealand were influenced by pre-existing ideals surrounding race and social inclusion in mainstream society. In Australia, where Indigenous Australians were effectively excluded from mainstream settler society, the A.I.F. and Australian government largely rejected the participation of Indigenous Australians in the war. Conversely, the pre-existing limited social and political inclusion of certain aspects of Māori society and culture into mainstream Pākehā society meant that the N.Z.E.F. and the New Zealand government actively supported the participation of Māori in the war.

This chapter has outlined how the different understandings of race and social inclusion of Indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand impacted official policies surrounding Indigenous enlistment in the First World War. In doing so, it has built on existing scholarship on Indigenous participation in the First World War, using a comparative approach to emphasise the importance of different structural policies and attitudes between Australia and New Zealand. The contemporary political and social relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in both Australia and New Zealand were crucial in shaping not only the nature of Indigenous participation in the First World War, but also official attitudes towards this participation. These inherent differences – exclusion in Australia versus limited inclusion in New Zealand – continued to be important following the end of the war in 1918, as the subsequent chapters will demonstrate.

## **Chapter II**

### **Days of Remembrance**

By the time the First World War ended in November 1918, communities and governments in Australia and New Zealand had been organising and attending commemorative services for at least two years. These ceremonies centred around not only those who had died on active service, but also those who were still alive and fighting, those who were missing in action, and those who had been taken prisoner. Commemorative services, and the days of remembrance on which they were held, also acted as a propaganda tool to encourage eligible young men to enlist, and to remind family and friends back home of the noble sacrifices their young boys were making for King, Country, and Empire. In the years following the war, the major days of remembrance adopted differing purposes: Anzac Day to commemorate and celebrate the Australian and New Zealand soldiers whose sacrifice had helped bring two young nations into maturity, and Remembrance (Armistice) Day, to mourn those who never returned from war and to reflect on the tragedies of armed conflict so that they would not be repeated.<sup>1</sup> During the services held on these days, the speeches, language, rituals, and images used helped to form and enshrine the dominant national narrative of the First World War in both Australia and New Zealand, solidifying the place of commemorative rituals as sites of memory. Despite suffering a decline in popularity in the 1960s and 1970s, the Anzac revival of the 1980s and 1990s saw an increase in attendance and support for commemorative services, culminating in the centenary commemorations held across Australia and New Zealand between 2014 and 2018.<sup>2</sup>

It is important to note from the outset that Indigenous people in both Australia and New Zealand have held their own Anzac and Remembrance Day services since the end of the First World War. Additionally, some Indigenous commemorative traditions have been increasingly incorporated into local commemorative events throughout Australia and New Zealand. However, given the scope of this thesis in exploring national commemorations, these local commemorations have not been discussed throughout this chapter. Instead, this chapter explores the extent to which Indigenous Australian and

---

<sup>1</sup> Damien Powell, "Remembrance Day: Memories and Values in Australia since 1918," *Victorian Historical Journal* 75 no. 2 (2004): 177.

<sup>2</sup> Jenny Macleod, "The fall and rise of Anzac Day: 1965 and 1990 compared," *War and Society* 20 no. 1 (2002): 149.

Māori war service has been acknowledged in national days of remembrance since the end of the First World War. In doing so, it also tracks the evolution of national days of remembrance over the past century, and the ways in which these sites of commemoration have been adapted to reflect changing social and political interests in Australian and New Zealand society.

### Literature Review

Days of remembrance are frequently mentioned in social and cultural histories of the First World War and its aftermath.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, minimal literature that specifically focuses on these commemorative days. In particular, there is no overarching theoretical literature that informs discussions of days of remembrance as sites of commemoration. Jay Winter points to the importance of days of remembrance as sites of memory in his exploration of the sites of memory and mourning of the First World War.<sup>4</sup> According to Winter, these days were important in reviving the “fictive kinship” that had been forged during the war, and also in drawing “attention to the victims, both living and dead”.<sup>5</sup> These days ensured that in the months and years following the end of the war, the suffering, loss, bravery, and sacrifice of the nation was not forgotten, instead “held in a state of perpetual remembrance”.<sup>6</sup> The ceremonies and marches held on days of remembrance reinforced the memorialisation of the First World War through ritualistic ceremonies, quasi-religious symbolism, and the sharing of veteran’s stories. These elements combined to mark commemorative services as sites of memory, spaces where the narratives of the Great War are solidified, relived, and disseminated.

In Australia and New Zealand, there are two key national days of remembrance that are tied to the First World War narrative and thus act as sites of commemoration: Anzac Day and Remembrance Day. Anzac Day is commemorated on 25 April each year, marking the anniversary of the ANZAC Corps’ landing at Anzac Cove (Gaba Tepe). The Gallipoli campaign was the first major campaign in which the ANZAC Corps was

---

<sup>3</sup> See, for example: Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 116-143; Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2013); Lyn Spillman, *Nation and commemoration: Creating national identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>4</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 30, 225.

<sup>5</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Mark McKenna, “Anzac Day: How did it become Australia’s national day?” in *What’s Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, eds. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (Sydney University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 133.

involved. This subsequently influenced its centrality to both Australia and New Zealand's national narratives of the First World War. Anzac Day commemorations are typically split between two services: a Dawn Service to recall the time of the first landings, and a subsequent mid-morning service (often followed or preceded by a parade).<sup>7</sup> From the first Anzac Day services held in April 1916, the event was tied to antipodean nationalism, as well as commemoration.<sup>8</sup> In Australia, in particular, the day was a key location for recruitment drives in the later years of the war.<sup>9</sup> Following the end of the war, the parade of returned soldiers became a central ritual of the day in Australia. However such parades were less common in New Zealand, where the day took on a more sombre tone.<sup>10</sup> Following a decline in interest and attendance at Anzac Day services in the 1960s and 1970s, the day was revived as a central part of Australian and New Zealand national narratives and war commemoration in the 1990s.<sup>11</sup> Since then, attendance at Anzac Day services has continued to grow, culminating in the annual commemorations as part of the centenary commemorations of the Great War, and in particular the 2015 Centenary of the Anzac Landings. The link between Anzac Day and Australian and New Zealand nationalism has also led to the "sacralisation" of the day, and the protection of values seen as inherently linked to the Anzac Landings and its day of commemoration.<sup>12</sup>

Remembrance Day is celebrated on 11 November each year, marking the date of the Armistice. Unlike Anzac Day, Remembrance Day commemorative rituals typically focus around a single service – held during the mid-morning with one or two minutes of silence at 11am – the time the guns fell silent on the Western Front.<sup>13</sup> Remembrance Day evolved gradually from the earlier Imperial commemorations of Armistice Day. From its origins in 1919, the day was inherently linked to mourning, and served as a day for families and friends to publicly grieve their losses. As a result of this focus on mourning, Remembrance Day has been less impacted by the nationalist narratives that surround

---

<sup>7</sup> "Anzac Day", *Army: Our History*. Accessed online 6 June 2019, <https://www.army.gov.au/our-history/traditions/anzac-day>.

<sup>8</sup> McKenna, "Anzac Day", 111.

<sup>9</sup> "Anzac Day: Early Commemorations", *Australian War Memorial*. Accessed online 9 June 2019, <http://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/anzac-day/traditions>.

<sup>10</sup> Jock Phillips and Ken Inglis, "War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand: A comparative survey," *Australian Historical Studies* 24 no. 96 (1991): 186.

<sup>11</sup> John McQuilton, "Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space" in *Gallipoli: Making History*, ed. Jenny Macleod (London: Routledge, 2004), 154.

<sup>12</sup> Joy Damousi, "Why do we get so emotional about Anzac?" in *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, ed. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 96.

<sup>13</sup> Powell, "Remembrance Day", 168.



Anzac Day. As Powell argues, “Remembrance Day lends itself less readily than Anzac Day to a particular view of national identity, binding us as it does to a greater, international tragedy”.<sup>14</sup> The service held on Remembrance Day each year still acts as an important site of commemoration for the First World War. However, this ceremony is more significant in New Zealand than in Australia, where Anzac Day dominates the commemorative landscape.<sup>15</sup>

There are some key trends from the literature that has been written on days of remembrance in Australia and New Zealand. Firstly, the majority of the literature focuses on Australia, rather than New Zealand. Secondly, far more has been written about Anzac Day than Remembrance Day.<sup>16</sup> Given the central role of Anzac Day as a site of commemoration in both Australia and New Zealand, its prominence in the literature is to be expected. A key strain of academic inquiry into Anzac Day in Australia has focused on the day’s “revival” in the second half of the twentieth century. For example, Jenny Macleod compared the rhetoric surrounding Anzac Day in 1965 (the fiftieth anniversary of the landings) and 1990 (the seventy-fifth anniversary) to explore the “fall and rise of Anzac Day” over this period.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, historians including Anna Clark and Mark McKenna have investigated why Anzac Day has come to hold such an important place in Australian national identity.<sup>18</sup> From a New Zealand perspective, Stephen Clarke’s Master of Arts thesis examined the evolution of Anzac Day in New Zealand following the Second World War.<sup>19</sup> Focusing on the period immediately after the First World War, Matthew Henry’s 2006 article discussed the ways in which Anzac Day was “assembled” in Auckland in the interwar years, framing the day as “a moment in the exercise of an

---

<sup>14</sup> Powell, “Remembrance Day”, 185.

<sup>15</sup> Powell, “Remembrance Day”, 184.

<sup>16</sup> For literature on Remembrance Day, see: Damian Powell, “Remembrance Day Memories and Values in Australia since 1918,” *Victorian Historical Journal* 75 no.2 (2004), 165-118; Helen Robinson, “Lest We Forget? The Fading of New Zealand War Commemorations, 1946-1966,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 44 no. 1 (2010): 76-91.

<sup>17</sup> Macleod, “The fall and rise of Anzac Day,” 149-168. See also Graeme Davison, “The habit of commemoration and the revival of Anzac Day,” *Australian Cultural History* 23 (2003): 75.

<sup>18</sup> Anna Clark, “The Place of Anzac in Australian Historical Consciousness,” *Australian Historical Studies* 48 no. 1 (2017): 26; Mark McKenna, “Anzac Day: How did it become Australia’s national day” in *What’s Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, ed. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 110-134. See also Chris Beer, “Spectacle, Urban Governance and the Politics of Nationhood: Canberra and the Production of Anzac Day Commemorations and Australia Day Live,” *Urban Policy and Research* 27 no. 1 (2009): 59-72; Robyn Mayes, “Origins of the Anzac Day ceremony: spontaneity and nationhood,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 33 no. 1 (2009), 51-65.

<sup>19</sup> Stephen Clarke, *The One Day of the Year: Anzac Day in Aotearoa/New Zealand 1946-1990*. (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Auckland, 1994), 77.

ongoing governmental power concerned with issues of contemporary conduct”.<sup>20</sup> More recently, Jenny Macleod analysed the role of Anzac Day in New Zealand, and also the role of New Zealand in Anzac Day, in the 2015 NZ-UK Link Foundation Annual Lecture.<sup>21</sup> Minimal comparative work has been done on the topic of days of remembrance. George Davis’s 2009 PhD thesis remains the most comprehensive comparative analysis on Anzac Day.<sup>22</sup>

Given the recent emergence of the field, little has been written to date on the acknowledgement of Indigenous soldiers in these days of remembrance. In New Zealand, Sue Abel et al.’s article on the role of Māori television in the construction of ‘nationhood’ around Anzac Day offers the most comprehensive engagement with the issue of representation.<sup>23</sup> From the Australian perspective, Noah Riseman’s article on the evolving commemorations of Indigenous Australian war service provides an overview of both national/official and local commemorations at days of remembrance.<sup>24</sup> Days of remembrance are also mentioned in Joan Beaumont’s 2018 chapter on the commemoration of Indigenous Australian war service.<sup>25</sup> All of these works focus more broadly on Indigenous war service, rather than specifically focusing on First World War service. Additionally, no comparative work has been done on Indigenous acknowledgement in national days of remembrance. Therefore, this chapter offers the beginnings of an important comparative analysis of Indigenous representation in days of remembrance in Australia and New Zealand. As this thesis is primarily concerned with dominant attitudes and narratives, this chapter will focus primarily on the national commemorative events and days of remembrance held in Canberra and Wellington.

---

<sup>20</sup> Matthew Henry, “Making New Zealanders through commemoration: Assembling Anzac Day in Auckland, 1916-1939,” *New Zealand Geographer* 62 (2006), 3.

<sup>21</sup> Jenny Macleod, “Remembering Gallipoli in New Zealand and beyond,” NZ-UK Link Foundation Annual Lecture (2015).

<sup>22</sup> George Davis, *Anzac Day meanings and memories: New Zealand, Australian and Turkish perspectives on a day of commemoration in the twentieth century*. (PhD diss., University of Otago, Dunedin, 2009).

<sup>23</sup> Sue Abel, “Māori television, Anzac Day and constructing ‘nationhood’,” in *The Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. B Hokowhitu and V Devadas (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 201-215.

<sup>24</sup> Noah Riseman, “Evolving Commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 32 no. 1 (2017), 80-101.

<sup>25</sup> Joan Beaumont, “Commemoration,” in *Serving Our Country: Indigenous Australians, war, defence and citizenship*, ed. Joan Beaumont and Allison Cadzow (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2018), 324-345.

### **1918-1964: Establishing a Commemorative Tradition**

Although services to commemorate the landings of Australian and New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli had occurred in both countries throughout 1915, 25 April was officially named “Anzac Day” in 1916. As Matthew Henry argues, these initial services were “widespread, but largely unofficial remembrance events”.<sup>26</sup> Early Anzac Day services were part of active recruitment campaigns, as well as moments for commemoration. In April 1916, Prime Minister William Massey noted in the *New Zealand Gazette* that:

the Government have decided to observe a half-holiday, commencing at 1 p.m. on Tuesday, the 25th April, in commemoration of ‘Anzac Day’ ... the occasion is one upon which opportunity should be taken for all recruiting bodies and others to arrange patriotic meetings for the evening, not only to commemorate the anniversary, but with a view of assisting the recruiting campaign.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, the *Evening News* in Sydney reported on 31 March 1916 on the planned Anzac Day service and recruitment drive to be held in the Sydney Domain, explaining that:

A great united memorium service is to be held in the Domain between 1 and 2 p.m., at which it is expected fully 50,000 citizens will attend. After dusk the city will be illuminated for the recruiting rally. In this returned soldiers to the number of about 5,000 will assist, and they are confident of getting a great response to their appeals for recruits.<sup>28</sup>

This emphasis on recruitment did not outweigh the importance of memorialisation. As one “Mother of Sons” wrote in *The Mercury* in April 1916, “Shall we not remember our soldiers who have given their lives for us; our soldiers who were given back to us at the great evacuation, and our soldiers who are still going but to fight”.<sup>29</sup> Although commemoration and recruitment were the dual purposes of Anzac Day during the war, the focus on recruitment gradually declined as the war ended and soldiers were no longer needed.

From 1917 onwards, returned soldiers’ groups and civilians pressured the governments in Australia and New Zealand to make Anzac Day a national commemorative day. In New Zealand, the push for classifying Anzac Day as a national public holiday was led by the New Zealand Returned Services Association.<sup>30</sup> The matter

---

<sup>26</sup> Henry, “Assembling Anzac Day,” 5.

<sup>27</sup> “Observances respecting Anzac Day”, *New Zealand Gazette* 1 (1916), 977.

<sup>28</sup> “Purpose of Anzac Day. Recruiting and in Memoriam. Monster Service in Domain”, *Evening News* (Sydney, NSW), 31 March 1916, 6.

<sup>29</sup> “Letters to the Editor: Anzac Day”, *The Mercury* (Hobart, TAS), 18 April 1916, 7.

<sup>30</sup> Henry, “Making New Zealanders through commemoration”, 5.

was finally discussed in parliamentary debates in 1920, during which it was determined that “this day shall be kept in memory of them [deceased soldiers] in a manner as you keep a Sunday”, and that “the law of the country will make it impossible for anyone to indulge in sport”.<sup>31</sup> The Australian Federal Government followed suit in 1921, when the State Premiers’ Conference determined that Anzac Day would be held on 25 April each year.<sup>32</sup> From the mid-1920s, therefore, Anzac Day became an established national event in both Australia and New Zealand that was central in the commemorative landscape following the end of the war.

The date of the Armistice – 11 November – was also rapidly adopted as a major commemorative day in Australia and New Zealand. The Armistice was celebrated in 1918 across the Empire “through a mixture of relief, joy, and reflection”.<sup>33</sup> In 1919, on the first anniversary of the Armistice, King George V circulated a letter throughout the Dominions, requesting that “the first anniversary of the Armistice ... be fittingly celebrated”, solidifying the importance of the anniversary in the national commemorative landscape of both countries.<sup>34</sup> Even immediately following the war, Armistice Day held less significance in the national commemorative landscape than Anzac Day. Although many communities held commemorative events, the primary focus of the day was the two minutes silence, observed at 11am across the British Empire.<sup>35</sup> As Powell explains, “as a public ritual, the Silence had enormous power ... It was simple to observe the key aspect of the ritual without elaborate props or large numbers of participants”.<sup>36</sup> Armistice Day was also not granted the raised status of public holiday, again signalling its secondary role to Anzac Day in the national commemorative landscape.

There is little suggestion from these early commemorative services that Indigenous war service was explicitly acknowledged at a national level in either Australia or New Zealand. The laying of pelican feather wreaths by returned Ngarrindjeri serviceman Gordon Rigney in Adelaide’s Anzac Day services from 1919 onwards was widely reported on in Adelaide and interstate, but similar instances were not mentioned

---

<sup>31</sup> New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (1920), 128-129.

<sup>32</sup> “State Premiers. Melbourne Conference. Wheat Control and Land Settlement.” *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney, NSW), 1 November 1921, 9.

<sup>33</sup> Powell, “Remembrance Day”, 168.

<sup>34</sup> “The Armistice. First Anniversary. World-Wide Celebration. Australia’s Part. Strikingly Impressive Scenes.” *The Age* (Melbourne, VIC), 12 November 1919, 9.

<sup>35</sup> The 2 minutes silence was endorsed by King George V in 1919, and from that point onwards became the central ritual of Armistice Day.

<sup>36</sup> Powell, “Remembrance Day”, 169.

regarding national commemorative ceremonies.<sup>37</sup> Tanja Luckins notes that many Indigenous Australian veterans and their families were excluded from local commemorative events, either because their war service was not believed or because they were unable to enter local Returned Serviceman League Clubs.<sup>38</sup> There is no evidence, however, to suggest that Indigenous Australian soldiers were deliberately excluded from the national Anzac Day marches held in Melbourne and then Canberra each year. Nevertheless, Indigenous Australian involvement in the war was not explicitly acknowledged in national commemorative services between 1919 and 1964. This lack of explicit acknowledgement reflected the status of Indigenous Australians within mainstream white Australian society during and immediately after the war. The exclusion of Indigenous Australians (for the most part) from participating in mainstream Australia's political and social landscapes, as well as wartime governmental attitudes to Indigenous enlistment, limited the extent to which they were acknowledged in days of remembrance.

Similarly, although Māori First World War soldiers were not barred from attending the national Anzac Day and Remembrance Day services held in Wellington each year, Māori involvement in the First World War does not appear to have been acknowledged in the services. However, as Davis points out, stories of Māori during the war were occasionally mentioned in national newspapers reporting on the days of remembrance, which allowed “Māori people a unique space in the proceedings of Anzac Day”.<sup>39</sup> There was therefore a tension surrounding the acknowledgement of Māori service in these days of remembrance – the high profile of the Māori Contingent and Pioneer (Māori) Battalion made their exclusion impossible, but narratives of their service still did not form a central part of the commemorative traditions. The early presence of some level of social and political acceptance of Māori in New Zealand, therefore, necessitated the limited acknowledgement of Māori service during days of remembrance. Overall, the national commemorative landscape established in the 50 years after the First World War in both Australia and New Zealand was predominately white, reflecting the Imperial values and national priorities of the period.

---

<sup>37</sup> “Wreath of Feathers”, *The News* (Adelaide), April 24 1950, 9. See also Doreen Kartinyeri, *Ngarrindjeri Anzacs* (Adelaide: Aboriginal Family History Project, South Australian Museum & Raukkan Council, 1996).

<sup>38</sup> Tanja Luckins, *The Gates of Memory: Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss and the Great War* (Fremantle: Curtin University Press, 2004), 250.

<sup>39</sup> Davis, *Anzac Meanings and Memories*, 80.

Following the Second World War, both commemorative days expanded their purpose to encompass those who had died during the more recent conflict, with Armistice Day being renamed as Remembrance Day in Australia and New Zealand to reflect this broadening of meaning.<sup>40</sup> By this time, both Remembrance Day and Anzac Day had been established as central to the broader national commemorative landscape in Australia and New Zealand. However, from the end of the Second World War onwards both Anzac Day and Remembrance Day experienced decreasing numbers and a loss of public interest. By the fiftieth anniversary, politicians and civilians were increasingly questioning the purpose of these days of remembrance, and their role in the commemorative landscape more broadly.

### **1964-2004: Contesting and Changing the Commemorative Landscape**

The period between 1964 and 2004 has been the most thoroughly studied for the history of Anzac Day and Remembrance Day in Australia and New Zealand. In both countries, the initial enthusiasm for national commemoration events had waned by the end of the Second World War. As Holbrook explains:

it is a common misconception to attribute the beginning of the decline of Anzac Day commemoration to the Vietnam protest movement and the baby boomer generation. The diggers of the first war had been concerned long before Vietnam that their legacy was not being sufficiently honoured.<sup>41</sup>

Although days of remembrance had already been in decline from the 1950s, changing socio-political dynamics in both countries from the late 1960s onwards exacerbated existing concerns. Increasing anti-war sentiment and the expansion of Marxist and socialist ideas led to protests and disputes over the role of these days in Australian and New Zealand society.<sup>42</sup> These protests in turn influenced the nature of the revived days of remembrance from the late 1980s onwards, and within this the acknowledgement of Indigenous service in the First World War.

By the fiftieth anniversary of the start of the First World War, Anzac Day and Remembrance Day services “expected a degree of familiarity with the story of Gallipoli” from attendees.<sup>43</sup> At the same time, however, many Australians and New Zealanders

---

<sup>40</sup> Robinson, “Lest We Forget?” 80.

<sup>41</sup> Holbrook, *Anzac*, 117.

<sup>42</sup> Holbrook, *Anzac*, 120; Clarke, *The One Day of the Year*, 102.

<sup>43</sup> Alex McConville, Tim McCreanor, Margaret Wetherell, Helen Moewaka Barnes, “Imagining an emotional nation: the print media and Anzac Day commemorations in Aotearoa New Zealand,” *Media, Culture & Society* 39 no. 1 (2017): 97.

questioned the “wider cultural significance” of these commemorative events, and their role in a post-British society.<sup>44</sup> *The Mirror* asked its readers in 1965: “Will Anzac Day be as meaningless to future generations as Trafalgar and Waterloo, once so cataclysmic, have become today?”<sup>45</sup> Similarly, in New Zealand, Stephen Clarke argues that “by the 1960s the passage of time since the First but also the Second World War meant that fewer New Zealanders required Anzac Day as a day of mourning and subsequently attendances dropped at citizens’ services”.<sup>46</sup> Although veterans and civilians continued to attend Anzac Day and Remembrance Day services, as Robinson points out “as the 1950s and 1960s progressed there was an increasing opposition to the restrictions of Anzac Day, and a growing feeling that the day was unnecessarily gloomy, or perhaps just unnecessary”.<sup>47</sup> In 1959, an editorial in the *New Zealand Listener* insisted that:

It is beyond the strength of ordinary men and women that retain for a full day the solemnity of the Dawn Parade ... It is hoped that April 25 will remain for many years a national day of special significance. Yet laws and prohibitions will not save it unless those who value it most can unbend from a too austere and unimaginative concept of human needs.<sup>48</sup>

Similar frustration with the restrictions espoused by returned services organisations occurred in Australia, with Jenny Macleod going so far as to argue that “the controlling role of the RSL” played a part in the downturn of support for days of remembrance in Australia amongst civilians.<sup>49</sup>

This public feeling of exclusion from commemorative services also reflected the lack of general attachment to the stories and experiences of the First World War. As Macleod explains, “the generation who first made the [Anzac] legend ... were so thoroughly familiar with the story of Gallipoli that slowly they had ceased to explain what happened ... emptied of meaning, Anzac Day failed to capture the imagination”.<sup>50</sup> Remembrance Day faced a similar issue of disengagement on both sides of the Tasman, with civic and religious ceremonies losing support through the 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>51</sup> In 1966, an editorial in the *Evening Post* summarised the lack of interest in and

---

<sup>44</sup> Macleod, “The rise and fall of Anzac Day,” 153.

<sup>45</sup> “Anzac Must Live On”, *The Mirror* (Sydney, NSW), 25 April 1965, 12.

<sup>46</sup> Clarke, *The One Day of the Year*, 77.

<sup>47</sup> Robinson, “Lest We Forget”, 77-78.

<sup>48</sup> *New Zealand Listener*, 20 February 1959, 10.

<sup>49</sup> Macleod, “The fall and rise of Anzac Day”, 150.

<sup>50</sup> Macleod, “The fall and rise of Anzac Day”, 157.

<sup>51</sup> Robinson, “Lest We Forget”, 80.

understanding of Remembrance Day: “Much of the community does not remember it and there are far too many who do not have the slightest idea of what it is all about anyway.”<sup>52</sup> As Australia and New Zealand continued to move away from a British-based national identity during the 1960s, the traditionally Imperial commemorative event of Remembrance Day further lost its national significance.<sup>53</sup> By the end of the fiftieth anniversary of the First World War, therefore, Australians and New Zealanders were questioning the importance of both days of remembrance in their national commemorative landscape. However, it is important to note that many civilians and returned service people remained invested in Anzac and Remembrance Days as significant elements of the national commemorative landscape throughout this period.<sup>54</sup> Anzac Day and, to a lesser extent, Remembrance Day were also subject to protests that represented the tensions within the changing political and social values in society throughout the second half of the twentieth century. As Clark argues, the late 1960s and early 1970s saw “the growing use of Anzac Day and war memorials as a mode of protest”.<sup>55</sup> Many of the protests that occurred on days of remembrance between the 1960s and the 1980s were staged by anti-war and feminist groups protesting against the atrocities committed during wartime.<sup>56</sup> Anti-war groups throughout the 1970s co-opted elements of the traditional Anzac Day and Remembrance Day rituals to protest against the Vietnam War – particularly wreath laying and marches. For example, in 1970 members of the Progressive Youth Movement (PYM) planned to lay wreaths in memory of “the dead and dying in Vietnam” in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch.<sup>57</sup> In response, Sir Hamilton Mitchell outlined the RSA’s wreath-laying policy, stating:

Provided a wreath is laid with due respect at a time which does not cause inconvenience to others or to an organised parade or service and such a wreath is in commemoration of those to whom the memorial is dedicated, then not only can there be no objection made but rather gratitude for the recognition of the sacrifice made to preserve our free way of life. If the PYM acts within that formula (and I

---

<sup>52</sup> *Evening Post* (Wellington), 12 November 1966, 20.

<sup>53</sup> Powell, “Remembrance Day”, 171. For a discussion of the evolution of Australian and New Zealand national identity and citizenship away from Britain and towards a national-civic model, see Jatinder Mann, *Redefining Citizenship in Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2019).

<sup>54</sup> McKenna, “Anzac Day,” 129.

<sup>55</sup> Clarke, *The One Day of the Year*, 102.

<sup>56</sup> Rowan Light. “Protest Encounters and the Remaking of Anzac Day”. Conference Paper – New Zealand Historical Association (Wellington, New Zealand), November 2019.

<sup>57</sup> Clarke, *The One Day of the Year*, 103.



would remind them that our memorials are dedicated to New Zealanders) then their act of recognition will be welcome.<sup>58</sup>

Controversy over anti-Vietnam war protests continued throughout the 1970s in both Australia and New Zealand. However, as Light argues, wreath laying gradually become accepted as a legitimate and peaceful form of protest, in comparison to the emerging protests by Women's Rights groups in the 1980s.<sup>59</sup> Feminist groups argued that "Anzac Day glorified war and ignored the suffering of women in war, particularly victims of rape".<sup>60</sup> Holbrook explains that "to many, especially the young, the rituals of Anzac Day became indistinguishable from the glorification of war".<sup>61</sup> The protests held on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day from the 1960s onwards raised questions around the nature and inclusivity of Anzac and Remembrance Day. In turn, these questions ultimately prompted a shift in how these days were commemorated in both Australia and New Zealand.

Indigenous communities in Australia and New Zealand also staged protests on or around national days of remembrance. As Aroha Harris argues, Māori protests were "part of a protest family that emerged in the 1960s and matured into the seventies and eighties into rights movements organised around tangata whenua [(Māori, literally "people of the land")], women and gays".<sup>62</sup> Not all of these protests were directly related to war. Many were linked to broader issues surrounding the recognition of Indigenous sovereignty, the desire for increased rights and opportunities for Indigenous people, and the protection of Indigenous languages and cultures.<sup>63</sup> However, some protests were focused on Indigenous involvement in war. In 1979 the *Otago Daily Times* reported on a Māori protest in Auckland on Anzac Day, where protesters laid a wreath to Māori who had died in "capitalist wars", and gave a black power salute.<sup>64</sup> For the most part Māori protests on or around days of remembrance were not campaigning for the acknowledgement of Māori war service. Māori veterans were already able to participate in Anzac Day parades and

---

<sup>58</sup> Minutes of Dominion Executive Committee of the New Zealand Returned Services' Association Meeting, 5 May 1970 (Appendix). New Zealand Returned Services' Association Dominion Headquarters, Wellington.

<sup>59</sup> Light, "Protest Encounters".

<sup>60</sup> Macleod, "The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day", 157.

<sup>61</sup> Holbrook, *Anzac*, 120.

<sup>62</sup> Aroha Harris, *Hikoi: Forty Years of Māori Protest* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2004), 15.

<sup>63</sup> Russell McGregor, "Another nation: Aboriginal Activism in the Late 1960s and Early 1970s," *Australian Historical Studies* 40 no. 3 (2009): 343.

<sup>64</sup> *Otago Daily Times* 26 April 1979, 5. Quoted in George Davis, *Anza Day meanings and memories*, 255.

commemorative services, and the presence of Māori-only units made their wartime service visible, thus negating the need to protest in order to gain greater recognition.

Indigenous Australian activist groups also became increasingly vocal in the seventies and eighties, drawing on decades of activism and protest from their communities.<sup>65</sup> Indigenous Australian activists had discussed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander service in the First World War since the 1930s. In particular, activists had highlighted the hypocrisy of a government willing to send men to war for the country but not willing to provide basic care and human rights to the communities from which these men came.<sup>66</sup> These protests continued into the Second World War, and ultimately influenced the decision to extend Federal voting rights to Indigenous servicemen in 1949.<sup>67</sup> Although the majority of Indigenous protests during the 1970s and 1980s focused on social and political inequalities and injustices, some Indigenous veterans campaigned for the right to march in Anzac and Remembrance Day marches as a collective group, rather than scattered throughout their battalions.<sup>68</sup>

These tensions came to a head in 1985, when Indigenous Second World War and Vietnam War veterans clashed with the head of the Victorian RSL Bruce Ruxton over their desire to march as a cohesive group. According to Vietnam veteran Daryl Wallace, who convened the newly formed National Aboriginals and Islanders' Ex-Servicemen's Association: "One black fellow in amongst a big heap of people doesn't stick out much. It is very important that people ... see that black fellows had the courage and the guts to lay down their lives for this country. If they don't see black fellows marching as a group, they'll never know that."<sup>69</sup> Ruxton, however, countered that: "They cannot march alone. This is the same whether they're black or white or brindle. The rules are the rules".<sup>70</sup> He refused to allow the group to march together. This was not the first time Ruxton had opposed minority groups which had campaigned for an active and visible role in Anzac Day services. In 1982 he prevented members of the Gay Ex-Servicemen's Association

---

<sup>65</sup> Barry Morris, *Protest, land rights and riots: Postcolonial struggles in Australia in the 1980s* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2013), 2.

<sup>66</sup> Riseman, "Enduring Silences", 181.

<sup>67</sup> "Electoral milestones for Indigenous Australians", *Australian Electoral Commission* (August 2019). <https://www.aec.gov.au/indigenous/milestones.htm>.

<sup>68</sup> Riseman, "Evolving Commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service," *Wicazo Sa Review* 32 no. 1 (2017): 85.

<sup>69</sup> Darryl Wallace, quoted in "Ruxton Plans to Stop Aboriginal Group March," *Canberra Times* (ACT), 5 March 1985, 3.

<sup>70</sup> Bruce Ruxton, quoted in "Ruxton Plans to Stop Aboriginal Group March," *Canberra Times* (ACT), 5 March 1985, 3.

from laying a wreath at the Shrine of Remembrance on Anzac Day, claiming that: “We didn’t want them to lay a wreath because we didn’t want them-and they are just another start to the denigration of Anzac Day”.<sup>71</sup> A vote was held by the Anzac Day Memorial Council in 1987, which supported denying Indigenous Australian veterans the right to march together in the Anzac Day parade.<sup>72</sup> Following this, Ruxton argued that the National Aboriginals and Islanders’ Ex-Servicemen’s Association were trying to make the gap “wider and wider between black and white”.<sup>73</sup> In response, the group held a separate march on Anzac Day in 1985, which welcomed all veterans regardless of their race.<sup>74</sup> These marches continued throughout the 1980s and onwards, although Riseman notes that many veterans were happy to march with their units in the main parades, rather than under an “Aboriginal Veterans” banner.<sup>75</sup> Additionally, similar protests did not occur (at least not to the same publicised extent) in Canberra, where the national commemorative services were held. However, as was the case during the war, state-based issues of Indigenous acknowledgement impacted and influenced broader national attitudes towards their explicit inclusion in days of remembrance.

The discussions over whether or not Indigenous veterans should be allowed to march as a racial group in the 1980s also reinforced the structural differences inherent in Australian and New Zealand society by this period. As no Indigenous Australian-only units had been raised in the First World War, and Indigenous service had been largely discouraged, Indigenous veterans who had served faced greater challenges in making their war service visible during national Anzac Day and Remembrance Day services. Additionally, despite growing Indigenous rights and protest movements, Indigenous Australians were still largely excluded from mainstream Australian society in the 1980s. Conversely, New Zealand society was increasingly moving towards a policy of biculturalism (albeit asymmetrical) at a national level. As a result, some level of acknowledgement of Māori war service was increasingly being viewed as integral to national days of remembrance in New Zealand.

---

<sup>71</sup> Noah Riseman, “‘Just another start to the denigration of Anzac Day’: Evolving Commemorations of Australian LGBTI Military Service”, *Australian Historical Studies* 48.1 (2017), 41.

<sup>72</sup> Riseman, “Evolving Commemorations,” 85.

<sup>73</sup> Bruce Ruxton, quoted in “Aboriginal Anzac Day,” *Canberra Times* (ACT), 20 March 1985, 9.

<sup>74</sup> Noah Riseman and Richard Trembath, *Defending Country: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service since 1945* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2016), 171.

<sup>75</sup> Riseman, *Defending Country*, 172.

These tensions and protests from the 1960s to the 1980s fundamentally shifted the nature of Anzac Day and Remembrance Day commemorations. In order for these days of remembrance to remain part of the national commemorative landscape, they had to evolve to fit the values and interests of the nations as they were at the end of the 1980s, not the 1910s. In particular, southern and eastern European migrants and other “hitherto marginalised groups’ assertive demands to participate in Anzac Day services” emphasised the need for a diversification of the traditional commemorative narrative.<sup>76</sup> The facilitation of more inclusive commemorative practices in national commemorations, Christina Twomey argues, may have contributed to the “revival” of Anzac and Remembrance Day in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>77</sup> However, the protests surrounding Anzac and Remembrance Day in the 1960s onwards, as well as the events’ revival in the 1980s and 1990s, did little to facilitate the explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian First World War service during this period. As Davis argues, “following World War II, holding the efforts of Māori soldiers in high regard was desired. Such could never be the case for Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islanders. Their stories would not publicly surface until the 1990s”.<sup>78</sup> However, it is important to note that much of the emphasis placed on Māori soldiers highlighted the service of the 28<sup>th</sup> Battalion (Second World War). Despite this, by the end of the twentieth century, the acknowledgement of Māori service had been established to some extent in the national Anzac and Remembrance Day commemorations of New Zealand. In Australia, by contrast, Indigenous Australian war service was only beginning to be recognised beyond a local community level by the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Renewed public and governmental interest in the commemoration of the First World War in both Australia and New Zealand facilitated the revival of the commemorative services from the 1990s onwards.<sup>79</sup> The revival of these days of remembrance was furthered through the reinternment of an Unknown Soldier on Remembrance Day 1993 in Australia and 2004 in New Zealand.<sup>80</sup> By re-establishing the

---

<sup>76</sup> Riseman, “Evolving Commemorations,” 85.

<sup>77</sup> Christina Twomey, “Trauma and the Reinvigoration of Anzac,” *History Australia* 10 no. 3 (2013): 87.

<sup>78</sup> Davis, *Anzac Day meanings and memories*, 220.

<sup>79</sup> Bruce Scates, Rae Frances, Keir Reeves, Frank Bongiorno, Martin Crotty, Gareth Knapman, Graham Seal, Annette Becker, Andrew Reeves, Tim Soutphommasane, Kevin Blackburn, Stephen J. Clarke, Peter Stanley, Andrew Hoskins, Jay Winter, Carl Bridge, Laura James, Rebecca Wheatley, Leah Riches, Alexandra McCosker, Simon Sleight, “Anzac Day at Home and Abroad: Towards a History of Australia’s National Day,” *History Compass* 10 no. 7 (2012): 526.

<sup>80</sup> See chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of the reinternment of the Australian Unknown Soldier and the New Zealand Unknown Warrior.

link between Remembrance Day and national war memorials, these events served to further reinvigorate popular interest in these national commemorations. By the early 2000s, therefore, Anzac Day and Remembrance Day had renewed their central places in the national commemorative landscape in both Australia and New Zealand. However, these commemorative events had been impacted by protests and questions over their relevance in modern society. These tensions had in turn began to alter public and governmental expectations for who should be included in these national days of remembrance, changes which would continue to impact Indigenous acknowledgement into the twenty-first century.

### **2005-2019: The Centenary**

Following the beginnings of the diversification of national war commemorations in the 1980s and 1990s, the period in the lead up to the centenary of the First World War saw increasing local efforts to acknowledge and commemorate Indigenous war service.<sup>81</sup> The extent to which this occurred at a national level varied between Australia and New Zealand. These variations continue to reflect the status of Indigenous peoples in both countries, and national official attitudes towards Indigenous recognition and social inclusion.

In New Zealand, overtly bicultural rituals have been increasingly incorporated into national Anzac Day and Remembrance Day services since the mid-2000s as a form of implicit acknowledgement of Māori war service. Elements of a pōwhiri (Māori welcoming ceremony) were introduced into mainstream commemorative services in the mid-2000s, and were firmly established at a national level by 2009.<sup>82</sup> Additionally, since the mid-2000s the Ode has been recited in both English and Māori during major Anzac and Remembrance Day services in New Zealand.<sup>83</sup> Reading the Ode in both English and

---

<sup>81</sup> Noah Riseman, "Introduction: Diversifying the black diggers' histories," *Aboriginal History* 39 (2015): 138.

<sup>82</sup> Armistice Day Commemoration Order of Service, Auckland War Memorial Museum, 11 November 2007, 2008, 2009 onwards. EPH4-W1-4. Auckland War Memorial Museum Archives, Auckland, New Zealand. For more information regarding pōwhiri, see: Natalie Coates, "A Consideration of the Place of Pōwhiri in the State Sector," *Journal of South Pacific Law* 2012 no. 1 (2012): 5.

<sup>83</sup> Remembrance Day Program, 2010 onwards. See Appendix II for the Māori and English versions of the Ode of Remembrance. Originally, the first line of the Ode was translated as "E kore rātou e koroheketia" ("They shall not grow old"), where koroheketia specifically translates to "grow to be an old man". In the revised translation, the line has been changed to "E kore rātou e kaumatuatia", with kaumatuatia meaning "to grow old" (non-gender specific). "Māori ode of remembrance recognises women in uniform", Media Release, Manatū Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage (11 April 2016). Accessed online, 21 June 2019, <https://mch.govt.nz/māori-ode-of-remembrance-recognises-women-in-uniform>.

Māori serves two key purposes. Firstly, it acknowledges the bicultural and bilingual nature of New Zealand war service, and by extension the bicultural nature of the national commemorative event. Secondly, the use of te reo Māori has the potential to facilitate a deeper engagement with the mainstream narratives of commemoration expressed in Anzac and Remembrance Day services. The adoption of Māori language and cultural rituals as an integral part of the national commemorative services on days of remembrance reinforces the significance of both Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand war commemoration. Additionally, the creation of inherently bicultural days of remembrance through the use of Māori cultural rituals and language reinforces New Zealand's national attitudes towards Māori social inclusion.

Indigenous Australian language and rituals have not been similarly adopted at a national level in Australia for Anzac Day and Remembrance Day. This is despite the fact that the Australian government has adopted Indigenous protocols, in particular the Welcome to Country or Acknowledgement of Country, into many of its official proceedings since the mid-1990s.<sup>84</sup> The Welcome to Country ritual has been adopted for selected major state commemorative events, but has not become commonplace across local, state, or national commemorative services. Additionally, controversy of the “political” nature of Welcome to Country addresses erupted in 2017, following the delivery of a Welcome to Country address by Kurna elder Katrina Ngaitlyala Power. During her address, which was supported by the South Australian branch of the RSL, Power referenced the “return to slavery” and “stolen land” of her ancestors who had fought in the First World War.<sup>85</sup> Following the service, Power was condemned by major newspapers and political commentators for being “too political”, and for disrespecting Australian soldiers.<sup>86</sup> The backlash following Power's address, as well as the absence of the ritual from national commemorative services, demonstrates the continuing conservative response in Australia to the incorporation of Indigenous rituals into commemorative events. Although in recent years the Australian War Memorial has included the playing of a didgeridoo before commemorative services as part of the Anzac

---

<sup>84</sup> Mark McKenna, “Tokenism or belated recognition? Welcome to Country and the emergence of Indigenous protocol in Australia, 1991-2014,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 38 no. 4 (2014): 477-478.

<sup>85</sup> Craig Cook, “Speech of welcome by Aboriginal elder Katrina Ngaitlyala Power at Anzac dawn service referencing slavery condemned as too political”, *The Advertiser* (April 25 2017).

<sup>86</sup> Michael Owen, “Anzac Day 2017: Dawn service politicised by activist”, *The Australian* (25 April 2017); Craig Cook, “Speech of welcome by Aboriginal elder Katrina Ngaitlyala Power at Anzac dawn service referencing slavery condemned as too political”, *The Advertiser* (April 25 2017).

Day and Remembrance Day program, Indigenous Australian cultural rituals have not been included in the actual services.

National commemorative events for Anzac Day and Remembrance Day also do not utilise of Indigenous Australian languages at any point throughout the services, particularly during the Ode of Remembrance. This is partially due to the fact Australia has multiple surviving Indigenous languages, none of which are officially recognised by the Federal government, and thus do not serve the same official purpose as te reo Māori does in New Zealand. Again, therefore, the Australian government's more conservative response the recognition of Indigenous cultural sovereignty has limited the ability of Indigenous cultural practices to be incorporated into national days of remembrance. As Indigenous Australian culture is not viewed as integral to Australian society or national identity, neither is their inclusion in national days of remembrance.

It is important to note that in both Australia and New Zealand, the inclusion (or lack thereof) of Indigenous cultural practices into national days of remembrance has not necessarily corresponded with increased explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War service. Given the pre-existing stereotypes and narratives surrounding Indigenous First World War service, particularly in Australia, by not explicitly mentioning the presence of Indigenous soldiers, their presence is inherently excluded from the mainstream narrative. According to Alistair Thomson, "the stories and the meanings that do not fit today's public [Anzac] narrative are still silenced or marginalised, and at best only resurface within a sympathetic particular public".<sup>87</sup> While there is not necessarily a deliberate effort to exclude Indigenous stories from commemorative days, their inclusion is restricted so as not to challenge the mainstream narrative. When stories of Indigenous service are told as part of Anzac or Remembrance Day services, they typically fit within the framework of the "colour-blind AIF" narratives that have emerged in recent years. The "colour-blind AIF" narrative, which highlights the equality offered to many Indigenous soldiers following their enlistment for the course of the war, "fit[s] a Reconciliation framework while also transcending the History Wars through the message of 'unity' as Australians".<sup>88</sup> However, this narrative only fits within the dominant narrative when the pre- and post-service contexts are not discussed. Additionally, as Riseman explains:

---

<sup>87</sup> Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, 247.

<sup>88</sup> Riseman, "Enduring Memories," 88.

Whilst current discourse tries to include Aboriginal diggers in the Anzac legend of ‘mateship’, in actuality they were not seen as equal. Instead, supposed equality on the front was still an exercise in white power, willing to elevate Indigenous Australians overseas, but just as willing to reposition them as inferior upon their return to civilian society.<sup>89</sup>

Importantly, these discussions of Indigenous Australian war service are typically absent from the speeches delivered during national days of remembrance, despite increasing amounts of information being made available on the topic. To date, the most explicit recognition of Indigenous Australian war service during a national commemorative ceremony was the decision in 2017 to allow the Anzac Day march in Canberra to be led by Indigenous Australians.<sup>90</sup> While a significant milestone in the recognition of Indigenous Australian First World War service more broadly, this decision did not necessarily serve to explicitly highlight the First World War service of Indigenous Australians.

Aside from highlighting Indigenous Australian service people during the 2017 national Anzac Day parade, the main way in which Indigenous Australian involvement in the Defence Force has been acknowledged is through the introduction of a specific Indigenous Australian Commemorative Ceremony held immediately after the Anzac Day Dawn Service. The focus of the service is on “those Indigenous Australians who have served in the Australian forces since 1901”.<sup>91</sup> Although the ceremony focuses on Indigenous veterans of all wars since 1901, not just the First World War, the stories of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander First World War soldiers have nonetheless been represented throughout the ceremony since its inception. The focus on Indigenous overseas war service, combined with the atmosphere created in the surrounding war memorial precinct on Anzac Day, combine to make the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commemorative Ceremony a key event for the representation of Indigenous First World War service within the context of official days of remembrance.

However, the ceremony faces barriers to effectively disseminating these stories within the broader national commemorative landscape in Australia. The first major

---

<sup>89</sup> Riseman, “Introduction,” 139-140. See also, Philippa Scarlett. “Aboriginal Service in the First World War: Identity, recognition, and the problem of mateship”, *Aboriginal History* 39 (2015), 163-181.

<sup>90</sup> Karina Carvalho (Host) ; Bridget Brennan (Reporter) ; Francis Hayes (Contributor) ; Len Ogilvie (Contributor) ; Patrick Mills (Contributor) ; Gary Oakley (Contributor), “Anzac Day: For the first time today, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander veterans led the national Anzac Day march. From Canberra. Bridget Brennan reports”. *ABC News (QLD)* (25 April 2017), 2 minutes.

<sup>91</sup> “The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commemorative Ceremony”, *Australian War Memorial* (2019). Accessed online 6 May 2019, <https://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/anzac-day/atsivsaa>.



barrier is attendance. Although attendance numbers at the ceremony continue to grow, they remain small in comparison to the major commemorative services held by the Australian War Memorial on Anzac Day. At the 2019 Dawn Service, for example, the War Memorial estimated that 35,000 visitors attended, while approximately 10,000 people attended the National Ceremony and veterans march held later in the morning. By contrast, only a few hundred people attended the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commemorative Ceremony, even though it was held only a few minutes after the Dawn Service.<sup>92</sup> Assuming that all those who attended the Commemorative Ceremony attended the Dawn Service, only approximately 1 percent of Dawn Service attendees then attended the Commemorative Ceremony. As Anne Brennan argued in her 2011 article, the Commemorative Ceremony “has allowed the Australian War Memorial to appear to be responding to the needs of the Indigenous community, whilst avoiding the pressure to incorporate references to Indigenous servicemen and women into the Dawn Service itself”.<sup>93</sup> Given the low attendance and minimal advertisement by the Australian War Memorial, the Commemorative Ceremony has clearly not been an effective substitute for representing Indigenous service people in the Australian War Memorial’s official days of remembrance. It is important to consider the possibility that the ceremony is aimed primarily at Indigenous Australians, rather than the broader community, and thus lower turnout numbers may not necessarily be a major concern for the organisers of the event. However, if this were to be the case, it further highlights Brennan’s point regarding the use of the Commemorative Ceremony by the Australian War Memorial. If the ceremony is intended primarily as a commemorative space for Indigenous Australians, then issues over the lack of acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian war service at the mainstream, national commemorative event is brought into sharper attention.

Although the Commemorative Ceremony plays an important role in providing a space for the commemoration of Indigenous First World War service, its reach remains limited and therefore less effective, as it is still marginalised to the outskirts of the official program on Anzac Day. This separation is important. The establishment of a separate commemorative ceremony, as well as separate days of remembrance during NAIDOC Week, have enabled narratives of Indigenous Australian war service to be explicitly

---

<sup>92</sup> “Strong crowd numbers for Anzac Day Dawn Service – 2019”, War Memorial Media Release, April 25 2019; “Thousands attend Anzac Day 2019 National Ceremony”, War Memorial Media Release, April 25 2019.

<sup>93</sup> Anne Brennan, “Lest We Forget: Military Myths, Memory, and Canberra’s Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Memorial,” *Memory Connection* 1 no. 1 (2011): 39-40.

discussed and acknowledged. However, these days have also served to further separate Indigenous war service from “mainstream” national commemorative events. The creation of separate services in which to acknowledge Indigenous Australian war service reflects broader national attitudes towards Indigenous inclusion in mainstream society. While separate acknowledgement is accepted, the integration of Indigenous narratives into the mainstream national days of remembrance remains limited at a national level.

Despite the more ready incorporation of Māori cultural rituals and language into national commemorative services, explicit acknowledgement of Māori First World War service remains limited in New Zealand. As Sue Abel explains, “the presence of Māori has been restricted to the occasional, too often mangled, formal address in Māori at the beginning of a speech in English, and, of course, reference to the Māori Battalion in their role as ‘warriors’”.<sup>94</sup> The complexities surrounding Māori war service, or their role beyond the late nineteenth-century stereotype of the “warrior savage”, are typically absent from the rhetoric and speeches found in the national commemorative services on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day. New Zealand’s biculturalism has therefore in some ways limited the scope for the explicit acknowledgement of Māori war service. Māori First World War service was never a secret, and the presence of all-Māori units makes it difficult to avoid. Yet this existing knowledge in turn removes some of the urgency behind explicitly acknowledging such service as a form of reconciliation and recognition. Thus, while Māori involvement in the commemorative landscape of New Zealand’s national days of remembrance had been clearly established by the beginning of the centenary of the First World War, explicit recognition of their wartime service and experiences is often still absent.

Across the course of the beginning decades of the twenty-first century, the national days of remembrance in both Australia and New Zealand have been established as central points in the national commemorative landscape. Despite this, and the broader political and social changes towards policies of greater recognition and reconciliation, these sites of commemoration continue to minimally acknowledge Indigenous First World War service. Although in New Zealand Māori rituals and language have been incorporated into the national commemorative events held on Anzac Day and Remembrance Day, this has not led to increased explicit acknowledgement of Māori First World War service during these events. In Australia, discussion of Indigenous Australian

---

<sup>94</sup> Sue Abel, “Māori Television,” 207-208.

First World War service remains limited and largely marginalised to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commemorative Service held on Anzac Day. Additionally, despite the adoption of such rituals across other Australian official and social events, the national days of remembrance do not incorporate the Welcome to Country or Acknowledgement of Country ritual. The acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War service in both Australia and New Zealand therefore continues to reflect wider national attitudes regarding race relations and social inclusion.

### **Conclusion**

Both Anzac Day and Remembrance Day have been key events in the national commemorative landscapes of Australia and New Zealand since their conception. The acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War service on these days of remembrance in both countries was reliant on the broader national and social contexts. In New Zealand, where Māori First World War service was more broadly discussed, and most Māori men had served in specific Māori and Pasifika units, their war service was more readily acknowledged. By contrast, stereotypes surrounding Indigenous Australians, as well as the monocultural Australian identity that was created in the first half of the twentieth century, left little room for the explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous military service on a national level. Although both the Australian and New Zealand national commemorations during the centenary included some level of recognition of Indigenous war service (through visibility in a national march and cultural rituals respectively), explicit and regular acknowledgement remained limited.

In exploring the history of the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service in Australian and New Zealand national days of remembrance, the importance of national attitudes towards Indigenous inclusion in society becomes apparent. Persisting national attitudes surrounding the place of Indigenous people in Australian and New Zealand society were in most influential in shaping the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service. In analysing days of remembrance, the emergence of a bicultural institution of commemoration in New Zealand, compared to a separate commemorative space for Indigenous Australian commemoration, can be noted at a national level. The extent to which this divide occurred within the sites of commemoration that typically hosted days of remembrance – the national war memorials – is the focus of the next chapter.

### **Chapter III** **War Memorials**

War memorials have long served as a physical manifestation of national commemoration. They act as a material site of memory, a solid, tangible incarnation of the emotions and narratives of commemoration. Although traditionally created to memorialise only successful military commanders or decisive battles, by the turn of the twentieth century war memorials had evolved to commemorate the service of all soldiers, regardless of rank.<sup>1</sup> The post-war years in Australia and New Zealand saw the creation of war memorials by local communities and governmental organisations alike. The climax of these memorial building movements in both countries were the creation of National War Memorials in both Wellington and Canberra. Both of these memorials provided a physical landmark in the broader national commemorative landscape that emerged following the end of the First World War.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter explores the evolution of the national war memorials in Australia and New Zealand over the past century. In particular, it examines whether changing political and social values in both societies since 1918 have facilitated the acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian and Māori First World War service. National war memorials were designed to be permanent and unchanging sites of commemoration. However, as this chapter argues, the additions to and developments of the sites surrounding national war memorials facilitated the explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous war service over time.

#### **Literature Review**

According to Alan Borg, whose 1991 monograph *War Memorials from Antiquity to the Present* remains a key text in the field: “War memorials are the most numerous and widespread of all public monuments ... It is probably because they are so common that these memorials seldom attract much attention.”<sup>3</sup> Although war memorials are often

---

<sup>1</sup> Graham Oliver, “Naming the dead, writing the individual: classical traditions and commemorative practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries”, in *Cultures of Commemoration: War Memorials, ancient and modern*, eds. Polly Low, Graham Oliver and Peter Rhodes (Proceedings of the British Academy, 2012), 115.

<sup>2</sup> Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (Perth: University of Western Australia, 2007), 136-137.

<sup>3</sup> Alan Borg, *War Memorials: from antiquity to modernity* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), ix.

mentioned tangentially by operational and cultural war historians, Scates and Wheatley explain that few academics considered them as the sole focus of their work until relatively recently.<sup>4</sup> Since the 1990s, however, war memorials have been the subject of a significant amount of historiographical attention. Architectural and art historians have increasingly shown interest in war memorials as examples of public art works.<sup>5</sup> Although valuable contributions in their own right, these studies do not necessarily add to the understanding of war memorials as sites of commemoration within the broader national commemorative landscape.

The majority of the historical attention on war memorials has focused on their use by nation-states to assert specific narratives and ideology.<sup>6</sup> In Mosse's *Fallen Soldiers*, war memorials are presented as a key tool of nationalism following the First World War. He argues that "war memorials did not so much focus upon one man, as upon figures symbolic of the nation – upon the sacrifice of all of its men".<sup>7</sup> War memorials were "tangible symbols of death" which "projected in stone and mortar the soldierly ideals" of the nation.<sup>8</sup> In his exploration of the relationship between black emancipation and Civil War monuments, Kirk Savage argues that "Public monuments are important precisely because they do in some measure work to impose a permanent memory on the very landscape within which we order our lives".<sup>9</sup> Within the national commemorative landscape war memorials typically reinforce a singular narrative of the past, one that reflects the values and interests of the national body responsible for their construction.

While the link between war memorials and national narratives is relevant to their role as sites of memory, it was not until fairly recently that historians also widely considered war memorials as material sites of mourning and commemoration.<sup>10</sup> In particular, historians have begun to focus on the emotional role of war memorials, and

---

<sup>4</sup> Bruce Scates and Rebecca Wheatley, "War memorials" in Jay Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 529.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example: Donald Richardson, *Creating Remembrance: The Art and Design of Australian War Memorials* (Champaign, Illinois: Common Group Publishing LLC, 2015) and Nuala Johnson, "Mapping Monuments: the shaping of public space and cultural identities", *Visual Communication* 1.3 (2002), 293-298.

<sup>6</sup> For example, M. Ignatieff, "Soviet war memorials," *History Workshop* 17 (1984): 156-163 explores the role of war memorials in the dissemination of Stalinism and communism in the Soviet Union.

<sup>7</sup> George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 47.

<sup>8</sup> Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 48.

<sup>9</sup> Kirk Savage, "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 143.

<sup>10</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 79.

on the complexities of these emotions on both an individual and national level. As Jay Winter argues, war memorials are “also sites of mourning ... the foci of the rituals, rhetoric, and ceremonies of bereavement”.<sup>11</sup> Beckstead, Twose, Levesque-Gottlieb, and Rizzo have explored this idea of war memorials as physical sites of mourning and their ability to “guide the direction of viewers’ affective responses”.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Polly Low, Graham Oliver and Peter Rhodes explored the “cultures of commemoration” surrounding war memorials from antiquity to the present day in their edited volume, published in 2012.<sup>13</sup> These explorations of the emotive aspect of war memorials are important in understanding the significance of war memorials as sites of memory. As Jay Winter argues: “They have been important symbols of national pride ... [and] places where people grieved, both individually and collectively”.<sup>14</sup> This overlapping purpose of both commemorative site and conveyer of national pride is what makes war memorials such integral sites of commemoration within the national commemorative landscapes of the First World War in Australia and New Zealand.

The historiography on Australian and New Zealand war memorials remains dominated by Ken Inglis (Australia) and Jock Phillips (New Zealand). Over 20 years since its initial publication in 1998, Inglis’s seminal work *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* remains the most comprehensive study of Australian war memorials.<sup>15</sup> As Paula Hamilton explains her in review of *Sacred Places*: “For Ken Inglis these memorials represent our collective memory of war. If they were absent from the landscape, wars might be erased from our consciousness”.<sup>16</sup> Other historians have written books and articles discussing specific Australian war memorials, particularly Michael McKernan’s *Here is their spirit: a history of the Australian War Memorial*.<sup>17</sup> However,

---

<sup>11</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 78.

<sup>12</sup> Zachary Beckstead, Gabriel Twose, Emily Levesque-Gottlieb, and Julia Rizzo, “Collective remembering through the materiality and organisation of war memorials,” *Journal of Material Culture* 16 no. 2 (2011): 193.

<sup>13</sup> Polly Low, Graham Oliver, and Peter Rhodes, eds. *Cultures of Commemoration: War Memorials, ancient and modern* (Proceedings of the British Academy, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 79.

<sup>15</sup> Ken Inglis, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Paula Hamilton, “Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape,” *Australian Historical Studies* 30 no. 113 (1999): 354.

<sup>17</sup> Bruce Scates, *A Place to Remember: The History of the Shrine of Remembrance* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Michael McKernan, *Here is their spirit: a history of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press in association with the Australian War Memorial, 1991).

Inglis's work remains the most comprehensive, covering both local and state/national war memorials.

New Zealand war memorials have received less academic attention than their Australian counterparts, particularly from historians of war and commemoration. Jock Phillips and Christopher Maclean collaborated on *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* in 1990.<sup>18</sup> Although significantly smaller than Inglis's work, *The Sorrow and the Pride* also provides a comprehensive overview of the history of war memorials in New Zealand, and remains the major historical text on the field. Inglis and Phillips also published a joint study on Australian and New Zealand war memorials, which although lacking the depth of their independent projects provides a useful starting-point for comparing First World War memorials in both countries.<sup>19</sup> Since the publication of these works in the 1990s, however, little has been done to build up the assertions and data put forth by Inglis and Phillips in their respective works, hence their frequent mention throughout this chapter. Additionally, no separate academic works have been produced that focus on the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service within Australian and New Zealand war memorials, which is the key focus of this chapter. As a result, this chapter draws national war memorials into the discussion around the acknowledgement and representation of Indigenous war service, viewing them as central sites of commemoration in the national commemorative landscape.

### **1918-1964: Establishing the Commemorative Space**

In both Australia and New Zealand, local communities began to construct memorials to the soldiers who died in the Great War during the conflict. According to Inglis: "A number of memorials were unveiled, and the foundation stones for others laid, on that first anniversary [of the Gallipoli landings]. Many other memorials were erected by popular subscription in towns and suburbs during the rest of the war."<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Phillips explains that "as early as 8 January 1916 ... a Māori, L.T. Busby of Pukepoto in the far north, wrote to the Minister of Defence ... to say that the local community had decided

---

<sup>18</sup> Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1990).

<sup>19</sup> Ken Inglis and Jock Phillips, "War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand," *Australian Historical Studies* 24 no. 96 (1991): 179-191.

<sup>20</sup> Inglis, "World War One Memorials in Australia," *Guerres mondiales et conflit contemporains* 167 Les Monument aux Mort de la Premiere Guerre Mondiale (1992): 54.

to put up a war memorial”.<sup>21</sup> By the end of the war, 60 local memorials had been erected in Australia, and two erected in New Zealand.<sup>22</sup> The difference in number can largely be explained by Australia’s failure to introduce conscription and the need to continue to inspire young men to enlist.<sup>23</sup> According to Scates and Wheatley, “volunteerism gave a ‘hard edge’ to Australian commemoration”, linking patriotic support with war commemoration.<sup>24</sup> The war memorials constructed in Australia during the war were thus also tools of recruitment, used to reinforce national narratives of the importance of war service. As Jay Winter argues, “the lists engraved in stone during the war of those who had joined up to help to encourage further enlistment; later lists formed a permanent and immediate chastisement of those who chose not to go”.<sup>25</sup> After the need for volunteers ceased with the Armistice in November 1918, towns across Australia and New Zealand continued to build war memorials to commemorate those who had fought in the conflict and those who had not returned home.

The push for the creation of war memorials across Australia and New Zealand was driven by three distinct but interrelated motives. The first, and arguably most important, was the desire amongst those at home to remember the dead. As Bart Ziino argues, “across the Empire, grieving communities expressed the power of war memorials to provide a place of remembrance for absent bodies”.<sup>26</sup> The British Imperial Government placed a ban on the repatriation of soldiers’ bodies following the end of the war, which meant that grieving families in Australia and New Zealand were often separated from the graves of their loved ones.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, war memorials became “substitutes for those graves, and the ceremonies of unveiling them were a substitute for their funeral”.<sup>28</sup> The trend of naming soldiers on war memorials, as well as the solemn and memorialising inscriptions carved into the stone, reflect this commemorative purpose. In this sense, war memorials become part of the process Ziino labels “transplanting the front”, an important element in making the dead “tangible to faraway mourners”.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Maclean & Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 69.

<sup>22</sup> Inglis and Phillips, “War memorials in Australia and New Zealand,” 185.

<sup>23</sup> Scates and Wheatley, “War memorials,” 548.

<sup>24</sup> Scates and Wheatley, “War Memorials”, 548.

<sup>25</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 80.

<sup>26</sup> Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (Perth: University of Western Australia, 2007), 137.

<sup>27</sup> Scates and Wheatley, “War memorials,” 547.

<sup>28</sup> Ken Inglis, “The Unknown Australian Soldier,” *Journal of Australian Studies*, 60 (1999): 9.

<sup>29</sup> Ziino, *A Distant Grief*, 136.



The second, related motive behind the construction of war memorials across both countries was the desire for a symbolic site to host commemorative services on days of remembrance. As discussed in the previous chapter, commemorative services provided an important public space in which to grieve and remember those who died during the war, particularly in the years immediately following the war. According to Maclean and Phillips, “as Anzac Day itself assumed more permanent form in the early 1920s the need for a symbolic focus for the community’s annual tribute to the dead become more obvious”.<sup>30</sup> War memorials provided a place for communities to gather during services that was symbolically connected to the dead they were commemorating, as well as a permanent and revered spot to lay wreaths and flowers.<sup>31</sup> Given the widespread impact of the First World War on families in both Australia and New Zealand, war memorials provided a public, collective site in which to grieve and come to terms with the losses caused by the war. According to Winter, war memorials “used collective expression, in stone and ceremony, to help individual people – mothers, fathers, wives, sons, daughters, and comrades-in-arms – to accept the brutal facts of death in war”.<sup>32</sup> War memorials were thus intended to facilitate mourning and help address the grief felt by communities across Australia and New Zealand in the aftermath of the Great War.

The final motive behind the construction of war memorials, particularly at a governmental level, was the reinforcement of a burgeoning sense of national identity. In Australia, as Ken Inglis argues, “any sense of attachment to the new Commonwealth was weak, and a mild awareness of provincial loyalties lingered”.<sup>33</sup> The new nation, it was argued by Charles Bean and Prime Minister Billy Hughes, had proved its worth in the First World War, emerging through bloodshed and sacrifice to stand alongside the proud nations of the world.<sup>34</sup> A similar narrative emerged in New Zealand, placing the First World War at the centre of New Zealand’s national identity.<sup>35</sup> These national narratives remained closely linked with Imperial loyalties during the interwar years. As Midford argues, Australian and New Zealand nationalism during this period was still closely

---

<sup>30</sup> Maclean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 71.

<sup>31</sup> Scates and Wheatley, “War memorials,” 529.

<sup>32</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 94.

<sup>33</sup> Inglis, “World War One Memorials in Australia,” 52.

<sup>34</sup> John Bevan-Smith, “Lest We Remember/‘Lest We Forget’: Gallipoli as Exculpatory Memory,” *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 18 (2014): 2.

<sup>35</sup> Maclean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 8.

linked with Britishness, a link that extended to the creation of war memorials.<sup>36</sup> The symbolism of war memorials in Australia and New Zealand tended to draw upon the British Empire or the co-opted imagery of Ancient Greece and Rome – lions, botanical images of rosemary, olive branches and laurel wreaths, and traditional forms of obelisks and cenotaphs.<sup>37</sup> The nationalism expressed in the war memorials therefore did not highlight unique aspects of either country. Instead, “the erection of war memorials was an opportunity to make [the Dominions] self-evidently more like the mother country and to pay tribute to that Imperial connection”.<sup>38</sup> According to Winter, the centrality of national and imperial loyalties “arose out of the post-war search for a language in which to reaffirm the values of the community for which soldiers had laid down their lives”.<sup>39</sup> Just as war memorials provided a space to grieve, they simultaneously provided an explanation for why such sacrifice had occurred and reinforced the political and cultural ties between the Dominions and Britain.

Unlike local memorials, national war memorials in both Australia and New Zealand did not begin to appear until after the end of the war. Although both national war memorials were initially conceived of and discussed in the final stages of the war, New Zealand’s national memorial was not opened until 1932, while the Australian War Memorial was not unveiled until 1941.<sup>40</sup> Given the enthusiasm for the construction of war memorials in towns and cities throughout Australia and New Zealand after the war, some questioned whether or not a national war memorial was necessary. In Inglis’s view, “popular sentiment in country after country impelled local commemoration far more vigorously than it demanded war memorials of a national character”.<sup>41</sup> This “feeling that the memorials in cities, towns and townships were enough, and that grand national projects were not necessary” ultimately did not stop the construction of national war memorials in Australia and New Zealand.<sup>42</sup> Despite similarities in their origins, the national war memorials of Australia and New Zealand differed dramatically from each other once completed.

---

<sup>36</sup> Sarah Midford, “Constructing the ‘Australian *Iliad*’: Ancient Heroes and Diggers in the Dardanelles,” *Melbourne Historical Journal* 2 (2011): 65.

<sup>37</sup> Inglis and Phillips, “War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand,” 187.

<sup>38</sup> Phillips, “The Great War and New Zealand Nationalism,” 29.

<sup>39</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 79.

<sup>40</sup> In both cases, the Hall of Memory was not completed at the same time as the rest of the memorial. Australia’s was completed in 1959, while New Zealand’s was opened in 1964.

<sup>41</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 268.

<sup>42</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 267.

### Chapter III

The initial vision for the Australian War Memorial is most commonly attributed to Charles E.W. Bean, who developed the idea along with his plan for the Australian War Museum in 1917.<sup>43</sup> The site for the new memorial, to be located in the new capital city of Canberra, was chosen in 1923 by Walter Burley-Griffin. The design competition for the memorial was announced in August that year, though the competition was ultimately delayed until late 1925.<sup>44</sup> Although 69 entries from around the world were submitted, the panel was not able to select a single winner – “the adjudicators were forced to the conclusion that with perhaps one exception, none of the designs could be carried out for the sum allowed. The one exception was unacceptable on other grounds”.<sup>45</sup> The report from the adjudicators explained that the budget “left no opportunity to provide none other than a building of exceedingly simple character, and of the smallest possible proportions”.<sup>46</sup> Architects John Crust and Emil Sodersteen were encouraged to collaborate, and were successful in “designing a suitable memorial building that could be erected for £250,000”.<sup>47</sup> Although the design was completed in 1927, a lack of funds delayed the construction of the memorial until February 1934.<sup>48</sup> Additionally, the onset of the Second World War further delayed the completion of the Hall of Memory and the Roll of Honour, as it was decided that they should be adapted to also commemorate the dead of that war.<sup>49</sup> As a result, the final memorial structure was not completed until 1959, only five years before the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the First World War.

---

<sup>43</sup> John Reid, *Australian Artists at War: Compiled from the Australian War Memorial Collection*, Volume 1: 1885-1925 (South Melbourne: Sun Books, 1977), 7; Richardson, *Creating Remembrance*, 174; Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 317-318.

<sup>44</sup> “Federal Parliament. The Senate. Australian War Memorial”, *The Argus* (Melbourne, VIC), 22 August 1925, 13.

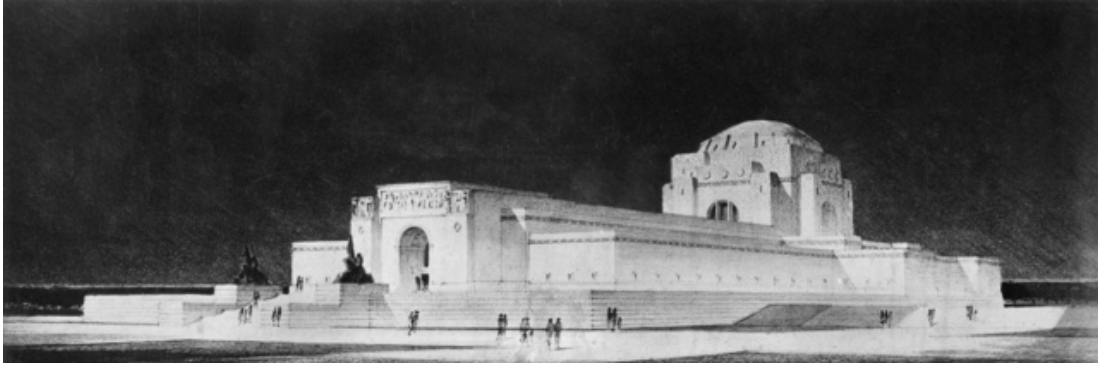
<sup>45</sup> Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report together with Minutes of Evidence relating to the proposed Australian War Memorial, Canberra* (Canberra: H.J. Green Government Printer, 1928), 1.

<sup>46</sup> *Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Architectural Competition, Report by the Australian Board of Adjudicators*, 16 September 1926, War Memorial93 2/5/4, pt. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report together with Minutes of Evidence relating to the proposed Australian War Memorial, Canberra* (Canberra: H.J. Green Government Printer, 1928), vi.

<sup>48</sup> “Australian War Memorial. Start in Construction Delayed”, *The West Australian* (Perth, WA), 26 October 1933, 12.

<sup>49</sup> McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 162-167.



3.1. The accepted joint architectural design by Emil Sodersteen and John Crust of the Australian War Memorial to be built at the foot of Mount Ainslie.<sup>50</sup>

Sodersteen and Crust's design drew upon Bean's earliest plans of having the names of the Australian dead recorded in bronze as a centre feature of the memorial. The completed memorial comprised two wings (for the museum and archives), a central courtyard and cloisters, and a raised shrine. The cloisters, standing about 3.5-meters above the central court of Honour ... [contained] the names of the fallen", inscribed in bronze along the walls.<sup>51</sup> Behind these, the 24-meter high Hall of Memory acted as the commemorative heart of the new national memorial. Artist Napier Waller and sculptor W. Leslie Bowles were contracted to design the interior of the Hall of Memory, containing a stained glass window to commemorate the First World War, and four mosaics commemorating the Second World War, which were completed in 1958.<sup>52</sup> At the time of its opening, "the memorial [was] the largest stone-faced building in Australia, covering an area of almost 100,000 square feet".<sup>53</sup> The physical scale of the memorial, as well as the decades spent planning and constructing it, demonstrated the continuing importance of the national memorial in Australia. The commemorative services held at the memorial during the war further cemented its placed in the country's national commemorative landscape.

---

<sup>50</sup> Emil Sodersteen and John Crust, "The accepted joint architectural design by Emil Sodersteen and John Crust of the Australian War Memorial", (1927) Sketch. Architectural Drawings Collection, Drawer 3, Item 5. Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

<sup>51</sup> Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, *Report and Minutes of Evidence*, iv.

<sup>52</sup> "Australian War Memorial", *Canberra Times* (ACT), 15 July 1941, 2.

<sup>53</sup> "Australian War Memorial at Canberra", *Townsville Daily Bulletin* (Qld), 11 November 1941, 4.



Fig. 3.2. Aerial view of the Australian War Memorial from the north-west (c.1940-1941).<sup>54</sup>

New Zealand's national war memorial shares few similarities with the colossal monument of the Australian War Memorial. The National War Memorial consists of a towering carillon and a smaller hall of memory. Initially, the New Zealand government agreed that a national war memorial should be constructed in Wellington, and allocated £100,000 towards its creation in November 1919.<sup>55</sup> However, there was frequent disagreement over what form the memorial should take. As early as 1922 a carillon of bells was suggested as an appropriate memorial.<sup>56</sup> Although rejected by the government, this idea was embraced by the Wellington public, and in 1926 the Wellington War Memorial Carillon Society was created.<sup>57</sup> The society advertised the planned creation of

---

<sup>54</sup> "Aerial View of the Australian War Memorial from the North-West" (1941) Photograph. P01313.002, Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

<sup>55</sup> Maclean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 120.

<sup>56</sup> Letter from P.N Littlejon to Prime Minister Massey regarding the proposed national war memorial, August 1922, 15/189. Ceremonies, entertainments etc. – Memorial war – National Box 755, AAYS 8638 AD1, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>57</sup> Chris Maclean, *For Whom the Bells Toll*, (Wellington: Heritage Group Department of Internal Affairs, 1998), 8.

the carillon in a full-page advertisement in the *Evening Post* on 15 May 1926. The advertisement provided information on the cost of the bells and opportunities for public subscription, and highlighted the popularity of carillons in Europe, as well as support for the project in Wellington.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, the advertisement highlighted the value of the carillon as a war memorial, explaining:

The playing of the Grand Carillon on the anniversaries of days when New Zealanders won fame for their country in the Great War will link the whole community with those bells of remembrance. The inscriptions on the metal will be an imperishable record of names of the valiant dead, and their brave spirits will live on and on through the centuries to come in music which will reach the hearts of successive generations.<sup>59</sup>

By 1928, the government agreed to include the carillon as part of the National War Memorial, on the Mt. Cook site of the planned museum and art gallery, providing £15,000 towards the cost of the carillon tower (campanile).<sup>60</sup> Compared to the Australian War Memorial, the majority of the funds for Wellington's war memorial came from the citizens of Wellington, who contributed £100,000 towards the cost of the carillon.<sup>61</sup> According to Jock Phillips, "in initiative and in terms of financial burden, the carillon was primarily a local monument", despite its national title.<sup>62</sup>

The winning design of the carillon, created by William Gummer, mirrored some of the same stripped-back style of the Australian War Memorial design. As Maclean and Phillips note, "the carillon tower ... was austere and bare, with a marked absence of classical forms and symbols ... the dominant feeling was far more derived from New Zealand or Chicago skyscrapers than from old-war monuments".<sup>63</sup> The small pool at the base of the memorial featured a single carved lion head – a small symbolic link back to the British Empire. The most pivotal symbolic element of the tower was the flame of eternal life and sacrifice, lit at the top of the tower as "a reminder of the lonely graves of war".<sup>64</sup> The simplicity of the carillon's design, particularly when compared to the detailed sculpture and engravings on the war memorials in New Zealand's other large cities (Auckland, Christchurch, and Dunedin), "suggested that this was very definitely a

---

<sup>58</sup> "Carillon for Wellington: Bells of Remembrance", *The Evening Post* (Wellington), 15 May 1926, 11.

<sup>59</sup> "Carillon for Wellington: Bells of Remembrance", *The Evening Post* (Wellington), 15 May 1926, 11.

<sup>60</sup> Maclean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 121.

<sup>61</sup> Maclean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 120.

<sup>62</sup> Phillips, "The Evidence of the War Memorials," 17.

<sup>63</sup> Maclean and Phillips, *Sorrow and the Pride*, 121-122.

<sup>64</sup> Maclean and Phillips, *Sorrow and the Pride*, 122.

building of the twentieth century”.<sup>65</sup> Although included in the original 1929 design from Gummer and Ford, the Hall of Memories was redesigned by the pair in 1955 following the Second World War and Korean War. The Hall of Memories contained the roll of those New Zealanders who had died in war, as well as twelve recesses containing a plaque of remembrance to the armed services in which New Zealanders served. The simple commemorative chapel, featuring minimal decorative sculpture, was opened in 1964, completing the construction of the National War Memorial.



Fig. 3.3. Dedication of the National War Memorial, 25 April 1932.<sup>66</sup>

By the beginning of the fiftieth anniversary of the First World War, then, both Australia and New Zealand had created national war memorials to commemorate those who died during the conflict. Both national war memorials were completed at the end of

---

<sup>65</sup> Maclean and Phillips, *Sorrow and the Pride*, 122.

<sup>66</sup> William Hall Raine, “National War Memorial, Wellington. Dedication of the National War Memorial Carillon, in Wellington, on Anzac Day, 25 April 1932” (1932). Photograph. 1/1-018026-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

the “war memorial movement” of the interwar years in Australia and New Zealand, and represented the end of the main phase of war memorial construction in both countries.<sup>67</sup>

Given the time period in which the national war memorials in Australia and New Zealand were created, it is unsurprising that they did not explicitly acknowledge Indigenous war service. Both memorials were intended to be broadly representative of the general population of the nation, which further limited their capacity to highlight racial, religious, socio-economic, or other differences between soldiers. The national war memorials implicitly included Indigenous soldiers through their role as national memorials for all those who served and died in war. However, such implicit inclusion did not explicitly acknowledge the presence of Indigenous soldiers in both the AIF and the NZEF during the First World War. Similarly, while the names of Indigenous Australian and Māori soldiers were included in the Honour Rolls of both national war memorials, their Indigeneity was not explicitly highlighted.

Indigenous figures were included in the sculpture work surrounding the Pool of Reflection at the Australian War Memorial alongside common Australian fauna such as a kangaroo and a wombat. This demonstrates, as Jennifer Wellington explains, their “explicit exclusion from the story of imperial nationhood constructed around the A.I.F.” during this period.<sup>68</sup> The exclusion from the national narrative of the First World War also reflects wider attitudes towards the place of Indigenous Australians in mainstream Australian society in the early and mid-twentieth century. Indigenous Australians were portrayed as part of Australia’s natural environment, an element of the landscape rather than part of the broader contingent of soldiers being commemorated.

---

<sup>67</sup> Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 118.

<sup>68</sup> Jennifer Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 280.





Fig. 3.4. Sculptures of Indigenous Australian heads included in the work surrounding the Pool of Reflection.<sup>69</sup>

The New Zealand National War Memorial did explicitly acknowledge Māori war service in the First World War in its Hall of Memories. The alcove dedicated to commemorating the Corps and Services of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force features the badges of both the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion and the New Zealand (Māori) Pioneer Battalion. The existence of separate Māori units in the NZEF during the war thus facilitated their inclusion in the war memorial. Additionally, the foundation stone commemorating the consecration of the memorial site included an acknowledgement of the bourdon bell *Reo Wairua – te reo Māori* for “sacred language”.<sup>70</sup> Although not explicitly acknowledging Māori First World War service, the use of *te reo Māori* demonstrates the pre-existing acceptance of elements of Māori culture and society into Pākehā New Zealand society. This inclusion (or adoption) of elements of Māori society by the 1930s in turn facilitated greater inclusion of Māori within the commemorative landscape. Additionally, *pōhutukawa* (also known as the New Zealand Christmas tree) were included at the site of the National War Memorial, with two planted in 1935, sixteen in 1936, and 500 in 1938 as part of a beautification project for the site.<sup>71</sup> As Kilford explains, “the *pōhutukawa* tree is a New Zealand icon with deep spiritual meaning for the Māori, connecting the beginning and ending of human life. Pākehā soon adopted the Māori tradition of planting a *pōhutukawa* as a living memorial to the dead”.<sup>72</sup> Incorporating *pōhutukawa* into the wider beautification of the gardens surrounding the

<sup>69</sup> Photograph taken by Rachel Caines.

<sup>70</sup> National War Memorial dedication stone. 15 May 1931.

<sup>71</sup> Angela Kilford, *Welcoming Our Warriors Home: Wellington’s Pōhutukawa* (Wellington: NZ Transport Agency/Memorial Park Alliance, 2014), 3.

<sup>72</sup> Kilford, *Welcoming Our Warriors Home*, 4.

National War Memorial demonstrated how Pākehā had begun to adopt Māori cultural symbols into their own cultural identity as New Zealanders. Additionally, the pōhutukawa linked Māori to the physical landscape of the National War Memorial, and through this to the symbolic national commemoration landscape.



Fig. 3.5. Badges of the Corps and Services of the First and Second New Zealand Expeditionary Forces within the Hall of Memories.<sup>73</sup>

By the fiftieth anniversary of the First World War in the 1960s, both Australia and New Zealand had created war memorials to commemorate the conflict on a national scale. Carefully designed and constructed in stone, these memorials enshrined the national spirit of commemoration and remembrance in a static, unchanging monumental form. Both of these memorials reflected the national and Imperial values present in Australia and New Zealand at the time of their construction. As a result, the Australian War Memorial did not explicitly acknowledge Indigenous Australian servicemen,

---

<sup>73</sup> Photograph taken by Rachel Caines. The two badges on the left-hand side of the first row are from the Pioneer Battalion and the Native (Māori) Contingent

although their names were included amongst those listed on the Honour Roll. Conversely, Māori involvement in the NZEF was commemorated in the New Zealand National War Memorial through the inclusion of the badges of the Pioneer Battalion and Pioneer (Māori) Battalion within the Hall of Memories.

This contrast between implicit inclusion and explicit representation through acknowledgement and the incorporation of Māori symbols of remembrance conveys the struggles surrounding Indigenous representation in Australian and New Zealand war memorials. Moving beyond the fiftieth anniversary of the First World War, these differing levels of acknowledgement continued to grow as both countries developed increasingly divergent approaches to the inclusion of Indigenous peoples in mainstream white society.

### **1965-2004: Changing Commemorative Landscape**

Between 1965 and 2004, as has previously been discussed, the national commemorative landscape in Australia and New Zealand evolved to reflect the changing national values and priorities in both countries. This altering of the landscape, along with political and social developments of the period, led to the development of new memorial aspects within the Australian and New Zealand national war memorials. The extent to which Indigenous First World War service was acknowledged in these additions depended primarily on the differing attitudes towards Indigenous Australians and Māori in Australia and New Zealand during this period.

In both Australia and New Zealand, the major addition to the commemorative space at the end of the twentieth century was the reinternment of the body of an unknown soldier in 1993 and 2004 respectively. The idea of the Unknown Soldier took root in Europe during the First World War.<sup>74</sup> According to Wittman, “the idea of burying ‘a soldier’ in a special symbolic fashion that would honour those who were not receiving proper burial ... was popular with combatants in Italy, France, and Britain by 1916, if not earlier”.<sup>75</sup> An unidentified soldier was buried at Westminster Abbey in London on 11 November 1920.<sup>76</sup> The British Unknown Soldier was intended to represent the dead from

---

<sup>74</sup> Laura Wittman, *The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Modern Mourning and the Reinvention of the Mystical Body* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 34.

<sup>75</sup> Wittman, *The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier*, 34.

<sup>76</sup> “Neil Hanson, *The unknown soldier: the story of the missing of the Great War* (London: Doubleday, 2007), 497.

across the British Empire, including Australia and New Zealand.<sup>77</sup> Despite this, members of the public in both countries supported the reinternment of a national unknown soldier. On Armistice Day, 1921, William Jennings (MP for Waitomo), asked Prime Minister Massey, if “the Cabinet [would] seriously consider the advisability of bringing the remains ... of one of our unknown boys” back to New Zealand to be buried.<sup>78</sup> Although Massey responded that “he could not answer right away”, eventually the Cabinet decided against the idea, “presumably due to the financial costs involved and the existence of the Westminster tomb”.<sup>79</sup> Similar suggestions were raised in Australia by veterans’ associations by mid-1920.<sup>80</sup> In 1921, the committee of the Australian War Memorial proposed that the body of an unknown Australian soldier be interred as part of the national war memorial.<sup>81</sup> After significant debate, in 1922 the Federal executive of the RSL resolved against the internment of an unknown Australian soldier, arguing that “the sentiment of Empire was expressed in the burial in London”.<sup>82</sup> The governments of both countries therefore initially supported the centralised Unknown Soldier in London, reflecting the centrality of Imperial nationalism within Australian and New Zealand national identity during this period.

From the 1950s onwards, nationalism in both Australia and New Zealand increasingly moved away from its Imperial British roots. The decision to loosen political and social ties with Britain came as a direct result of Britain’s decision to “pursue its post-imperialist future within Europe” in the 1970s.<sup>83</sup> As Holbrook posits: “If Australians [and New Zealanders] could not seek comfort and confidence in their Britishness any longer, how could they know themselves and understand the civilisation they had created?”<sup>84</sup> This increasingly independent antipodean nationalism combined with the revitalisation of a strong commemorative tradition around the First World War in the last 1980s, led to increasing public and governmental interest in establishing a specific national memorial to the Unknown Soldier. In Australia, the successful suggestion for

---

<sup>77</sup> Ken Inglis, “Entombing Unknown Soldiers: From London and Paris to Baghdad,” *History and Memory* 5 no. 2 (1993): 7.

<sup>78</sup> *NZ Parliamentary Debates* v.192 (November-December 1921), 213.

<sup>79</sup> *NZ Parliamentary Debates* v.192, 213; Gareth Phipps, “Bringing our boy home: The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior and Contemporary War Remembrance,” *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 10 (2011): 161.

<sup>80</sup> Ken Inglis, “The unknown Australian soldier,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 23 no. 60 (1999): 9-10.

<sup>81</sup> “Burial of an Unknown Soldier – Canberra”, 1921-1922, NAA: A1, 1922/2775; “Suggestion of an Unknown Soldier at Canberra. Armistice Day”, 1921-1922, NAA: A457 D536/1.

<sup>82</sup> “An Unknown Soldier. Re-burial here not endorsed.” *The Age* (Melbourne, VIC), 18 March 1922, 10.

<sup>83</sup> Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography* (Sydney: NewSouth Books, 2014), 121.

<sup>84</sup> Holbrook, *Anzac*, 121.

the reinternment of an Unknown Soldier came from Ashley Ekins as part of the memorial's fiftieth anniversary program.<sup>85</sup> Similarly, the idea for New Zealand's Unknown Warrior was suggested by Ian McGibbon in 1999 and 2001.<sup>86</sup> According to Rowan Light, "both repatriations were cast by contemporary observers as projects of national healing ... the returns of the Unknowns was a response to the physical, psychological and cultural trauma of World War I; the national war experience now come to rest in this national tomb".<sup>87</sup> They were both nation building projects, and were tied to the wider regeneration of the national commemorative space in Australia and New Zealand in the 1990s and early 2000s. Additionally, both projects were influenced by growing conceptions of Australian and New Zealand nationalism, and of the ideals and values associated with such nationalism.

The Australian Unknown Soldier was reinterred in a ceremony held at the Australian War Memorial on 1993. The soldier was buried with a bayonet and a sprig of wattle, soil from Pozieres was scattered in his tomb, and Prime Minister Paul Keating delivered a eulogy, in which he famously stated: "He is all of them. And he is one of us."<sup>88</sup> Noticeably absent was any recognition of Indigenous Australians or their long history of military service. Indigenous Australian language or symbolism did not feature in the design of the tomb, Indigenous Australian elders or representatives were not present during the exhumation or reinternment. Furthermore, the Aboriginal Australian and Torres Strait Islander flags were not featured in the collection of standards raised around the Australian War Memorial during and after the ceremony. As Light succinctly argues, "All this reflected the public assumption, implicit in the ritual and language of the entombment, that the Unknown Soldier was a white settler Australian."<sup>89</sup> The national commemorative landscape in Australia thus remained predominately white at the end of the twentieth century, despite wider community efforts to redress the exclusion and oppression of Indigenous Australians.

Conversely, the reinternment of New Zealand's Unknown soldier in 2004 was "a bicultural state project within the ideological formation of Anzac commemoration".<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Inglis, "The unknown Australian soldier", 15.

<sup>86</sup> Phipps, "Bringing our boys home", 162.

<sup>87</sup> Rowan Light, "Unknown Anzacs: The Politics and Performance of Bodily Repatriation in Postcolonial State Formation," *Australian Historical Studies* 49 no. 2 (2018): 238.

<sup>88</sup> Paul Keating, "Remembrance Day 1993: commemorative address" (November 1993).  
<https://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/speeches/keating-remembrance-day-1993>.

<sup>89</sup> Light, *Unknown Anzac*, 246.

<sup>90</sup> Light, *Unknown Anzac*, 251.

While the nature of the Unknown Soldier meant that his race could not be identified, the language and symbolism used around the internment highlighted the Māori presence in the NZEF during the First World War. The grave of the Unknown Warrior was completed with twin inscriptions in both Māori and English. The bronze mantle sealing the tomb bears the inscription: “An Unknown New Zealand Warrior / He Toa Matangaro No Aotearoa”, while a karanga (call) is inscribed around the tomb’s base to summon the warrior spiritually back to New Zealand:<sup>91</sup>

Te mamae nei a te pouri nui	The great pain we feel
Tenei ra e te tau	Is for you who were our future
Aue hoki mai ra ki te kainga tuturu	Come back, return home
E tatari atu nei ki a koutou	We have waited for you
Nga tau roa	Through the long years
I ngaro atu ai te aroha	You were away. Sorrow
E ngau kino nei i ahau aue taukuri e	Aches with me

The use of te reo Māori linked Māori New Zealanders to the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, and through this link implied that Māori, as well as Pākehā, participated in the First World War and thus would be included in its sites of commemoration. Additionally, the bronze lid of the tomb featured four inlaid pounamu (greenstone) crosses, a material sacred to Māori.<sup>92</sup> According to Kingsley Baird, who designed the tomb with both Pākehā and Māori iconography, the site “is an expression of the nation’s memory and a cross-cultural language of remembrance”.<sup>93</sup> Māori leaders were also heavily involved in the repatriation process, including during the initial exhumation of the body from the Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery, during the development of the site, and during the funeral and reinternment.<sup>94</sup> The involvement of Māori leaders, and well as the use of Māori imagery and language throughout the development of the Tomb, reflected the increased focus on the acknowledgement of Māori war service by the early 2000s. Beyond simply acknowledging Māori participation in the First World War, the symbolism and ritual surrounding the reinternment the Unknown Warrior reinforced the bicultural nature of New Zealand’s national commemorative and political/social landscapes in the twenty-first century. Here, the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior built

---

<sup>91</sup> *Karanga*. New Zealand Tomb of the Unknown Warrior. Wellington, New Zealand.

<sup>92</sup> Phipps, “Bringing our boy home”, 164.

<sup>93</sup> Kingsley Baird, “The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior: Te Toma o Te Toa Matangaro, National War Memorial Wellington New Zealand 2004,” *Kingsley Baird*. Accessed online 25 November 2018, <https://www.kingsleybaird.com/artwork/tomb-of-the-unknown-warrior>.

<sup>94</sup> Light, *Unknown Anzac*, 251.

upon the pre-existing acknowledgement of Māori culture and war service already present at the National War Memorial to further reinforce their role in the history of New Zealand at war.

In the cases of the reinternment of Unknown Soldiers as part of the national commemorative landscape in Australia and New Zealand, the differing political and social contexts surrounding Indigenous Australians and Māori played a central role in determining the level of Indigenous presence in the memorial. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Australian War Memorial reinforced the idea of a predominately white A.I.F. through the lack of Indigenous Australian symbolism or ritual incorporated into the ceremony and memorial site. This interpretation of the commemoration of Australian involvement in the First World War reflected conservative attitudes towards Australian nationalism and national identity – championed by future Prime Minister John Howard and his criticisms of “black armband history”.<sup>95</sup>

Conversely, the prioritisation of Māori culture and the implementation of bicultural political and social structures in New Zealand by the beginning of the twenty-first century enabled the creation of a bicultural commemorative site for the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior. This site implicitly acknowledged Māori participation in the First World War through the use of Māori language and rituals, and facilitated a shared commemorative space for both Māori and Pākehā. Thus by the opening years of the twenty-first century, the acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War service in the national war memorials of Australia and New Zealand had been embraced in New Zealand, but not in Australia.

### **2005-2019: The Centenary Commemorations**

As has already been discussed, the decade leading up to the beginning of the centenary commemorations in Australia and New Zealand saw a renewed public and governmental interest in the commemoration of the First World War. In both countries, the national war memorials played a key role in the centenary commemorations, reinforcing their centrality as national sites of commemoration for the First World War. As part of the renewed interest in the tangible commemorations of the First World War, both the Australian War Memorial and the National War Memorial underwent redevelopment and

---

<sup>95</sup> Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press 2003); Bain Attwood, “Unsettling pasts: reconciliation and history in settler Australia,” *Postcolonial Studies* 8 no. 3 (2005): 243.

expansion in preparation for the centenary. However, the extent to which these redevelopments were utilised to acknowledge Indigenous First World War service varied between Australia and New Zealand.

In New Zealand, the park surrounding the National War Memorial was redeveloped in the lead-up to the centenary, creating the Pukeahu National War Memorial Park (herein Pukeahu). As explained by the Pukeahu website, when the National War Memorial was developed “there was a proposal to create a boulevard to link the memorial to Courtnay Place. This never eventuated and, while still highly visible, the memorial become isolated in a semi-industrial zone as the city had grown up around it”. The redevelopment of the park was a centrepiece for the government’s centenary of the First World War projects.<sup>96</sup> According to the vision statement developed by Manatu Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage: “Pukeahu National War Memorial Park is the national place for New Zealanders to remember and reflect on this country’s experience of war, military conflict and peacekeeping and how that experience shapes our ideals and sense of national identity.”<sup>97</sup> The development of Pukeahu saw New Zealand’s National War Memorial become integrated into a deliberate commemorative space that reinforced the significance of the war memorial. Simultaneously, the development of the area facilitated the expansion of this landscape to incorporate memorials, symbols, and spaces that include a broader cross-section of New Zealand society. The park was split into three separate zones: the National War Memorial, Anzac Square and the east and west parkland terraces, and the educational and administrative facilities.<sup>98</sup>

Pukeahu contains symbolic and explicit memorials to Māori involvement in New Zealand military engagements, including the First World War. The most obvious acknowledgement of Māori First World War service is featured in *Ngā Tapuwāe o te*

---

<sup>96</sup> *Policy for the Selection and management of memorials within Pukeahu National War Memorial Park* (Wellington: Manatu Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2013), 4.

[https://mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Policypercent20forpercent20thepercent20managementpercent20ofpercent20Memorialspercent20withinpercent20thepercent20Nationalpercent20Warpercent20Memorialpercent20Parkpercent20\(D-0637058\).PDF#overlay-context=pukeahu/park/redevelopment/policy-documents](https://mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Policypercent20forpercent20thepercent20managementpercent20ofpercent20Memorialspercent20withinpercent20thepercent20Nationalpercent20Warpercent20Memorialpercent20Parkpercent20(D-0637058).PDF#overlay-context=pukeahu/park/redevelopment/policy-documents).

<sup>97</sup> *Pukeahu National War Memorial Park Vision, Values and Mission Statements*. (Wellington: Manatu Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2013).

[https://mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/NWMpercent20visionpercent20valuespercent20andpercent20missionpercent20statementspercent202013percent20\(D-0637059\).PDF#overlay-context=pukeahu/park/redevelopment/policy-documents](https://mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/NWMpercent20visionpercent20valuespercent20andpercent20missionpercent20statementspercent202013percent20(D-0637059).PDF#overlay-context=pukeahu/park/redevelopment/policy-documents).

<sup>98</sup> *Pukeahu National War Memorial Park: International Memorials Selection, Location and Design Guidelines* (Manatu Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017).

[https://mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Pukeahu\\_international\\_memorials\\_design\\_guidelinespercent20andpercent20appendicespercent20\(D-0708727\).PDF#overlay-context=pukeahu/park/redevelopment/policy-documents](https://mch.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Pukeahu_international_memorials_design_guidelinespercent20andpercent20appendicespercent20(D-0708727).PDF#overlay-context=pukeahu/park/redevelopment/policy-documents).



*Kāhui Maunga* (in the footsteps of the ancestors), the gardens below the steps of the National War Memorial. The gardens feature three rocks from three mountains: Mt. Taranaki, with carvings representing the sun and the southern cross; Mt. Ruapehu (the matua/parent mountain) with carvings representing the timeframes of Aotearoa; and Mt. Tongariro (the warrior), with seven warriors carved into the rock representing the descendants of the seven waka in which Māori arrived in Aotearoa, as well as those who died in tribal and colonial conflicts.<sup>99</sup> Behind the three rocks is a wall containing three whakatauhi (proverbs) relating back to Māori involvement in New Zealand's wars. Of these three proverbs, the most important for the commemoration of Māori First World War service is the central proverb: “te Hokowhitu a tu” (the 140 warriors of the war god Tu-mata-uenga), which was the motto of the Native (Māori) Contingent and the Pioneer Battalion.<sup>100</sup> *Ngā Tapuwae o te Kāhui Maunga* also features a bronze sculpture by artist Darcy Nicholas: *Hinerangi*, which tells the story of family, home, guardianship, and Māori involvement in wars throughout their history.<sup>101</sup> *Ngā Tapuwae o te Kāhui Maunga* serves as a war memorial to Māori who have fought and died in all wars, whilst simultaneously explicitly acknowledging Māori involvement in the First World War. This memorial, combined with the pōhutukawa trees that have been on the site since 1935, and the symbolic and linguistic inclusion of Māori in the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, demonstrate the ways in which New Zealand's National War Memorial landscape has evolved over the past eighty-seven years to include and acknowledge Māori First World War service within the dominant national commemorations of the war.

Compared to New Zealand's National War Memorial space, the Australian War Memorial's commemorative landscape underwent relatively little redevelopment in preparation for the First World War Centenary. However, within the grounds of the Sculpture Garden that now flanks the left side of the memorial, the development of a new memorial in the closing years of the centenary suggested a new, explicit approach to acknowledging Indigenous Australian War service. In 2019, a commemorative sculpture, *For Our Country*, was commissioned by the War Memorial. Prior to its construction, two other capital cities in Australia (Sydney and Adelaide) had developed officially-

---

<sup>99</sup> *Pukeahu National War Memorial Park Official Opening*. Booklet (18 April 2015), 18. <https://mch.govt.nz/files/Pukeahupercent20openingpercent20ceremonypercent20booklet.pdf>.

<sup>100</sup> The two other proverbs read “maungaronga ki runga i te whenua” (peace across the land) – a blessing from the Taranaki tribes - and “ake ake kia kaha e” (stand strong forever) – a famous line from the anthem of the 28<sup>th</sup> Māori Battalion from the Second World War.

<sup>101</sup> *Pukeahu National War Memorial Park Official Opening*, 19.

supported Indigenous Australian war memorials.<sup>102</sup> Although an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander War Memorial was unveiled at the foot of Mt. Ainslie in 1988, it was created by citizens without government and institutional support, and therefore does not constitute an official, national war memorial.<sup>103</sup> The sculpture, by Indigenous artist Daniel Boyd and Edition Office Architects, was commissioned by the Australian War Memorial to recognise and commemorate the military service of Indigenous Australians.<sup>104</sup>

*For Our Country*, draws upon Indigenous Australian symbolism and imagery to connect the memorial back to Country and the people it represents. The sculpture features a circle made up of a pavilion and fire pit, separated by a dividing mirrored wall of circular lenses. The importance of circles in the memorial is deliberate. As previous Indigenous Curator of Art Erin Vink explained in her public talk on the new memorial during NAIDOC Week 2019, circles are “where we do our business”.<sup>105</sup> The centrality of circular imagery within the sculpture links the design back to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture, and the cyclic relationship between community, Country, and military service. The circular lenses through over the two-way mirror glass forces viewers to view either their reflection (from outside the pavilion) or the fire pit and Australian War Memorial (from within the pavilion) through a fractured lens. This was a deliberate effort by Boyd to represent “our perception and highlight our incomplete understanding of time, history, and memory”.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, the use of jagged volcanic basalt and rammed earth walls in the sculpture reinforce the link between Indigenous Australians and Country. As Boyd explains: “[The memorial] is a manifestation of a deep connection to the land and responsibility to future generations ... It is about our respect for the land, how we would like our children to experience that connection, while understanding the sacrifices made

---

<sup>102</sup> Mandy Paul, History Trust of South Australia, “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander War Memorial,” *SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia*. (2018). Accessed online July 9 2019, <http://sahistoryhub.com.au/things/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-war-memorial>; Gary Oakley, “Honouring Service and Sacrifice: *Yininmadyemi – Thou didst let fall*,” *Art Monthly Australia* 278 (2015): 62.

<sup>103</sup> See Anne Brennan, “Lest We Forget: Military Myths, Memory, and Canberra’s Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Memorial,” *Memory Connection* 1 no. 1 (2011): 35-44.

<sup>104</sup> Daniel Boyd is a Kudjala/Gangalu/Kuku Yalanji/Waka Waka/Gubbi Gubbi/Wangerriburra/Bandjalung man from North Queensland. “For Our Country – Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander memorial,” *Australian War Memorial*. Accessed online July 13 2019, <https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/ForOurCountry>.

<sup>105</sup> Erin Vink. “For Our Country Sculpture Talk”, NAIDOC Week, Australian War Memorial, 11 July 2019.

<sup>106</sup> “For Our Country – Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander memorial.”

to seek a system in equilibrium.”<sup>107</sup> The connection to land is perhaps most firmly expressed through the presence of a four-metre deep ceremonial chamber, designed to hold soil from each of the Aboriginal nations, so that “a piece of real Country joins the many lands our ancestors have defended, and from which they came to serve Australia”.<sup>108</sup> The intention was that each Nation will deposit soil from their Country, and that the soils will join together to provide a central location to commemorate those who died defending Country, as well as a symbolic resting place for those who ventured overseas and did not return.<sup>109</sup> The symbolism of the sculpture-memorial, then, firmly locates Indigenous Australians within this aspect of the commemorative landscape of the Australian War Memorial.

The inscription on the memorial acknowledges that Indigenous defence of Country occurred both against and alongside settlers, and also recognises the difficulty many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men and women faced before, during, and after their service. The inscription states:

For our Country proudly honours the military service of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to Australia.

In the spirit of equality that exists at the Australian War Memorial, a special place is accorded to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander servicemen and servicewomen.

Only four or five generations after the arrival of the British First Fleet, having endured discrimination, brutal social exclusion, and violence, many Indigenous Australians denied their Aboriginality and kinship to enlist, serve, fight, suffer, and die for the young nation that had taken so much from them. Having enlisted from a desperately unequal Australia, many found military service to be their first experience of equality. In Australia’s defence forces they were equals – equal in life and equal in death.<sup>110</sup>

The memorial makes no explicit reference to Indigenous First World War service. However, as Vink explains, this was deliberate – the memorial was designed to be broadly representative of all Indigenous Australian military service, applicable to those who defended Country during the Frontier Wars, those who fought in the wars

---

<sup>107</sup> Danny Boyd quoted in “For Our Country - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander memorial,” *Australian War Memorial*. Accessed online July 13 2019, <https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/ForOurCountry>.

<sup>108</sup> “For Our Country - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander memorial.”

<sup>109</sup> Vink, “For Our Country”.

<sup>110</sup> Memorial plaque. *For Our Country*. Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia.

of the twentieth century, and those who continue to fight for Australia into the future.<sup>111</sup>



Fig. 3.6. For Our Country memorial sculpture.<sup>112</sup>

The creation of *For Our Country* demonstrates the beginning of the Indigenisation of the national commemorative landscape surrounding the Australian War Memorial in the final years of the First World War Centenary. Here, as in the case of *Ngā Tapuwae o te Kāhui Maunga*, there is a focus on acknowledging broader histories of Indigenous involvement in conflict, as well as the repercussions this involvement has had on subsequent generations. However, the broader messages of *Ngā Tapuwae o te Kāhui Maunga* are balanced out by the specific acknowledgement of Māori First World War soldiers throughout the National War Memorial, while no similar instances exist in the memorials of the Australian War Memorial. Additionally, while *Ngā Tapuwae o te Kāhui Maunga* is integrated into the broader landscape of the

---

<sup>111</sup> Vink, “For our Country”.

<sup>112</sup> Photograph taken by Rachel Caines.

National War Memorial, *For Our Country* is less explicitly connected to the main building of the Australian War Memorial. In this sense, *For Our Country* is similar to the separate Indigenous Australian commemorative services discussed in the previous chapter. Although it acknowledges Indigenous Australian war service, and has been commissioned and supported by the Australian War Memorial, *For Our Country* remains separated from the main site of commemoration. Again, this demonstrates the way in which Indigenous Australian war service has often been acknowledged but simultaneously detached from the mainstream national commemorations of the First World War in the twenty-first century.

The national war memorials in both Australia and New Zealand highlighted the inclusion of Indigenous voices in their memorial landscape over the course of the centenary. However, the different starting points resulted in different levels of acknowledgement of Indigenous service between the two countries. Additionally, New Zealand's adoption of an official bicultural policy at a national level meant that Māori war service and cultural symbols were more thoroughly integrated into the National War Memorial's Pukeahu developments. Conversely, the lack of a bicultural policy in Australia means that although the acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian war service occurred at the Australian War Memorial during the centenary, it was not integrated into the main structure of the memorial.

### **Conclusion**

War memorials are often inherently static structures, cast in stone and bronze and as a result difficult to reshape and alter with changing values and societal interests. However, both the Australian War Memorial and the National War Memorial have experienced an ongoing evolution of their broader commemorative space since their completion in the decades immediately following the First World War. Within this evolution, changing national political and social values and priorities in turn influenced the extent to which the national commemorative landscape has explicitly acknowledged the participation of Māori and Indigenous Australians in the First World War. In New Zealand, this acknowledgement has occurred since the opening of the Hall of Memories in the 1960s, facilitated by a greater level of political and social recognition of Māori during and immediately after the war, as well as the presence of specific Māori units within the NZEF. Conversely, the acknowledgement

### Chapter III

of Indigenous Australian service has only recently become a priority within the Australian War Memorial, reflecting the different Australian social and political context throughout the twentieth century that prioritised a monocultural commemoration of the First World War. In both countries the level of acknowledgement of Indigenous service in war memorial is also impacted by the nature of the national war memorial itself – deliberately general so as to reflect the entire nation. However, the different approaches to utilising Indigenous languages and symbolism reflect a historical divergence in ideas of what the Australian and New Zealand nations looked like, particularly from the end of the twentieth century onwards. This divergence in national ideal and policy was also reflected in the next case study – the national war museum.

## **Chapter IV**

### **War Museums**

Across the British Empire, the urge to commemorate the experiences of the First World War was also materialised through the creation of nationally endorsed war museums. These museums were established as a way to increase public understanding of the soldiers' experience of war, and simultaneously facilitate the ongoing commemoration of the conflict.<sup>1</sup> This chapter discusses the ways in which Indigenous First World War service has been acknowledged in the major war museums in Australia and New Zealand. The Australian War Memorial (herein War Memorial) was an explicitly national project almost from its inception, modelled after the work being done to create the Imperial War Museum in London in 1917. New Zealand has no national equivalent to the War Memorial. The "National Army Museum" is located in the small military town of Waiouru on the North Island. The museum's late establishment (it was opened to the public in October 1978), as well as its isolated geographic location and lack of significant government funding, has restricted its presence as a truly national site of commemoration within the New Zealand national commemorative landscape. No war museum was ever constructed in Wellington. Although The Dominion Museum (now Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, herein Te Papa) received donations of war-related items immediately following the First World War, funding issues prevented the construction of the proposed war museum at the site of the National War Memorial.<sup>2</sup> It was not until recently that Te Papa Tongarewa played a significant role in the national commemorative landscape in New Zealand. This chapter therefore focuses on the Auckland War Memorial Museum as its New Zealand-based case study. The Auckland Museum, in its current form, was designed specifically as a commemorative site, and has featured exhibits on the First World War since the interwar period. As a result, the museum and its displays have been an important part of the New Zealand national commemorative landscape over the course of the past century. Due to the centrality of Te Papa's *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* in New Zealand's national centenary commemorations, this

---

<sup>1</sup> Jennifer Wellington, *Exhibiting War: The Great War, Museums, and Memory in Britain, Canada, and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 207. The Imperial War Museum in London was in fact founded in 1917.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Clarke, "Peter Jackson's war museum reeks of a \$12 million indulgence of private passion", *The Spinoff*, reprinted on *The Council of Australasian Museum Directors – News* (5 July 2018). <https://camd.org.au/te-papas-gallipoli-the-scale-of-our-war/>.

exhibition will also be discussed in the final section of this chapter as an additional case study in understanding the role of museums in acknowledging Māori First World War service.

### **Literature Review**

War museums existed prior to 1914, displaying artefacts claimed in military victories, or rows of historical armour and weapons.<sup>3</sup> However, “it was only with the First World War that ... concerted attempts to collect and exhibit comprehensive records of ... war began to occur at a national – and Imperial – level”.<sup>4</sup> War museums were constructed while the war was still in progress, including the *Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine* (now *La Contemporaine*) in Paris in 1914 and the Imperial War Museum in London in 1917.<sup>5</sup> The widespread collection of war ephemera and “trophies” by soldiers during the war, as well as the centralisation of war collecting in countries like Australia and Britain, was central to facilitating the establishment of war museums. By 1917 both Britain and Australia, along with other belligerent countries, had established official historical units, as well as units tasked with the collection of records and artefacts.<sup>6</sup> As Jennifer Wellington argues, “these efforts at collecting and recording the experiences of the nation at war reached their logical conclusion in the staging of numerous wartime exhibitions and the foundation of museums dedicated to representing and commemorating the war”.<sup>7</sup> These museums were established as a way to increase public understanding of the soldiers’ experience of war, and simultaneously facilitate the ongoing remembrance of the conflict.<sup>8</sup>

The field of historical enquiry regarding war museums has grown, alongside broader museum studies work, since the 1970s. However, according to Hacker and Vining, “the relatively new field of museum history has so far had little or nothing to say about military museums”.<sup>9</sup> While cultural military historians have shown increasing interest in the

---

<sup>3</sup> Jay Winter, “Museums and the Representations of War,” in *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representations of Violence in Exhibitions*, ed. Wolfgang Muchitsch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 24.

<sup>4</sup> Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Winter, “Museums”, 24-25.

<sup>6</sup> Anne-Marie Conde, “Capturing the Records of War: Collecting at the Mitchell Library and Australian War Memorial,” *Australian Historical Studies* 125 (2005): 134-152; Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 207.

<sup>9</sup> Barton C. Hacker and Margaret Vining, “Military Museums and Social History” in *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representations of Violence in Exhibitions*, ed. Wolfgang Muchitsch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 42.



history and roles of military museums in the twentieth century, there is minimal overlap between this literature and broader museological texts.<sup>10</sup> One notable exception is Gaynor Kavanaugh's *Museums and the First World War: A Social History*. Kavanaugh discusses the creation of the Imperial War Museum as part of her analysis of the impact of the First World War on museums in Britain.<sup>11</sup> The majority of the academic work focusing on the history of war museums, particularly those from within the British Empire, has been undertaken by cultural military historians. Perhaps the most notable of these studies is Jennifer Wellington's tripartite analysis of the emergence of war museums in Britain, Australia, and Canada, and the ways in which these institutions were impacted by broader narrative and commemorative changes in the interwar years.<sup>12</sup> According to Wellington, war museums "influenced the commemorative landscape of the country more broadly, as they tried to project their vision and influence outwards".<sup>13</sup> Similar work has been undertaken by Jay Winter, who categorises war museums as "semi-sacred sites" in which memory and historical narrative interact.<sup>14</sup> War museums, therefore, were central in shaping the emerging national commemorative landscapes in Australia (and New Zealand), due to their role in disseminating an official commemorative narrative of the First World War. As such, they serve as important sites of commemoration of the First World War.

In the Australian context, although the Australian War Memorial has dominated much of the cultural military literature, only a small number of these works focus specifically on the museum and its exhibitions.<sup>15</sup> As has already been mentioned, two broader histories of the War Memorial have been published, both of which provide an overview of the evolution of the museum and its exhibitions over the course of the War Memorial's history.<sup>16</sup> Neither of these histories explicitly discuss the relationship

---

<sup>10</sup> For example, the following key museological/museum history works do not mention war museums: Sharon Macdonald (ed.) *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006); Edward P. Alexander *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Function of Museums* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1979).

<sup>11</sup> Gaynor Kavanaugh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994).

<sup>12</sup> Wellington, *Exhibiting War*.

<sup>13</sup> Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 262

<sup>14</sup> Jay Winter, "Museums," 22.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of the history of the Australian War Memorial's structure, and literature on this topic, see chapter 3.

<sup>16</sup> Michael McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit: A History of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press in association with the Australian War Memorial, 1991); Steve Gower, *The Australian War Memorial: A century on from the vision* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2019).

between the War Memorial's museum and national narratives, perhaps because they were written by senior members of the War Memorial's staff. Much of the remaining literature on the War Memorial has typically focused on a specific aspect of the exhibition (either a battle/conflict or theme such as "trauma" or "affect").<sup>17</sup> Of these, only Gall-Haultan's article explicitly traces the evolution of a particular aspect of the museum's exhibitions, in this case the depiction of the third battle of Ypres.<sup>18</sup> However, Wellington's monograph provides a thorough historical overview of the War Memorial's first decades as a war museum, and in particular its interactions with the national commemorative landscape and official history of the war.

There is, as appears to be the trend, significantly less literature on New Zealand's war museums. This is perhaps due to the fact that New Zealand has no official national war museum in the same vein as the Australian War Memorial. In his exploration of the relationship between the history of the museum and the rise and decline of British colonialism, John Mackenzie devotes a chapter to the Auckland War Memorial Museum.<sup>19</sup> Scott Worthy's 2004 article also explored the process of "creating" the Auckland War Memorial Museum following the First World War.<sup>20</sup> Beyond these two examples, the majority of works that have mentioned the Auckland War Memorial Museum have done so in passing, or discussed the memorial aspects of the institution rather than the museum aspects.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, although a fairly well-established body of literature exists on Te Papa Tongarewa, only a small number of articles focusing on *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* have been published since its opening in 2015.<sup>22</sup> This

---

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Jason Dittmer and Emma Waterton, "Embodied Memory at the Australian War Memorial" in *Memory, Place and Identity: Commemoration and Remembrance of War and Conflict*, eds. Danielle Drozdowski, Sarah de Nardi, Emma Waterton (London: Routledge, 2016), 169-188; Matthew Gall-Haultan, "Same old relics, same old story? Displaying the third battle of Ypres at the Australian War Memorial, past and present," *History Australia* 14 no. 3 (2017): 444-460; Amy McKernan, "Discomfort at the Australian War Memorial: learning the trauma of war," *History Australia* 14 no. 1 (2017): 99-114; Emma Waterton and Jason Dittmer, "The museum as assemblage: bringing forth affect at the Australian War Memorial," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 29 no. 2 (2014): 122-139.

<sup>18</sup> Gall-Haultan, "Same old relics,".

<sup>19</sup> John Mackenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 184-209.

<sup>20</sup> Scott Worthy, "Communities of Remembrance: Making Auckland's War Memorial Museum," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 no. 4 (2004): 599-618.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1990); Richard Wolfe, *A Noble Prospect: 75 Years of the Auckland Museum Building* (Auckland, 2004).

<sup>22</sup> Puawai Cairns, "The Wait and the Fight – Telling Māori WWI Histories and the Search for Alternative Platforms," Unpublished Article (2015); Sarah Murray, "The Empire Called and the Dominions Responded: Remembering the First World War in New Zealand," *The Northern Review* 44 (2017): 415-426; Kirstie Ross, "Conceiving and Calibrating Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War," *Museums Australia Magazine* 24 no. 1 (2015): 23-30.

chapter expands on the small body of literature on war museums in both Australia and New Zealand, offering a transnational comparative perspective that is lacking in much of the literature on war museums.

Within the study of war museums, academics and museum professionals have increasingly highlighted the responsibility of these institutions to portray war, and those who were impacted by war, in particular ways. As James Scott explains, “for many people, a visit to a military history museum is one of the main ways that they will learn about war ... The influence that military museums have in promoting a particular representation of war, is considerable”.<sup>23</sup> Winter insists that “those who design and run war museums have a moral responsibility to avoid the glorification of war”.<sup>24</sup> Beyond this, however, academics and museum professionals have argued that all museums, including war museums, have a responsibility to present diverse narratives and experiences, even if such narratives may spark controversy or unsettle previously accepted narratives.<sup>25</sup> These arguments reflect the emergence of “new military history”, with “with its stress on the common soldier, the experience of war, and the place of the armed forces in society”, as well as new museum studies from the 1970s onwards.<sup>26</sup> Both fields prioritise the exploration of previously underrepresented aspects of military history and museum studies respectively, and led to important practice developments within museums during the 1980s and 1990s.

Despite this, there has been minimal academic work focusing specifically on the acknowledgement or representation of Indigenous soldiers in war museums. A notable exception to this is Puawai Cairns’s unpublished reflective article on her experience working as a Māori curator on Te Papa’s *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* exhibition. In this article, Cairns noted her frustration in working within the restrictions of a national commemorative project on the First World War, and in dealing with questions “about the

---

<sup>23</sup> James Scott, “Objects and the Representation of War in Military Museums,” *Museum & Society* 13 no. 4 (2015): 489.

<sup>24</sup> Winter, “Museums”, 33.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example: Ruth Phillips, *Museum Pieces: Towards the Indigenisation of Canadian Museums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011), 297-300; Richard Sandell, “Museums and the combating of social inequality: roles, responsibilities, resistance” in *Museums, Society, Inequality*, ed. Richard Sandell (London: Routledge, 2002), 3023; Lynda Kelly and Phil Gordon, “Developing a community of practice: museums and reconciliation in Australia” in *Museums, Society, Inequality*, ed. Richard Sandell (London: Routledge, 2002), 153-174; Anna Cento Bull, Hans Lauge Hansen, Wulf Kansteiner, and Nina Parish, “War museums as agonistic spaces: possibilities, opportunities and constraints,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25 no. 6 (2019): 611-625; David Butts, “Māori and museums: the politics of Indigenous recognition” in *Museums, Society, Inequality*, ed. Richard Sandell (London: Routledge, 2002), 225.

<sup>26</sup> Hacker and Vining, “Military Museums,” 42.

validity of Māori content ... [and] the amount of Māori content that would eventually be included in the final show”.<sup>27</sup> Ultimately, Cairns explained that she “wanted to find alternative platforms to make sure the stories were shared and the research did not go to waste .. to go underground, mainstream, offline and online, in order to get the Māori stories heard”.<sup>28</sup> Cairns’s personal experience working on *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* is discussed in the final section of this chapter. Her unpublished article deserves explicit mention here in addition, due to its importance as a piece of academic work by an Indigenous museum professional directly dealing with the issue of Indigenous representation in war exhibitions and museums.

Given that museum studies scholars are still grappling with the ways in which war museums can present divergent narratives of the First World War, or even acknowledge and discuss the complexities of warfare, it is perhaps unsurprising that less attention has been given to the place afforded to Indigenous populations within these exhibitions. Hacker and Vining point to the difficulties in integrating the experiences of women into permanent exhibitions in American war museums.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Amy McKernan highlights the ways in which trauma and the exploration of severe facial injuries are avoided at the Australian War Memorial.<sup>30</sup> Given that the history of women’s involvement in warfare, particularly the First World War, has been established in mainstream cultural and social military histories since at least the 1970s, the struggle to acknowledge their role in war in war museums points to the difficulty of adding in divergent or underrepresented narratives into the museum space. Additionally, in the case of Indigenous soldiers the struggle of how to acknowledge and represent their cultural identities within a broader military narrative that prioritises a generalised army identity over individual difference adds another layer of difficulty to questions of inclusion.<sup>31</sup>

This chapter seeks to remedy the gap in the existing war museums literature by exploring the ways in which Indigenous Australian and Māori war service have been acknowledged in national war museums since 1918. In doing so, it seeks to contribute to the discussion begun by Cairns over how Indigenous war service can be represented in war museums that also draw on contradictory national narratives. Through offering a comparative analysis of the differences between the major war museums and exhibitions

---

<sup>27</sup> Cairns, “The Wait and the Fight,” 2.

<sup>28</sup> Cairns, “The Wait and the Fight,” 5.

<sup>29</sup> Hacker and Vining, “Military Museums,” 53.

<sup>30</sup> McKernan, “Discomfort at the Australian War Memorial”.

<sup>31</sup> Cairns, “The Wait and the Fight,” 4.

in Australia and New Zealand, this chapter explores the structural and institutional factors that may impede Indigenous representation in museums.

### **1918-1964: Establishing the Commemorative Space**

During the interwar period, government-supported war museums were established in both Australia and New Zealand as part of the wider commemorative process. Both the War Memorial and the Auckland Museum were supported by the Australian and New Zealand governments respectively, and as such took on important roles as national commemorative sites. The museums that were established following the end of the war reinforced the emerging national narratives of the conflict. This in turn influenced not only the types of war experiences that were discussed in the museum exhibits, but also the way in which soldiers were featured and depicted. Both the War Memorial and the Auckland Museum were conceptualised during the First World War, drawing on broader support for sites of commemoration to justify their creation.

As previously mentioned, the War Memorial was the brainchild of Charles E.W. Bean. Envisioned whilst the fighting on the Western Front was still raging in 1917, the idea was inspired by the work of the National War Museum Committee in Britain.<sup>32</sup> From the beginning, Bean imagined the Australian War Museum (as it was then called) as a central element in Australia's emerging cultural institutional landscape, a place where "the history of the A.I.F. [would] be preserved" for generations to come.<sup>33</sup> Bean's vision was reinforced in a Department of Defence circular produced in April 1918, which explained that:

The Museum will be a place where soldiers, and relatives of soldiers, will visit with their friends and children, and there revive the past and see again the weapons with which they fought, the uniforms they wore, pictures and models of the trenches and dug-outs in which many weary hours were spent, or of positions which they carried, and ground every yard of it memorable to them.<sup>34</sup>

The war memorial was to act as both a site of commemoration and a place where the experience of Australia at war could be relived or experienced for the first time. Bean,

---

<sup>32</sup> The collections created by the National War Committee formed the backbone of the Imperial War Museum. Gaynor Kavanagh, "Museum as Memorial: The origins of the Imperial War Museum," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23 no. 1 (1988): 82.

<sup>33</sup> Charles E.W. Bean, "The Australian War Records. An account of the Present Development Overseas and Suggestions of Course Necessary to be Taken at the End of the War". Memorandum, March 1918, 33.War Memorial 93 12/12/1.

<sup>34</sup> Department of Defence. "War Museum". Circular. Signed G.F. Pearce, Minister of State for Defence. Melbourne. 15 April 1918.War Memorial 93 12/12/1.

Treloar, and a small team began collecting artefacts and documents relating to the A.I.F. in 1917. Bean also returned to the Gallipoli peninsula following the end of the war to collect items for the museum.<sup>35</sup> In addition to the artefacts collected by Bean and his team, the government “particularly desired to add to the collection souvenirs that [had] been obtained by soldiers, their relatives, their friends, and other members of the community”.<sup>36</sup> The war museum, it was hoped, would build on “a simultaneously national and personal story around the experiences of soldiers”, and through this would become an integral element of the commemorative landscape post-war.<sup>37</sup> It is unclear whether, during this early stage, the souvenirs and wartime items of Indigenous Australian soldiers were amongst those collected by Bean and his team. However, the absence of any clear documentation regarding Indigenous soldiers suggests that even if items relating to their service were collected, their Indigeneity was not intended as a part of the subsequent museum display. This in turn reflects governmental wartime attitudes surrounding Indigenous Australian war service and their broader exclusion from the social and cultural landscape of the nation.

In 1919, with the new national capital still under construction, the Australian War Museum Committee decided that a temporary exhibition should be displayed in Melbourne in order to capitalise on and maintain public interest in the war.<sup>38</sup> An exhibition of artefacts and photographs was held in the Melbourne Exhibition Buildings from 1921-1925, organised with support from the State Government of Victoria following “strong pressure from the Commonwealth Government and the A.I.F.”<sup>39</sup> The exhibition was opened by the Governor of Victoria on 24 April 1922, “in order that the museum may be open to the public on Anzac Day”.<sup>40</sup> The exhibition ran for three years in Melbourne, with 744,048 visitors passing through its doors between April 1922 and January 1925.<sup>41</sup> In 1925, the exhibition moved to Sydney, under the name the War Memorial Museum.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Michael McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit: A History of the War Memorial 1917-1990* (St. Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press in association with the War Memorial, 1991), 44, 59.

<sup>36</sup> Department of Defence “War Museum”. Circular. Signed by G.F. Pearce, Minister of State for Defence. Melbourne, 20 April 1918. Quoted in “Australian War Museum,” *Lithgow Mercury* (NSW), 5 July 1918, 6.

<sup>37</sup> Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 237.

<sup>38</sup> Minutes of the Australian War Museum Committee meeting held at the Home and Territories Department, Melbourne, 3 February 1919. War Memorial 170 1/1.

<sup>39</sup> Letter from Gullett to Donald McKinnon (Victorian Minister), 3 November 1919, 30 December 1919, and 19 April 1920. War Memorial, 32 2/1/24.

<sup>40</sup> “Australian War Museum”, *The Telegraph* (Brisbane, Qld) 10 April 1922, 5.

<sup>41</sup> “Australian War Museum”, *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic), 15 January 1925, 13.

<sup>42</sup> McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 83-91.

## Chapter IV

The museum was equally popular in Sydney – its 2 millionth visitor was registered on Tuesday 5 July 1932, with a reported average of over 14,000 visitors per month since its opening.<sup>43</sup> As Wellington argues, this was “a remarkable feat considering that the total population of the Australian continent at this time was 5.5 million”.<sup>44</sup>

The exhibition in both locations was laid out in a series of “courts”, each illustrating a particular campaign of the war. “Weapons, munitions, pictures, photographs, models of battlefields, and all the flotsam and jetsam of war from all fronts” featured in each gallery.<sup>45</sup> Both the Melbourne and Sydney exhibitions focused primarily on “the singularity of the Australian character and the value of their achievements”.<sup>46</sup> According to the guidebook written by Bean for the exhibition:

The Museum is rich in illustrations of the individual genius of the Australian soldier ... the true significance of the greater part of the exhibit lies, not in their character as battlefield curios, but as emblems of those splendid qualities which made the Australian soldier—to quote the words of Marshal Foch—‘the greatest individual fighter in the war’ ... Viewed in the right spirit, the Museum inspires a profound admiration for the great citizen army ... and a deep and abiding reverence for those who laid down their lives for Australia.<sup>47</sup>

Although the museum took on an increasingly memorial focus (rather than triumphant) throughout the late 1920s, its focus remained on the exceptionalism and actions of the A.I.F. soldiers.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> “Australian War Museum”, *The Age* (Melbourne, VIC), 5 July 1932, 6.

<sup>44</sup> Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 237.

<sup>45</sup> “Inanimate Witness, Australian Bravery in the War. Remarkable Museum Collection”, *The Mercury* (Hobart, Tas), 25 April 1922, 5.

<sup>46</sup> Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 224.

<sup>47</sup> *War Memorial Museum: The Relics and Records of Australia's Effort in the Defence of the Empire, 1914-1918*. Guidebook. 1925.

<sup>48</sup> This included removing or rewriting placards containing the word “Hun” in the exhibition. Letter from Charles Bean to John Treloar, 4 December 1929. War Memorial 265 21/4/5 Pt 7.

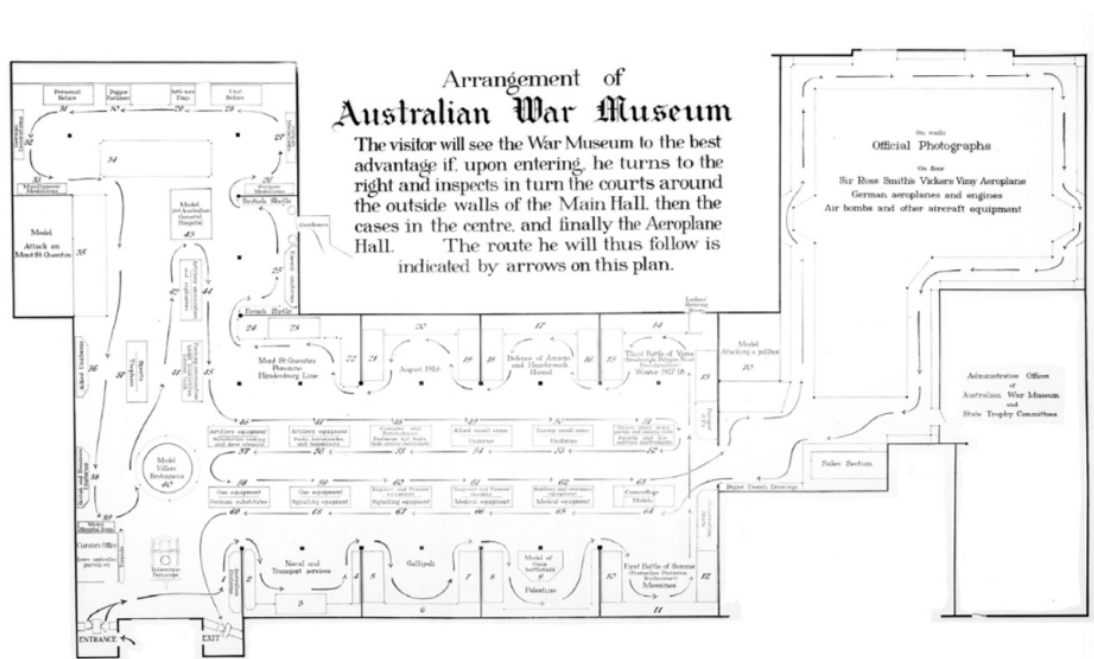


Fig 4.1. Floorplan of the Australian War Museum's Melbourne Exhibition with suggested circulation route.<sup>49</sup>

In 1941, the museum exhibition relocated to its final location – the newly completed War Memorial building in Canberra. As Wellington argues, “the move to Canberra made the memorial character of the institution remarkably more pronounced”. The move reinforced the centrality of the museum in the national commemorative landscape, as well as in the broader national cultural and political landscape being established in Canberra in the 1940s.<sup>50</sup> This commemorative role was solidified as the new museum buildings were used as the site for commemorative ceremonies during the Second World War, even before the Hall of Memory and Roll of Honour were completed.<sup>51</sup> Although the structure of the galleries in the permanent War Memorial changed slightly with the inclusion of a Second World War gallery, the overarching narrative of the exhibitions was the same as those from the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> “Arrangement of Australian War Museum”. Photograph. Melbourne: Australia. April 1922. J00292, Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

<sup>50</sup> Wellington, *Exhibiting War*, 227.

<sup>51</sup> Steve Gower, *The War Memorial: A Century on from the Vision*. (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2019), 33. For more detail on the competition of the War Memorial buildings, see chapter 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Guide to the War Memorial* (Canberra: War Memorial, 1950).



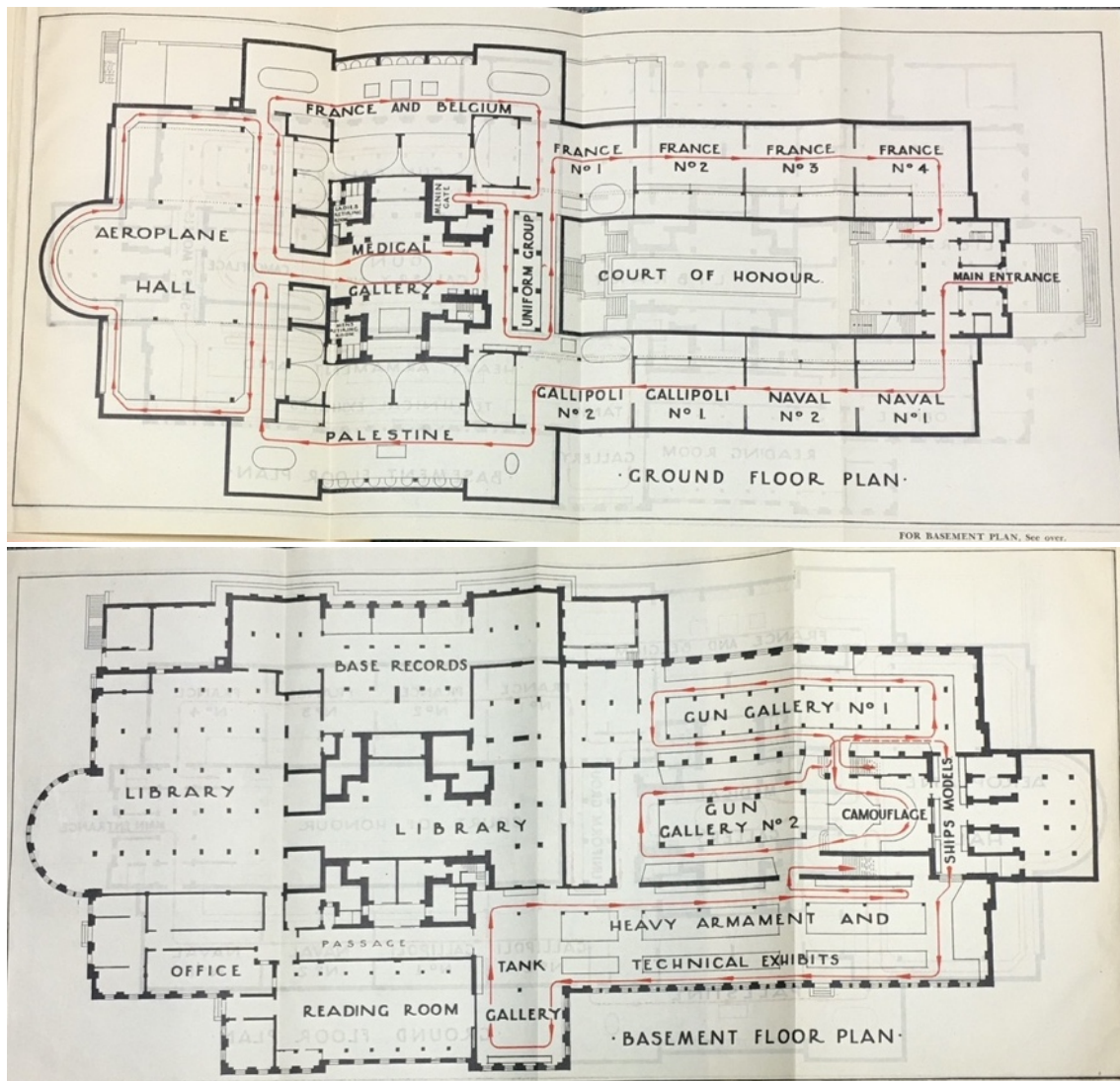


Fig 4.2. Floor plan for the Australian War Memorial in 1950 with advised route for visitors.<sup>53</sup>

As far as the surviving archival information suggests, the earliest iterations of the War Memorial Museum did not include Indigenous First World War servicemen within their galleries. Considering the emphasis Bean, Treloar, the A.I.F., and the Department of Defence placed on the role of the museum as a national institution, this absence is unsurprising. As Gall-Haultan has argued, in its early years “the institution recounted the history of the Great War through the pre-modern ideals upon which the Anzac legend was founded”.<sup>54</sup> In particular, narratives of Australian exceptionalism within the British

<sup>53</sup> *Guide to the Australian War Memorial Canberra* Eleventh Edition. (Sydney: Halstead Press Pty Ltd., 1950).

<sup>54</sup> Gall-Haultan, “Same old relics, same old story?,” 447.

Empire were central to the organisation of the First World War exhibitions, and within this the unspoken centrality of a white Australian A.I.F.<sup>55</sup> The early galleries of the War Memorial, therefore, likely reflected the broader national social and political attitudes towards Indigenous Australians. The museum Bean and Treloar had created by the fiftieth anniversary of the First World War prioritised the narrative of a young, white A.I.F., and therefore did not explicitly acknowledge Indigenous Australian servicemen within its exhibits.

Unlike in Australia, there was no government-led plan for the creation of a national war museum in New Zealand at the end of the First World War. However, discussions at the Auckland Museum from 1917 onwards paved the way for the presence of a War Memorial Museum in the North Island's largest city. The Auckland Museum was established in 1852, operating as a natural history museum with ethnography, botany, zoology, and anthropology exhibits.<sup>56</sup> By the outbreak of the First World War, the museum had outgrown its site on Princes Street in the Auckland city centre. The 1916-1917 Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum reported that "the limitations and deficiencies of the present buildings, and the insufficiency of the present site ... are perfectly obvious".<sup>57</sup> In 1917, John Cheeseman, the Secretary of the Auckland Institute and Curator of the Auckland Museum, suggested that the museum could become "a War Museum ... for the purpose of commemorating the services of the many thousands of young men who have willingly left this country and undergone countless sufferings in order to crush the German peril".<sup>58</sup> This idea built upon increasing public and institutional support for a war museum in New Zealand, as well as the decision to locate the new Museum site in the central and visible Auckland Domain.<sup>59</sup> In 1919, with the accession of war-related items already underway at the museum, the Annual Report reinforced that:

It has long been the aim and hope of the Institute that an important part of the new building to be erected shall consist of a War Memorial Museum, capable of adequately commemorating the trials and hardships, the labour and sacrifice, of the many thousands of soldiers of all classes who have left New Zealand.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Ann Curthoys, "National narratives, war commemoration and racial exclusion in a settler society: The Australian case," in *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, ed. T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 133.

<sup>56</sup> Mackenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 188.

<sup>57</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum, for 1916-1917* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton Printers, 1917), 13.

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Cheeseman, *The First Fifty Years of the Auckland Institute and Museum, and its Future Aims: a Jubilee Sketch* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton, 1917), 19-20.

<sup>59</sup> Mackenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 201.

<sup>60</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum, for 1918-1919* (Auckland: The Brett Printing Company, Limited, 1919), 12.

Closing their report, the Council argued in favour of “the erection within the Domain of a Combined Museum and War Memorial Collection ... to constitute not only a full and permanent record of the war, but also a worthy home for the treasures to be housed in the Auckland Museum”.<sup>61</sup> A year later, the suggestion had been confirmed by the local and national governments, and the construction of the Auckland War Memorial Museum began.



Fig. 4.3. Opening of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, November 1929.<sup>62</sup>

The new Auckland Museum was opened in 1929, with the upper floor dedicated to housing a Hall of Memory and an exhibition on New Zealand in the First World War.<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, as Wolfe and Mackenzie both note, the new building was opened by the Governor General, who knocked on the door with a carved mere (traditional short, broad-bladed weapon) in the presence of Māori and Pākehā representatives.<sup>64</sup> From the outset,

---

<sup>61</sup> *Annual Report 1918-1919*, 13.

<sup>62</sup> “Opening of the Auckland War Memorial Museum”, Photograph (27 November 1929). PH-NEG-C5787, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland.

<sup>63</sup> Worthy, “Communities of Remembrance,” 599.

<sup>64</sup> Wolfe, *A Noble Prospect*, 32; Mackenzie, *Museums and empire*, 202.

then, the inclusion of aspects of Māori society and cultural rituals in Pākehā society influenced the level of Māori inclusion in the museum as a site of commemoration.

As Mackenzie notes, “the museum was central to civic pride and by extension an important part of a newly forged sense of national identity”.<sup>65</sup> In particular, the memorial aspects of the museum were important in fostering this civic national pride. The floor dedicated to exhibiting the war contained a Hall of Memory, as well as artefacts and documents that told the story of New Zealand at war. Initially, the museum committee argued against the idea of a Roll of Honour as part of the museum. However, they were ultimately forced to support the project after an outpouring of support from veterans and the public.<sup>66</sup> The Hall of Memory contained the names of the 7,297 Aucklanders who died during the war, alphabetised and carved into Italian marble. The space also contained a World War I sanctuary, designed by architects Grierson, Aimer, and Draffin. The sanctuary contained a bronze wreath of kawakawa leaves, poppies, olive branches, and rosemary – all flora associated with mourning or remembrance atop a bronze tripod with a lion’s head engraved on it.<sup>67</sup> The inscription on the tripod reads “kia mate toa” (“be strong in death”/“to die gloriously”). The sanctuary also contains the flags of Allied nations that participated in the First World War.<sup>68</sup> The Hall of Memory and Sanctuary demonstrate the implicit inclusion of Māori into the national commemorative space through the use of traditional symbolism (i.e. the kawakawa leaves), and language. This in turn reflects a broader adoption of Māori culture throughout the Museum by the 1930s, including the use of manaia (a mythological creature) and te reo Māori on the museum crest.<sup>69</sup> Although not an explicit acknowledgement of Māori involvement in the war, this

---

<sup>65</sup> Mackenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 201.

<sup>66</sup> Worthy, “Communities of Remembrance”, 605-606.

<sup>67</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 1931-1932* (Auckland: Auckland Institute and Museum, 1932), 9. See also “World War One Hall of Memories”, *Auckland War Memorial Museum* (2019). Accessed online 18 April 2019, <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/galleries/level-two/world-war-one-hall-of-memories>.

<sup>68</sup> Victoria Passau, Victoria. “The Mystery of the Flags - Auckland Museum's World War One Sanctuary Display,” *Auckland Museum - Tāmaki Paenga Hira* (February 2018). [www.aucklandmuseum.com/discover/stories/flags-in-the-hall-of-memories](http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/discover/stories/flags-in-the-hall-of-memories).

<sup>69</sup> “Auckland Institute and Museum Coat of Arms”, Watercolour on paper image. PD-1971-4-3, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland.

inclusion demonstrated that Māori (or at least Māori culture and language) were part of the national commemorative landscape.



Fig 4.4. Close up of bronze wreath in the First World War Hall of Memories showing inscription and details.<sup>70</sup>

Few details survive regarding the layout and nature of the earliest war galleries in the Museum. The “Accession Lists” provided in the Annual Reports of the Auckland Institute and Museum between 1918 and 1939 show that a number of images, documents, pamphlets, weapons, and ammunition were donated to the museum, although it is unclear how many of these were displayed in the war galleries. Of the donations recorded in the Institute reports, three were identified as having been donated by Māori servicemen or their families, and only one donation was specifically related to Māori war service: the donation of Private Tautoro Pomare’s General Service Medal and Victory Medal.<sup>71</sup> While these donations demonstrate that artefacts relating to Māori war service existed within

---

<sup>70</sup> Photograph taken by Rachel Caines.

<sup>71</sup> *Annual Report, 1931-1932*, 43.

the Auckland Museum's collections, it is unclear whether they were displayed, and if they were used to acknowledge Māori war service in the galleries.

By the fiftieth anniversary of the First World War the Auckland Museum had established itself as a central aspect of New Zealand's national commemorative space. The museum, again similar to its Australian counterpart, reinforced national narratives of New Zealand's participation in the First World War. Importantly, the established (albeit limited) role afforded to Māori society and culture within New Zealand's political and social structures enabled some level of Māori inclusion within the museum's First World War galleries. This was accomplished through the use of traditional symbolism and Māori language, and possibly through the display of items directly connected to Māori wartime service. However, the structure of the Auckland Museum as a primarily ethnographic and natural history museum limited the extent of the war galleries, as well as the ways in which Māori were viewed throughout all of the museum's exhibitions. Auckland Museum contained extensive ethnographic and anthropological exhibits on Māori people and cultures, which to some extent classified Māori as "other".<sup>72</sup> While aspects of Māori society and culture were increasingly accepted by Pākehā society, and used to highlight the uniqueness of New Zealand, Māori were also still largely understood and classified through nineteenth century racial hierarchies and assumptions.<sup>73</sup> Although Māori names were enshrined alongside Pākehā in the Hall of Memory, and Māori symbolism and language featured throughout the War Memorial section of the museum, this implicit acknowledgement of Māori war service occurred alongside the presentation of Māori culture and individuals as ethnographical objects of interest. This relationship between the two aspects of the museum complicates the issue of the acknowledgement of Māori war service during this early period. Further, it demonstrates the complexities of Māori acceptance and inclusion in New Zealand society and national commemorative sites in the first fifty years of the twentieth century.

The Australian War Memorial's museum and the Auckland War Memorial Museum were firmly established as important aspects of the commemorative landscapes in Australia and New Zealand by the mid-1960s. Both museums primarily reinforced a narrative of the First World War that prioritised dominion exceptionalism and Imperial loyalty. However, while the War Memorial's museum lacked any reference to Indigenous

---

<sup>72</sup> Mackenzie, *Museums and Empire*, 196.

<sup>73</sup> James Belich, "Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand," *New Zealand History Journal* 31 no. 1 (1997), 10.

Australian First World War soldiers in these early decades, the Auckland Museum included Māori cultural symbols within the architecture of the museum's memorial space. Although not explicit acknowledgement of Māori involvement in the First World War, this incorporation into the physical aspects of the site of commemoration represented a level of inclusion and acknowledgement not found in the Australian War Memorial during the period. As in the sites of commemoration discussed in previous chapters, the greater level of inclusion of Māori into Pākehā society thus facilitated some level of acknowledgement in New Zealand's national sites of commemoration. Conversely, the exclusion of Indigenous Australians from mainstream white society in the first half of the twentieth century prevented the acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian First World War service in the national commemorative landscape.

### **1965-2004: Changing Commemorative Landscape**

As has already been discussed, between 1965 and 2004 Indigenous activism and calls for recognition, respect, and reconciliation increased in both Australia and New Zealand. This in turn resulted in greater public and governmental attention on Indigenous issues. The changing political and social dynamics of this period impacted the structures and exhibits of museums. From the 1980s onwards, museum professionals and governing bodies began to question what their role in reconciliation and recognition efforts should look like, and the implications this had for their institutions.<sup>74</sup> This context of museological, political, and social change informed the ways in which the War Memorial and Auckland Museum sought to acknowledge Indigenous First World War service during the second half of the twentieth century. Their differing responses to these wider pressures reflected not only the different institutional priorities between the two museums, but also the differing national approaches to Indigenous inclusion at the end of the twentieth century.

The War Memorial's museum was not directly impacted by increasing attention regarding reconciliation in museums until the mid-1990s. McKernan's comprehensive history of the War Memorial from 1917 until 1990 does not mention Indigenous Australians, nor does it point to any efforts within the institution to explicitly

---

<sup>74</sup> Sullivan, Tim, Lynda Kelly, and Phil Gordon. "Museums and Indigenous People in Australia: A Review of *Previous Possessions, New Obligations: Policies for Museums in Australia and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples*," *Curator: The Museum Journal* 46 no. 2 (2003): 208; Butts, "Māori and museums", 225.

acknowledge Indigenous war service.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, the only mentions of Indigenous Australians in Gower's more recent history of the memorial all refer to events post-1995.<sup>76</sup> The First World War galleries were renovated in the 1970s and again in the 1980s, but do not appear to have acknowledged Indigenous Australian involvement in the First World War.<sup>77</sup> It was not until the mid-1990s, therefore, that the War Memorial began to widely consider explicitly acknowledging Indigenous First World War service in its museum exhibits.

In the Master Plan for the War Memorial (1995), the writers suggested that “under-represented groups such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders should be encouraged to visit, and that their war experience should be integrated into the ‘context and consequences of the wars’ in which Australians had been involved”.<sup>78</sup> Although Gower refers to this suggestion as “interesting”, he does not elaborate on the extent to which Indigenous Australian experiences were prioritised in development of the museum following the revisions of the Master Plan in 1996.<sup>79</sup> An Indigenous Liaison Officer, Gary Oakley, was appointed in 2006 from within the Memorial's staff, though no other institutional policies surrounding inclusion and representation were adopted in the 1990s.<sup>80</sup> By comparison, other museums in Australia had begun to implement institutional policies to facilitate the inclusion of Indigenous Australian voices into museum structures and displays by the mid-1990s.<sup>81</sup> The War Memorial thus appears to have remained influenced by conservative values and national ideals regarding the display of Australia's military history during the 1990s.

The War Memorial did acknowledge Indigenous Australian First World War service outside the permanent galleries. From 1989 to 1992, and then again from 1999 to 2001, the War Memorial facilitated David Huggonson's touring exhibition *Too Dark for the Light Horse*.<sup>82</sup> Drawing its name from a 1916 *Bulletin* cartoon, the exhibition used

---

<sup>75</sup> McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*.

<sup>76</sup> Gower, *The War Memorial*, 78, 243-244, 264.

<sup>77</sup> McKernan, *Here Is Their Spirit*, 282.

<sup>78</sup> *War Memorial: gallery master plan* (Canberra: War Memorial, 1995).

<sup>79</sup> Gower, *The War Memorial*, 78.

<sup>80</sup> “Indigenous Employment”, *The Australian War Memorial*. Accessed online 18 December 2019, <https://www.awm.gov.au/get-involved/work-or-volunteer/Indigenous-employment>. See also Australian Public Service Commission, *Commonwealth Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Employment Strategy* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2015). x

<sup>81</sup> Kelly and Gordon, “Museums and reconciliation,” 157.

<sup>82</sup> The second round of tours was run with the assistance of Vision Australia in order to make the exhibition accessible to people with impaired vision. “Too Dark for the Light Horse”. *The Australian War Memorial*. Accessed online July 2018, <https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/toodark>.



photographs of Indigenous servicemen to explore the experiences of Indigenous Australian soldiers throughout the twentieth century.<sup>83</sup> According to Gower, *Too Dark* was “the first show of a renewed travelling exhibition program which commenced in 1996” and was “seen by ... 140,000 Australians” during its second tour.<sup>84</sup> Importantly, the exhibition included images of Indigenous Australian First World War soldiers.<sup>85</sup> This was the first time their war service had been explicitly acknowledged by the War Memorial since the end of the First World War. The touring exhibition demonstrated an interest within the War Memorial for telling the stories of Indigenous Australian war service. However, the decision to tell these stories through a separate, travelling exhibition, rather than as part of the permanent First World War galleries, meant that Indigenous war service remained disconnected from the established commemorative narratives of the War Memorial. Here, the creation of *Too Dark* follows the pattern established in the other national sites of commemoration – separate acknowledgement rather than integration into mainstream commemorative structures. Holding a separate exhibition on Indigenous Australian war service enabled Huggonson to explore the topic in greater detail than would have been possible if the material had been incorporated into the existing main galleries. However, it also meant that discussions of Indigenous Australians war service remained absent from the main galleries of the War Memorial. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, therefore, the War Memorial had acknowledged Indigenous Australian First World War service in a separate, temporary exhibition, but had not incorporated Indigenous experiences into its permanent First World War galleries.

The Auckland Museum was impacted by the emphasis on recognition and reconciliation within museum practice at the end of the twentieth century to a far greater extent than the War Memorial. Museum staff had worked with Māori individuals and communities throughout the twentieth century, particularly those working on ethnographical exhibition. However, during the 1980s the majority of New Zealand museums underwent a dramatic change in the ways in which they interacted with, and thus represented, Māori culture and communities. As Butt’s argues, “it [was] not until the 1980s that most museums began to recognise, both in policy and practice, the right of

---

<sup>83</sup> David Huggonson, *Too Dark for the Light Horse: an exhibition of photographs & documents depicting Aboriginal involvement in the Australian Army at the Albury Regional Museum, August 11<sup>th</sup>-September 27<sup>th</sup>* (Albury, NSW: Albury Regional Museum, 1988), 1-3.

<sup>84</sup> Gower, *The War Memorial*, 244.

<sup>85</sup> Huggonson, *Too Dark for the Light Horse*, 1-3.

Māori to determine the way in which their taonga tuku iho [(treasures handed down through generations)] [were] managed and interpreted”.<sup>86</sup> The change in policy has most commonly been attributed to the international success of the *Te Māori* exhibition, which displayed Māori art to audiences in the United States of America and New Zealand. *Te Māori* was a significant moment in the Māori Renaissance, as “for the first time New Zealanders saw taonga Māori [(Māori treasures)] exhibited as art works of international standing rather than ethnological specimens”.<sup>87</sup> Alongside an increasing number of Māori staff, and broader calls for Māori participation in museums, this change in perception contributed to the ways in which museum exhibitions in New Zealand, particularly ethnographical and natural history exhibits, were organised and displayed.<sup>88</sup> Given the fact the Auckland Museum was one of New Zealand’s largest natural history and ethnographical museums, its exhibits and internal structures were heavily influenced by these changes.

As a result of the moves towards greater Māori participation in the museum structures across New Zealand, the Auckland Museum developed institutional policies in the 1980s and 1990s regarding respect for and collaboration with Māori communities and culture. These were enshrined in the *Auckland Museum Act 1996*, which required the museum “to observe and encourage the spirit of partnership and goodwill envisaged by the Treaty of Waitangi, the implications of mana Māori [(Māori autonomy/Māori rights)] and elements in the care of Māori cultural property which only Māori can provide”.<sup>89</sup> Additionally, a Māori Committee – Taumata-a-Iwi – was created in 1996 to oversee “all matters of Māori protocol within the Museum and between the Museum and the Māori people at large”.<sup>90</sup> While not aimed specifically at the war galleries of the museum, these institutional policies nonetheless impacted the nature and level of Indigenous inclusion in the Auckland Museum from the 1990s onwards.

Along with the development of institutional inclusive practices and policies, the main galleries of the Auckland Museum were redeveloped during the 1990s. In place of the older war galleries, historian Christopher Pugsley worked with museum staff to create *Scars on the Heart* (herein *Scars*) – a comprehensive exhibition that explored the experiences of New Zealanders at war from the South African War onwards. *Scars*

---

<sup>86</sup> Butts, “Māori and museums,” 227.

<sup>87</sup> Butts, “Māori and museums”, 229.

<sup>88</sup> Butts, “Māori and museums”, 227.

<sup>89</sup> *Auckland Museum Act 1996* (NZ) 12.2(c).

<sup>90</sup> *Auckland Museum Act*, 16.9.

remains a key exhibition on the top floor of the museum in 2019, over twenty years after it first opened. *Scars* explicitly acknowledges Māori service within its First World War sections, through the inclusion of the Roll of the First Māori Contingent, as well as information panels throughout the exhibit. A panel labelled “Te Hokowhitu a Tu: Warriors of the War God” provides a brief overview of the nature of Māori service in the Māori Contingent and Pioneer Battalion. The text explains that:

A 500-strong Māori Contingent, “Te Hokowhitu a Tu”, sailed for Egypt in February 1915 and served with distinction at Gallipoli from July to December 1915 ... Heavy casualties and the lack of reinforcements resulted in the Māori Contingent being combined with non-Māori to form a Pioneer Battalion ... In September 1917 this again became a Māori unit ... in June 1917 conscription was also applied to the Waikato-Maniapoto tribes, because of their unwillingness to provide reinforcements. This was due to their resentment of the injustices they were suffering from the large-scale land confiscations carried out by the Crown after the invasion of the Waikato in 1863.<sup>91</sup>

This text is accompanied by an image of James Allen, Apirana Ngata, and Dr. Maui Pomare during a recruiting appeal, as well as the text of a recruiting song, a selection of unlabelled documents and pamphlets written in te reo Māori, and photographs depicting Māori servicemen.<sup>92</sup> Although not extensive, the information provided on Māori involvement in the First World War is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it explicitly acknowledges the presence of Māori soldiers in the N.Z.E.F. during the First World War. Secondly, it engages with complex issues of Māori service that had hitherto been avoided, particularly the extension of recruitment to the Waikato-Maniapoto iwi in 1917. By the mid-1990s, then, the Auckland Museum had begun to integrate Māori stories into its First World War exhibitions, demonstrating an effort to acknowledge Māori service in its permanent galleries in greater depth and without relying on wartime racial stereotypes. This acknowledgement reflected wider moves towards an official bicultural policy in New Zealand, and the expansion of the inclusion of Māori narratives and cultural symbols in Pākehā society.

By the end of the twentieth century, museums across Australia and New Zealand had begun to engage more deeply with questions of how best to include Indigenous people within their displays and institutions, and what role this would play in pushes for recognition and reconciliation in both countries. Although in the 1990s both the War

---

<sup>91</sup> “Te Hokowhitu a Tu: Warriors of the War God,” Information panel. *Scars on the Heart*, First World War, Auckland Museum, Auckland.

<sup>92</sup> “Te Hokowhitu a Tu.”

Memorial and the Auckland Museum had acknowledged Indigenous First World War service, they had done so in very different ways. In Australia, Indigenous service was confined to a separate travelling exhibition. Although important in bringing public attention to the fact of Indigenous war service, the exhibition remained separate from the narrative established in the permanent galleries. By contrast, the redevelopment of the First World War galleries of the Auckland Museum in the 1990s enabled a narrative of Māori service to be included in the permanent displays, reinforcing the museum's newly adopted bicultural policies and solidifying Māori war service as a central part of the national story of New Zealand during the war. The War Memorial and the Auckland Museum responded differently to the questions of Indigenous recognition and inclusion into museum spaces at the end of the twentieth century. These responses reinforced broader political and social approaches to Indigenous inclusion in Australia and New Zealand. Additionally, the differing institutional approaches to Indigenous inclusion and integration laid the groundwork for the ways in which Indigenous war service would be acknowledged in both institutions during the First World War centenary.

### **2005-2019: The Centenary**

In the lead-up to the First World War Centenary in 2014, both the War Memorial and the Auckland Museum received funding for the development of exhibitions and projects related to the conflict.<sup>93</sup> This allocation of funding reflected the central role both museums played in the national commemorative landscape during the centenary commemorations. Te Papa Tongarewa also contributed to the national commemorative landscape during this period, collaborating with cinematic design studio Weta Workshop to curate an exhibition focused on the Gallipoli campaign. Each of these museums engaged with Indigenous war service in different ways over the course of the centenary commemorations. This engagement demonstrated the ways in which exhibiting war has been shaped by the late-twentieth century developments in Indigenous recognition and collaboration within museums. However, as in the years prior to the centenary, the national differences between Australia and New Zealand regarding the broader

---

<sup>93</sup> Dr. Brendan Nelson, "Our Vision". National Press Club Address, 18 September 2013, <https://www.awm.gov.au/about/our-work/projects/our-vision>; Ben Bradford Victoria Passau & Jo Brookbanks, "WWI Centenary at Auckland Museum— A Sum of all Parts". Conference Paper delivered at the *Canterbury 100 Conference*. Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 November 2018.

recognition of Indigenous war service and Indigenous cultures ultimately shaped the nature of Indigenous inclusion in these Centenary exhibitions.

The redevelopment of the War Memorial's First World War galleries for the centenary commemorations was a \$32.52 million project, supported and predominately funded by the Australian Federal Government.<sup>94</sup> The redevelopment of the First World War galleries so close to the centenary of the First World War offered an opportunity for the War Memorial to broaden the scope of the narratives featured in the gallery. Since the research and curatorial work done by Huggonson in the 1990s, the War Memorial has continued to research Indigenous Australian war service, including a project to identify Indigenous Australians who had served in the A.I.F. during the First World War.<sup>95</sup> Despite this research, however, the redeveloped First World War galleries only feature the stories of two Indigenous Australian servicemen.

The first soldier, William Punch, appears in the "portrait ribbons" that feature on the sides of the main display cases in the 1914 and 1915 galleries.<sup>96</sup> The portrait ribbons display photographs of AIF soldiers, with a digital component that enables visitors to read short biographies about the men (and women) featured in these images. Punch's biography explains that:

William Punch was the sole survivor of a massacre carried out by white settlers in 1880. An infant at the time, he was adopted and raised by a white farming family in Goulburn, New South Wales. Despite restrictions on Aboriginal service William enlisted in December 1915 and served with the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, AIF, and, later, the 53<sup>rd</sup> Battalion.<sup>97</sup>

This brief biography, only accessible through a touchscreen on the side of one of the larger display cases, is the only time the challenges Indigenous Australians faced when attempting to enlist in the A.I.F. are mentioned throughout the First World War galleries.

---

<sup>94</sup> The Federal Government contributed \$28.7 million towards the project. Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, "The War Memorial redevelopment of the First World War Galleries" *Report 1/2013 – Referrals made May to November 2012* (Canberra: Parliament of Australia, 2013), 1. See also "New First World War Galleries", *War Memorial*. <https://www.awm.gov.au/node/20557>.

<sup>95</sup> The current list of known Indigenous soldiers compiled by the war memorial can be found at <https://www.awm.gov.au/webgroups/indigenoupercent20service>. It should be noted that the list only contains the names of 1,113 soldiers and nurses from conflicts from the South African Wars to the Vietnam War, and is therefore incomplete.

<sup>96</sup> According to the AWM's website, "The portrait ribbon provides an insight into the personal experiences of the men and women who served during the war, recognising that every individual has a unique story tell". "First World War Galleries – Photograph Portrait Ribbons", *War Memorial*. (30 November 2014), <https://www.awm.gov.au/media/press-releases/fww-photograph-portrait-ribbon>.

<sup>97</sup> "Sole Survivor", Portrait ribbon digital information panel, 1915, *First World War Galleries*, The Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia.

Given the location of the portrait ribbons within the galleries, the photographs can be easily overlooked by visitors simply passing through the museum. As McKernan points out, “there is a degree of removal, an obstacle to access here that means that unless a visitor is very thoroughly going through the exhibition, or has a particular interest, they are unlikely to chance upon [the image]”.<sup>98</sup> Although McKernan’s focus is the portrayal of facial disfigurement during the war, the same issue of accessibility and visibility applies to the portrait ribbons, and thus to William Punch’s story. Given the location and nature of the portrait ribbons, William Punch’s story is presented as an auxiliary to the main narrative on display, rather than a core element of the Australian wartime experience.

The second Indigenous Australian soldier, Harry Thorpe, is located in the final, post-war gallery at the end of the First World War exhibition. Thorpe’s image is therefore more accessible to all visitors to the galleries, rather than those thoroughly investigating all aspects of the displays. This gallery explicitly addresses hardships and challenges that emerged after the Armistice, including “the bodies of Australian soldiers that could not be returned home, the grieving Australian families who could not visit the gravesite of loved ones who had died overseas, and hardships of returned but injured or disfigured soldiers after the war”.<sup>99</sup> Thorpe’s story is featured in the section of the gallery discussing war graves and grieving – his display features a portrait and his official war cemetery gravestone. According to the accompanying text:

Corporal Harry Thorpe was mortally wounded on the Somme on 9 August 1918 and was buried at Heath War Cemetery. His weathered headstone – the type used on all Commonwealth war graves – came to the War Memorial after it had to be replaced. Thorpe was born at the Lake Tyres Aboriginal Mission Station, Victoria, and enlisted in the AIF in 1916.<sup>100</sup>

Thorpe’s display only tangentially mentions his Indigenous descent, and is primarily focused on providing a personal story to accompany the broader discussion of war cemeteries and war memorials post-war. Neither Thorpe’s or Punch’s individual stories are contextualised by a broader discussion of the extent and nature of Indigenous First World War service. Nor is there any mention throughout the galleries of how many Indigenous Australian men enlisted or served in the First World War. The closest the War

---

<sup>98</sup> McKernan, “Discomfort at the War Memorial,” 110.

<sup>99</sup> Alexandra Walton, “Australia in the Great War, War Memorial, Canberra,” *Australian Historical Studies* 46 no. 2 (2015), 307.

<sup>100</sup> *First World War Galleries*, Australian War Memorial.

Memorial galleries provide is a note in the information panels for the Semakh diorama, which explains that “The task [of attacking the town] fell mostly to the 11<sup>th</sup> Light Horse –a regiment of South Australians and Queenslanders with a noticeable number of Aboriginal troops”.<sup>101</sup> Although acknowledging Indigenous Australian war service, the lack of context or detail provided in the description divorces this particular historical moment from the broader history of Indigenous Australian involvement in the First World War. *Kulatangu Angakanyini Manta Munu Tjukurpa [Country and Culture will be protected by spears]*, commissioned by the War Memorial in 2017, further acknowledges the long history of Indigenous Australian war service, but does not provide information about the nature or extent of this service. Thus, although Indigenous First World War service has been acknowledged to some extent in the newly redeveloped galleries, this recognition remains highly individualised and exists in a void without its social and political context.



Fig. 4.5. *Kulatangu Angakanyini Manta Munu Tjukurpa [Country and Culture will be protected by spears]*.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> “Semakh”, First World War Galleries, Australian War Memorial.

<sup>102</sup> Alec Baker, Eric Kumanara Mungi Barney, Pepai Jangala Carroll, Taylor Cooper, Witjiti George, Willy Kaika, Kumanara (Breton) Ken, Kumanara (Ray) Ken, Dickie Marshall, Kumanara (willy Muntjanti) Martin, Peter Mungkuri, Kumanara (Jimmy) Pompey, Keith Stevens, Bernard Tjalkuri, Thomas Ilytjari Tjilya, Ginger Wilkilyiri, Mick Wilkilyiri, Kumanara (Mumu Mike) Williams, Frank Young, *Kulatangu Angakanyini manta munu Tjukurpa [Country and Culture will be protected by spears]*. Acrylic on linen. Painted in Nyapari, Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands, South Australia (2017). Acquired under commission by the Australian War Memorial. AWM2017.912.1

The other contribution from the War Memorial to the centenary commemorations that explicitly acknowledges Indigenous First World War service is the travelling exhibition *For Country For Nation*, which began touring Australia in 2018. The exhibition explores Indigenous Australian military service in the Australian Defence Force since the beginning of the twentieth century, and links this service to a longer history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander warfare and military tradition. The exhibition was deliberately collaborative with Indigenous communities. Indigenous Australian curator Amanda Jane Reynolds facilitating a national program of community consultation with an Elders and Knowledge Holders Guidance Group, which was developed for the exhibition.<sup>103</sup> The exhibition adopts a thematic structure, organised around six key themes: “We remember”, “Warriors strength, diplomats patience”, “All heroes, our stories”, “Communities on the front line”, “Full rights as citizens”, “Our cultures continue”.<sup>104</sup> The thematic structure intentionally reflects Indigenous forms of knowledge transmission, deliberately moving away from the “traditional” chronological structure typically found in museums. The broader informative panels encompass the full time period of the exhibition; individual stories and images are used to provide specific examples of and information about service in the different conflicts. 26 Indigenous Australian First World War soldiers are featured throughout the exhibition, seven as part of the main gallery, fifteen in the digital photograph display, and four in the commemorative artwork “Shields and Coolamons”.<sup>105</sup> Six of the biographies of Indigenous Australian First World War soldiers contain discussions of the barriers Indigenous Australians faced when enlisting, and how men and their communities overcame these barriers to enlist nonetheless.<sup>106</sup> Similar to the permanent First World War galleries at the War Memorial, *For Country For Nation* does not provide information on approximately how many Indigenous Australian enlisted in the First World War. Nevertheless, the exhibition demonstrates the breadth of War Memorial research into

---

<sup>103</sup> Jane Llewellyn, “For Country For Nation exhibition brings Indigenous perspectives to Anzac Day recognition,” *The Adelaide Review* (24 April 2019). Accessed online <  
<https://www.adelaidereview.com.au/arts/visual-arts/2019/04/24/for-country-for-nation-samstag/>>

<sup>104</sup> “For Country For Nation,” *The Australian War Memorial*, accessed 5 May 2019,  
<https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/for-country-for-nation>.

<sup>105</sup> Richard Martin, Leonard Smith, and Julian Everett featured in both the main gallery displays and the digital photographs, but have only been counted as featuring in the main displays in the above figures.

<sup>106</sup> “Private Richard Martin”, “William Bert Brown”, “William Ernest ralph”, “William Reginald Rawlings”, “Walter Edward Smale”, “Ridgway William Rankine”.



Indigenous First World War service, further highlighting its absence from the permanent galleries.

Despite increasing research from within the War Memorial itself, Indigenous Australian First World War service was primarily acknowledged in a travelling exhibition during the centenary commemorations, rather than in the newly redeveloped First World War galleries. Both the permanent and travelling exhibition acknowledged Indigenous Australian war service, though to differing extents. However, neither fully addressed how many men enlisted, the reasons behind their enlistment, the nature of their service, and the challenges they faced upon enlisting and after they returned from war. Given the lack of broader public knowledge of Indigenous Australian war service during the First World War, the absence of this information at the War Memorial covertly reinforces the absence of Indigenous Australian First World War servicemen from the national commemorative landscape.

The Auckland Museum also developed new galleries in preparation for the First World War centenary – *Pou Maumahara/Memorial Discovery Centre* (herein *Pou Maumahara*) and *Pou Kanohi/New Zealand at War* (herein *Pou Kanohi*). Both galleries were funded largely by a Lotteries Grant, and form part of Auckland Museum’s *Future Museum* Strategy for the redevelopment of the museum.<sup>107</sup> A key ambition of the plan was the creation of “a hub for sharing stories, historical and contemporary, of what war means for Māori, Tamaki Makaurau Auckland, Aucklanders and New Zealanders”.<sup>108</sup> From the outset of the gallery developments, then, the acknowledgement of Māori service was outlined in the museum’s institutional documents. Both of the new galleries fulfilled different aspects of this ambition. *Pou Maumahara* acts as the onsite wing of the *Online Cenotaph*, a digital commemorative project that enables community members to contribute information on New Zealand soldiers from the First World War onwards, with the aim of creating a comprehensive database for personal and professional research.<sup>109</sup> *Pou Kanohi*, opened in October 2017, focuses on connecting stories of the war with

---

<sup>107</sup> The Lotteries Grants formed part of a broader program established by the *Gambling Act 2003* to distribute the profits from New Zealand Lotteries back into the community. Auckland War Memorial Museum, *Future Museum: Auckland Museum – Master Plan* (Auckland: Auckland Museum *Tamaki Paenga Hira*, (2012), 23.

<sup>108</sup> Auckland Museum, *Future Museum*, 23.

<sup>109</sup> “Auckland Museum opens new commemorative gallery – Pou Maumahara Memorial Discovery Centre, *Auckland Museum* Media Release (November 2016). <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/media/media-releases/2016/commemorative-gallery-pou-maumahara-opens>.

contemporary issues, and exploring how the war impacted Auckland and Aucklanders.<sup>110</sup> Museum Director Dr. David Gaimster explained that “*Pou Kanohi New Zealand at War* shares that experience [of war] with the next generation, making sure the memory and lessons of the First World War, which affected so many New Zealanders, is never lost”.<sup>111</sup> The gallery adopts an Auckland-centric focus, tying war experiences back to the city. Both new galleries prioritised commemoration in their aims and construction, reflecting the link between war museums and First World War commemoration during the centenary.

*Pou Maumahara* and *Pou Kanohi* both acknowledge Māori First World War service and wartime experiences in their physical galleries. This emphasis reinforces the Museum’s ambition to integrate Māori experiences into war narratives, as expressed in the Strategic Plan.<sup>112</sup> *Pou Maumahara* features the stories of four individuals: Perititi Hetaraka (Māori Battalion – A Company), Wiremu Karāti (Māori Contingent/Māori Pioneer Battalion), Wiremu Tāka (1st Māori Contingent), and Piki Kōtoru Te Kuru (2nd Māori Contingent/Māori Pioneer Battalion). The stories of these men’s service are supported by a copy of the Scroll of the 1st Māori Contingent and an information panel about medals awarded to men in the Pioneer Battalion. According to Ian Proctor, Collections Manager for the Online Cenotaph, “the reflection of Māori ... is something that we are continuing to look at with how we do it. It’s very key for us that it’s done, and it’s done properly and respectfully.”<sup>113</sup> *Pou Kanohi* similarly incorporates Māori stories into the broader narratives of New Zealand during the war. Four photographs of Māori soldiers are featured throughout the exhibition, as well as a photograph of Māori women sending off the 2nd Māori Contingent in Auckland in 1915. Māori stories also feature in two of the five recorded spoken-word poems played in one section of the gallery.<sup>114</sup> The first, *Avondale Racecourse* by Sheldon Rua, questions the use of

<sup>110</sup> Ben Bradford quoted in “New WWI gallery to open at Auckland Museum”. *Auckland Museum Media Release* (September 2017). <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/media/media-releases/2017/new-ww1-gallery>.

<sup>111</sup> David Gaimster quoted in “New WWI gallery to open at Auckland Museum” *Auckland Museum Media Release* (September 2017). <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/media/media-releases/2017/new-ww1-gallery>.

<sup>112</sup> Auckland Museum, *Future Museum*, 23.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Ian Proctor, Auckland Museum, 3 December 2018.

<sup>114</sup> See Appendix II for the transcript of both Strickland’s and Rua’s poems. The other three poems present in the installation are Onehou Strickland’s *Narrowneck* and Zechariah Fa’aumu David Soakai’s *Cemetery*, which discuss the experiences of Pasifika soldiers, and Vanessa Crofskey’s *Britomart*, which explores the role of Auckland’s railway station in the war. See “New Pou Kanohi gallery helping people connect with First World War Stories”, *Auckland War Memorial Museum Blog* (17 October 2017). <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/discover/stories/blog/2017/new-pou-kanohi-gallery>.

stereotypes of Māori militarism to encourage young men to enlist. The other, *Auckland Domain* by Onehou Strickland, focuses on the welcome home of the Māori Contingent and the struggles for equality they faced. *Pou Kanohi* also includes Māori voices in its exploration of the controversies around conscription, with Dr. Tom Roa (Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato) sharing his iwi's experience of conscription during the war, and its ties to the Kīngitanga Movement and the land wars of the 1860s.<sup>115</sup> The inclusion of challenging narratives surrounding Māori war service through these audio-visual displays not only acknowledges Māori experiences during the First World War, but works towards challenging preconception and misunderstandings around Māori service.

The focus on including Māori experiences in both recent galleries reflects the institutional priorities of the Auckland Museum, and highlights the focus on biculturalism in comparison to the War Memorial. Rather than confining Māori stories primarily to a separate exhibition, the Auckland Museum has worked to incorporate Māori voices into their centenary galleries, reinforcing the Māori experience of the war as an integral element of the New Zealand story of the First World War. This demonstrates the way in which Te Kōrahi Māori – the Museum's commitment to having a Māori dimension to the museum – has worked its way from policy into practice in the museum's new war galleries.<sup>116</sup> It is important to note that despite the inclusion of Māori stories, neither *Pou Maumahara* nor *Pou Kanohi* explicitly identify the number of Māori who served, or provide detail on the nature of their recruitment and their experience while serving. Similarly to Indigenous war service in the War Memorial, Māori involvement in the First World War is primarily acknowledged in the Auckland Museum through glimpses at individuals or community narratives. However, unlike in the permanent galleries at the War Memorial, Auckland Museum has used these individualised narratives to begin to discuss wider issues and aspects of Māori First World War service.

As indicated in the introduction of this chapter, Te Papa's *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* (herein *Our War*) played a central role in New Zealand's centenary commemorations, and continues to draw visitors beyond 2019.<sup>117</sup> This commemorative exhibition has been touted as “the most visited exhibition in New Zealand's history, and

---

<sup>115</sup> “The settling of a spirit,” *Pou Kanohi*, New Zealand at War.

<sup>116</sup> Auckland Museum, *Future Museum*, 3.

<sup>117</sup> As of 12 February 2020, 3 million visitors had experienced the exhibition, with plans for it to stay open until April 2022.

has set a global benchmark for immersive museum experiences”.<sup>118</sup> Curated in collaboration with Wellington-based cinematic design studio Weta Workshop, the exhibition combined traditional museum techniques with cinematic strategies in order to “tell the story of the Gallipoli campaign in World War I through the eyes and words of eight ordinary New Zealanders who found themselves in extraordinary circumstances”.<sup>119</sup> While the exhibition itself provides an interesting case study regarding the acknowledgement of Māori war service, the contestation over the identities of the eight central figures demonstrates some of the questions and controversies surrounding the explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous war service in nationally-significant museums.

The exhibition is organised around five thematic annexes, set out chronologically to guide the visitor through the different stages of the Gallipoli campaign: “The Great Adventure” (April-May), “Order from Chaos” (May-June), “Stalemate” (July), “Chunuk Bair” (August); and Saying Goodbye (November-December).<sup>120</sup> In between each of these annexes are six “bell-jar” scenes, each containing at least one of the eight, 2.4 scale, hyper-realistic sculptures. These sculptures frame the narrative and emotional arc of the exhibition. According to Kirstie Ross, the senior curator of the exhibition, the annexes “link the figures and the scenarios into a connected experience”.<sup>121</sup> They contain artefacts, information panels, dioramas, interactive displays, and comic-book style narratives, while the figures’ galleries are empty except for the sculpture. The exhibition was designed to be dynamic and interactive, going beyond “the stuffy exhibition style” to engage visitors emotionally.<sup>122</sup> It utilises a diverse range of cinematic tools, including sound effects and the composition of an original soundtrack, to further engage visitors in the narratives being presented.

Explicit acknowledgement of Māori war service and involvement in the Gallipoli campaign is included throughout *Our War* in the form of information panels, artefacts, audio features, images, and one of the six “bell jar” scenes. However, the process of

---

<sup>118</sup> “Te Papa extends Gallipoli exhibition to Anzac Day 2022,” *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*. Press Release (24 April 2019). Accessed online 19 July 2019, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/press-and-media/press-releases/2019-media-releases/te-papa-extends-gallipoli-exhibition-anzac>.

<sup>119</sup> “Gallipoli: the Scale of Our War,” *Te Papa Tongarewa*. Accessed online 29 November 2019, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/visit/exhibitions/gallipoli-scale-our-war>.

<sup>120</sup> Exhibition floorplan. *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*, National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.

<sup>121</sup> Kirstie Ross, “Conceiving and Calibrating Gallipoli: The Scale of our War” *Museums Australia Magazine* 24.1 (2015), 27.

<sup>122</sup> Ben Barraud, Leading Designer (Te Papa), in *Building Gallipoli*. Episode 3 (7 April 2015). [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z9fJKYLbXF&feature=emb\\_title](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z9fJKYLbXF&feature=emb_title).

acknowledging Māori service throughout the exhibition was not as straightforward as the final galleries may suggest. In some ways, the inclusion of Māori experiences in the exhibition was assured through Te Papa's broader institutional policies. Similar to Auckland Museum, Te Papa is governed by institutional policies and curatorial practices that acknowledge "the unique position of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand and the need to secure their participation in the governance, management, and operation of the museum".<sup>123</sup> Beyond this, as Charlotte Macdonald argues, "the relations between the indigenous Māori and Pākehā ... peoples – the central issue of 'race' in the society – is fundamental to the museum's physical and cultural space".<sup>124</sup> Te Papa's explicit focus on biculturalism subsequently ensured that Māori war service would be acknowledged to some extent in *Our War*.

The ways in which Māori service was acknowledged in *Our War* depended largely on the broader ideals and ambitions of the exhibition team, and was influenced by wider debates surrounding the diversification of museum exhibitions. Puawai Cairns, who acted as the Māori curator on the exhibition, reflected in her 2015 unpublished article that:

not only are exhibitions contested spaces because of their limited physical parameters, New Zealand's WWI history is also considered to be a finite and contestable intellectual space. This became obvious when I started advocating for more Māori soldiers' stories ... to emphasise them or even elevate their story for focus was considered an affront to the other larger units who were at Gallipoli.<sup>125</sup>

Although initially six of the eight models were intended to be of Māori or Pasifika descent, this decision was questioned by members of the exhibition team, including the Lead Historian for the project Christopher Pugsley. According to Pugsley, having half of the feature models in the exhibition being of Māori descent was "not appropriate for a national exhibition", due to the fact that Māori only made up a small percentage of the total number of New Zealand men who fought on Gallipoli.<sup>126</sup> This argument reflected broader debates around whether or not minority groups should be represented proportional to their involvement in the First World War. However, as Cairns explained, "you can't do this quantification by coverage and match it to the quantification of history

---

<sup>123</sup> "Executive Team Te kei o te waka", *Te Papa Tongarewa*. Accessed online 20 January 2020, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/what-we-do/leadership/executive-team>.

<sup>124</sup> Charlotte Macdonald, "Race and Empire at 'Our Place': New Zealand's New National Museum," *Radical History Review* 75 (1999): 81.

<sup>125</sup> Cairns, "The Wait and the Fight," 2.

<sup>126</sup> Christopher Pugsley, "Reflections on W100: A Personal Perspective". Conference Paper delivered at *Canterbury 100 Conference*, Christchurch, New Zealand. 23 November 2018.

... what that does really is it has a terrible effect of reiterating the history status quo and maintaining erasure, maintaining misrepresentation, maintaining underrepresentation”.<sup>127</sup> Many decisions regarding non-white wartime participation were made by white politicians or informed by Imperial racial understandings. Considering this context, many curators argue that attributing space in exhibitions based on percentages actually reinforces these wartime racial prejudices and limits our understanding of wartime history.<sup>128</sup> The fact that these arguments occurred during the creation of *Our War* represents how embedded these debates surrounding how best to acknowledge minority groups within museum exhibitions remain, even where bicultural and multicultural policies and frameworks have been instituted.

Ultimately, two of the eight figures featured in *Our War* were of Māori descent: Private Rikihana Carkeek and Private Friday Hawkins. Senior curator Kirstie Ross reinforced the importance of acknowledging Māori war service in the figures, explaining that “conscious of our bicultural responsibilities, Te Papa curators also insisted that at least one giant be Māori”.<sup>129</sup> As Cairns explained:

I originally picked a scene where ... Don Ferris had been shot ... then I think Rikihana was on the gun, and he was shot in his neck, and I think Friday Hawkins was in that scene as well. But Chris didn't like having three Māori ... he wanted to put in ... Colin Warden, who was the Australian scout ... I grudgingly agreed to that in order to get two Māori.<sup>130</sup>

Following the negotiations between Pugsley and Cairns, it was ultimately decided that the scene for Chunuk Bair (the climax of the exhibition) would depict three members of the Māori Contingent Machine Gun Section: Private Colin Warden, Private Rikihana Carkeek (Ngāti Raukawa), and Private Friday Hawkins (Ngāti Kahungunu). Told through the words of Carkeek's diary, the scene places Māori at the centre of not only the Battle for Chunuk Bair, but the Gallipoli campaign as a whole.

---

<sup>127</sup> Interview with Puawai Cairns, Te Papa Tongarewa, 28 November 2018.

<sup>128</sup> Interview with Puawai Cairns.

<sup>129</sup> Ross, “Conceiving and Calibrating Gallipoli,” 27.

<sup>130</sup> Interview with Puawai Cairns.



Fig. 4.6. Photograph of the “Chunuk Bair” display featuring the figures of Rikihana Carkeek (left) and Friday Hawkins (centre). The body of Colin Warden can also be seen to the right.<sup>131</sup>

Māori stories are also featured in the annexes of the exhibition. In the opening annex, “The Great Adventure”, an information panel provides context to Māori participation at Gallipoli, with text discussing the formation of the Māori Contingent (“White Man’s War?”), as well as two short videos – “Off We Go” and “Let Māori Fight” – that explore the departure of the Māori Contingent and Captain Peter Buck’s impassioned plea to let Māori fight at Gallipoli respectively.<sup>132</sup> In “Stalemate”, visitors are introduced to Captain Peter Buck through photographs and an information panel.<sup>133</sup> Another panel, “Māori Pah”, introduces the Māori Contingent’s arrival at Gallipoli, as well as a geographic breakdown of the Māori Contingent and information on the resistance of some iwi to become involved in the conflict.<sup>134</sup> Replicas of the Māori carvings found at Māori Pah on Gallipoli also feature in this annex, reflecting curator

<sup>131</sup> Photograph taken by Rachel Caines.

<sup>132</sup> Exhibition Information Panels. *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*, National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.

<sup>133</sup> “Captain Peter Buck,” Information panel. *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*, National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.

<sup>134</sup> “Staying Out of It,” Information panel. *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*, National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.

Puawai Cairn's desire for the exhibition to show "how Māori culture travelled with Māori soldiers – that they weren't just brown white people".<sup>135</sup> "Stalemate" also features photographs and quotes from members of the Māori Contingent, as well as their unique contingent badge. In the introduction to the Battle for Chunuk Bair, visitors are introduced to Padre Henare Wepiha Te Wainohu, the chaplain of the 1<sup>st</sup> Māori Contingent whose "stirring sermon" provides the soundtrack in the lead-up to the Battle.<sup>136</sup> Māori stories are therefore prevalent throughout the exhibition, as well as language, cultural symbols, and images which reinforce the presence of Māori during the Gallipoli campaign.

Reflecting on *Our War*, Kaihautū (Māori co-leader of Te Papa) Dr. Arapata Hakiwai explained that the exhibition "is an important exhibition for Te Papa as a bicultural museum" due to its discussion of Te Hokowhitu a Tu and their role during the Gallipoli campaign – "it is not only a Māori story, it is a truly national story".<sup>137</sup> Thus, largely due to the work and persistence of Puawai Cairns, *Our War* acknowledges Māori service not only at Gallipoli, but throughout the First World War through a mixture of personal stories and broader contextualising information. However, as Cairns reflected: "I established really quickly I'm not going to get everything I need in here and I know there's a hunger for this, so I'm going to find other platforms. But the platforms that Māori could use, and would last longer than the exhibition".<sup>138</sup> Although when compared to the War Memorial and Auckland Museum's centenary offerings *Our War* contains a greater level of explicit acknowledgement of Māori participation in the First World War, Cairns's reflections on her involvement in the project demonstrate some of the complexities that come with integrating Indigenous narratives into broader national exhibitions, even in institutions where inclusive practices have been developed.

In both Australia and New Zealand, national war museums and exhibitions played a central role in the centenary commemorations of the First World War. The redevelopment (or, in the case of Te Papa, creation) of exhibitions within these institutions provided the opportunity for the knowledge and institutional developments regarding Indigenous inclusion that occurred over the past hundred years into practice. In New Zealand both the Auckland Museum and Te Papa highlighted Māori war service

---

<sup>135</sup> Interview with Puawai Cairns.

<sup>136</sup> "Stirring Sermon: Te Wainohu," Information panel. *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*, National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.

<sup>137</sup> Dr. Aparata Hakiwi, *Kaihautu*, Te Papa in *Building Gallipoli* Episode 3.

<sup>138</sup> Interview with Puawai Cairns.



in their exhibitions, and incorporated these experiences into broader discussions of the New Zealand war experience and Māori issues. Comparatively, the War Memorial primarily acknowledged Indigenous Australian war service through a separate, travelling exhibition, rather than integrating these narratives into the permanent First World War galleries.

These differences between Australian and New Zealand institutions demonstrate how the creation of overarching institutional policies around Māori inclusion in New Zealand has facilitated the broader acknowledgement of Māori war service in both the Auckland Museum and Te Papa. These institutional differences between Australian and New Zealand war exhibitions reflect broader political and social differences between the two countries regarding Indigenous inclusion and recognition. However, as the case of *Our War* demonstrates, institutional policies alone are not sufficient in ensuring Indigenous war service will be acknowledged in exhibitions. The work of individual curators or curatorial teams to prioritise underrepresented narratives is central to the acknowledgement of Indigenous experiences in these exhibitions. Ultimately, therefore, Indigenous involvement in the First World War was more explicitly acknowledged throughout the centenary than in previous museum exhibitions, debates and tensions surrounding the nature of this inclusion continued beyond the centenary.

### **Conclusion**

War museums in Australia and New Zealand have long been central to the commemoration of the First World War, as well as the dissemination of information about the experience of war. Particularly in recent decades, these museums have increasingly acknowledged Indigenous involvement in the First World War through photographs, information panels, videos, sculpture, and artwork. Within the past ten years, each of the major commemorative institutions in Australia and New Zealand have included stories of Indigenous participation in their displays. Additionally, and to varying extents, these museums have begun to discuss the complexities around Indigenous participation, particularly the challenges Indigenous men faced upon enlisting and the nature of recruitment in Australia and New Zealand, the wartime and post-war experiences of Indigenous soldiers, and, in the case of New Zealand, the extension of conscription to Māori.

## Chapter IV

In Australia this inclusion has largely mirrored general trends in Indigenous inclusion in First World War commemorations, with separate exhibitions being established to explore Indigenous experiences rather than these stories being incorporated into the major commemorations. While these exhibitions enable in-depth discussions of the complexities of Indigenous war service, they remain separated from the permanent, main galleries, and therefore from the main commemorations. Conversely, over the past century the Auckland Museum has increasingly prioritised Māori voices and experiences in its discussion of the First World War, reflecting broader institutional developments regarding Māori recognition and representation. The exhibitions organised for the centenary of the First World War, both at these two institutions and at the National Museum of New Zealand demonstrated the deliberate acknowledgement of Indigenous involvement in the First World War, though without addressing the full details and context of this participation.

Broader international trends of reconciliation and recognition in the museum context impacted the level of Indigenous acknowledgement in the national military museums of Australia and New Zealand. Ultimately, however, the different political and social contexts in the two countries regarding race and ideas of nationhood remained a significant influence over the extent to which Indigenous First World War service has been acknowledged in these sites of commemoration over the past century.

## Conclusion

On 20 February 2020, the Western Australian branch of the RSL announced that it had decided to ban Welcome to Country ceremonies, the flying of the Aboriginal flag, and the use of Indigenous Australian languages from its Anzac Day and Remembrance Day services from 2020 onwards. The decision had been made following Professor Len Collard's recitation of the Ode of Remembrance in the Noongar language at the Fremantle Anzac Day service in 2019. According to the policy initially released by the RSLWA:

While it is important to recognise cultural and ethnic contributions to the defence of Australia, it is also important to maintain Anzac Day and Remembrance Day as occasions to express unity, a time when all Australians – irrespective of race, culture or religion – come together to remember and reflect”.<sup>1</sup>

Following backlash from politicians, media outlets, Indigenous communities and members of the general Australian public, the RSLWA clarified in a media release published on their website that:

RSLWA supports the rights of all Government and community entities flying the Indigenous flag and making a Welcome to Country dedication at official ceremonies. What RSL is not supportive of is the use of Welcome to Country as part of the actual service itself in terms of the Dawn Service of ANZAC Day and the 11am Service at Remembrance Day ... During the brief and very sacred ANZAC Day Dawn Service and Remembrance Day service, we unite to pay our respect to those Diggers who came from all cultural backgrounds. RSLWA also respects the inclusion of the Welcome to Country and/or Acknowledgement of Country and the flying of the Australian Aboriginal Flag at other commemorative events such as Indigenous Veteran Service Day, National Sorry Day, National Reconciliation week and NAIDOC week.<sup>2</sup>

The actions of RSLWA reflect the continuing importance of discussing the ways in which Indigenous Australian war service is acknowledged and depicted at a national level beyond the centenary of the First World War. More broadly, this highlights the continuing debates over what is considered “appropriate” in national commemorations when it comes to acknowledging and including Indigenous war service. Several critics of

---

<sup>1</sup> Rebecca Turner, Herlyn Kaur, James Carmody, Erin Parke, “RSL bans Welcome to Country, Aboriginal flag at Anzac Day, Remembrance Day ceremonies in WA,” *ABC News* (21 February 2020). <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-02-21/rslwa-bans-welcome-to-country-aboriginal-flag-anzac-remembrance/11986324>.

<sup>2</sup> RSLWA Media Release: We are not banning the First Nations flag”, *RSLWA* (21 February 2020). <https://www.rslwa.org.au/news/rslwa-media-release-we-are-not-banning-the-first-nations-flag/>.

## Conclusion

the RSLWA's decision have referenced the inclusion of Māori language and cultural rituals in New Zealand's major national commemorative services.<sup>3</sup> This comparison not only reinforces the inherently connected nature of war commemorations in Australia and New Zealand, but also the central role race relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples has played in the acknowledgement and inclusion of Indigenous war service at a national level.

This thesis has argued that the acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian and Māori war service in Australian and New Zealand national sites of commemoration was a slow and largely conservative process. Above all else, this process was dictated by official national assumptions and ideals about the roles of Indigenous peoples in both societies throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Although influenced by similar British Imperial ideals and understandings of race, Australia and New Zealand national policies surrounding race-relations developed differently over the course of the twentieth century. New Zealand governments increasingly favoured an asymmetrical biculturalism that increasingly incorporated aspects of Māori culture and society into broader Pākehā society. Conversely, Australian governments since the 1980s adopted (to varying extents) a vague policy of reconciliation that has not yet fully addressed where Indigenous Australians "fit" in modern Australian society.

Throughout its first chapter, this thesis demonstrated how the different governmental attitudes towards Indigenous Australians in Australia and Māori in New Zealand shaped the ways in which both groups were able to participate in the First World War. The pre-existing acceptance of (some) Māori into mainstream New Zealand society, particularly the presence of Māori members of parliament, enabled Māori to participate in the First World War in a visible and unified way. By contrast, Indigenous Australian war service was not officially permitted until May 1917, and even then still drew upon ideals of a (predominately) white A.I.F. Although in practice 60 percent of Indigenous Australian soldiers enlisted prior to May 1917, the official government attitudes to their service were integral in shaping the way in which their wartime involvement was perceived. From the opening weeks of the war in 1914, therefore, national ideals about the

---

<sup>3</sup> "'Old School Thinking': Plan to ditch Aboriginal language, flag for ANZAC Day," *RNZ* (22 February 2020), <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/world/410105/old-school-thinking-plan-to-ditch-aboriginal-language-flag-for-anzac-day>; Hamish Hastie, "'La la land': The elder that sparked RSL welcome to country ban speaks out," *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 February 2020), <https://www.smh.com.au/national/rsl-wa-urged-to-reverse-aboriginal-flag-and-welcome-to-country-ban-20200221-p5432w.html>.

## Conclusion

place of Indigenous peoples in Australian and New Zealand societies fundamentally impacted their involvement in the war.

The analysis of the case studies presented in the second, third, and fourth chapters of this thesis offers two key overarching findings. Firstly, each of the national sites of commemoration was able to acknowledge Indigenous war service to different extents over the past century. The explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous war service in days of remembrance remained limited in Australia and New Zealand even into the First World War Centenary. Although Māori cultural rituals were increasingly adopted as an integral part of these national sites of commemoration in New Zealand, the explicit acknowledgement of Māori service in the First World War remained uncommon at national days of remembrance. In Australia, both explicit discussion of the service of Indigenous Australians in the First World War and the inclusion of Indigenous Australian cultural rituals remains predominately absent from national commemorative services. Changing conceptions of what role Anzac Day and Remembrance Day should serve at a national level in Australia and New Zealand did serve to broaden the reach of these commemorative sites from the 1960s onwards. However, this disruption did not facilitate for the widening of acceptable narratives of these days of remembrance to include the explicit discussion of the nature and consequences of Indigenous involvement in the First World War.

Despite the fact national war memorials were constructed to be long-standing, permanent monuments to the dead of the First World War, the New Zealand National War Memorial and the Australian War Memorial both evolved to facilitate a greater acknowledgement of Indigenous war service over the past century. In New Zealand, Māori war service was explicitly acknowledged in the National War Memorial from the 1960s, with the inclusion of unit badges in the Hall of Memories. The reinternment of the Unknown Warrior in 2004 furthered this acknowledgement through the use of Māori language and symbolism. By the time of the First World War centenary and the redevelopment of Pukeahu National War Memorial Park, Māori First World War service had been acknowledged in the Landscape of the National War Memorial for fifty years. Conversely, Indigenous Australian war service was not explicitly acknowledged in the memorial aspects of the Australian War Memorial until 2019. The commemorative sculpture – For Our Country – in the grounds of the memorial implicitly included First World War servicemen in its broader message of Indigenous Australian involvement in

## Conclusion

war and the defence of Country. While Indigenous Australian soldiers were implicitly included in the Australian War Memorial through its purpose as a national war memorial, and their names were listed on the bronze honour roll lining the cloisters, it was not until over a century after the end of the First World War that their service was explicitly acknowledged.

War Museums in both Australia and New Zealand offered the most scope for the explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous war service. This was particularly the case from the 1980s onwards as museum professionals in both countries became increasingly concerned with how to represent and interact with Indigenous peoples. While it is possible that artefacts belonging to Māori soldiers were displayed at the Auckland Museum during the interwar years, it is most likely that Indigenous service was first explicitly acknowledged in both Australian and New Zealand national war museums in the 1990s. As the examples of *Scars on the Heart*, *Pou Maumahara*, and *Pou Kanohi* at the Auckland Museum, and *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* at Te Papa Tongarewa demonstrate, changing museum practices in New Zealand enabled Māori involvement in the First World War to be acknowledged in exhibitions developed from the mid-1990s onwards. However, despite the Australian War Memorial's two travelling exhibitions focused on Indigenous war service, discussions of Indigenous Australians' war service have remained largely absent from the main First World War galleries. The absence of detailed narratives of Indigenous Australian war service from the permanent Australian War Memorial First World War galleries demonstrates that although war museums in many ways have the most opportunity to acknowledge Indigenous war service, this opportunity is not always put into practice.

Ultimately, each of the national sites of commemoration in Australia and New Zealand evolved over the past century to acknowledge Indigenous war service in different ways. However, the extent of this acknowledgement remains dependant on the interests of the groups involved in organising and facilitating each of the sites, as well as broader national pressures.

The second overarching finding is that the commemoration of Indigenous war service in both Australia and New Zealand follows an easily identifiable pattern. During the period of time in which the national sites of commemoration were being established (1918-1964), Indigenous war service was largely unacknowledged at a national level. While in Australia the explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian service was

## Conclusion

mostly absent in each of the major sites of commemoration (days of remembrance, the Australian War Memorial, and the War Memorial's museum), in New Zealand Māori service was acknowledged to a very limited extent in the national commemorative landscape. Throughout the contestation stage (1964-2004), political and social developments in both countries regarding the acknowledgement of Indigenous people more broadly laid the groundwork for the more explicit acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War service in both Australia and New Zealand. In New Zealand these structural changes had altered the national sites of commemoration by the 1990s, leading to the greater acknowledgement of Māori First World War service and the inclusion of Māori language and cultural rituals by the opening of the twenty-first century. In Australia, however, discussions around reconciliation were still contentious during the 1990s, and thus the acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian war service in national sites of commemoration remained limited and shaped by conservative values and ideals. Finally, during the lead up to the First World War centenary, although Indigenous war service was acknowledged at a national level in both Australia and New Zealand, the way in which this acknowledgement occurred varied significantly. In New Zealand, the adoption of an official bicultural policy on a national level meant that the acknowledgement of Māori war service in each of New Zealand's national sites of commemoration was an accepted element of the national commemorative project by 2014. Conversely, in each of the Australian national sites of commemoration Indigenous Australian war service was acknowledged through the creation of interrelated but separate sites, thus continuing to separate Indigenous Australian war service from the wider national commemorations.

While a similar pattern of development with regards to the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service can be identified in both Australia and New Zealand, the different rates with which this acknowledgement has occurred points to the importance of structural factors at a national level. In particular, this thesis has highlighted the evolving official/governmental attitude towards race relations with the national Indigenous populations in Australia and New Zealand as central in shaping the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service since 1918. In New Zealand, the early inclusion of Māori into certain aspects of political and social life in New Zealand facilitated the active inclusion of Māori in the N.Z.E.F. from the outbreak of the war. This inclusion in turn meant that Māori involvement in the First World War was acknowledged at a national level during

## Conclusion

the interwar years, as both the N.Z.E.F. and the New Zealand government had actively supported Māori war service. Biculturalism (albeit in an asymmetrical form that continued to prioritise Pākehā) was adopted as an official governmental policy in the 1980s and 1990s. As a result, the explicit acknowledgement of Māori participation in the First World War and the inclusion of Māori cultural rituals, symbols, and language into national sites of commemoration became a key element of this bicultural policy. In Australia, by contrast, the structural exclusion and isolation of Indigenous Australians limited the official national acceptance of Indigenous Australian war service. This in turn influencing the subsequent exclusion of Indigenous Australian narratives from early national sites of commemoration. An increasing focus on “reconciliation” at a national level has led to some acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian First World War service in national commemorative sights. However, this acknowledgement remains limited and typically separated from the mainstream commemorative sites, rather than integrated through explicit discussions in mainstream sites and the adoption of Indigenous languages, cultural rituals, and symbols. Thus, in New Zealand biculturalism has enabled Māori war service and cultural rituals to become an increasingly integral aspect of national sites of commemoration. However, in Australia the focus on “reconciliation” and the continuing debates around what role Indigenous Australians can and should occupy in broader Australian society has meant that the acknowledgement of Indigenous Australian war service remains separated from the overarching national commemorative narrative.

The acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War service in national commemorative sites, therefore, provides an important example of how different race-relations in Australia and New Zealand continue to influence the status of Indigenous peoples in both countries. By adopting a comparative approach to the acknowledgement of Indigenous war service in Australia and New Zealand, this thesis has demonstrated the ways in which such acknowledgement has historically relied, and continues to rely, on white Australian/Pākehā understandings of the role Indigenous populations should play in mainstream society. These racial assumptions informed not only the nature of Indigenous participation in the war, but the subsequent commemoration of this involvement at a national level in both countries.

While this thesis has provided an overview of the ways in which Indigenous Australian and Māori war service has been acknowledged in national sites of



## Conclusion

commemoration in Australia and New Zealand, some broader elements of the discussion have not been addressed due to the constraints of the thesis. The first is that the ways in which Pasifika First World War service, particularly that of the Rarotongan and Niuean contingents of the Māori Contingent and Pioneer (Māori) Battalion have been acknowledged in national New Zealand commemorations has not been discussed. 47 Rarotongan and 140 Niuean men were enlisted in the Māori units during the war, with an unknown number of others enlisted in the general body of the N.Z.E.F.<sup>4</sup> The commemoration of Pasifika soldiers from the N.Z.E.F. in national commemorations in New Zealand has not been investigated in the existing academic literature. Future research into how these soldiers have been acknowledged in national and local commemorations throughout New Zealand, would provide valuable insight into the role of Pasifika in New Zealand national and regional identities, as well as their role in the New Zealand Defence Force's history. This thesis has also focused only on the commemoration of Indigenous soldiers. However, the war service of Indigenous nurses has recently begun to gain academic attention. Winegard briefly mentions that “an unknown number of Māori nurses were also present in New Zealand field hospitals”, drawing on correspondence between Allen and Pomare regarding their deployment.<sup>5</sup> Only one Indigenous Australian nurse has been identified – Marion Leane Smith, a woman of English and Darug descent.<sup>6</sup> Further investigation into their wartime experiences and their inclusion in post-war commemorations would provide valuable insight into the intersection of race, gender, and war service in twentieth century Australia and New Zealand. Finally, future work on the topic could begin to explore the ways in which the commemoration of Indigenous war service can inform how colonial and frontier conflicts are discussed and commemorated.

The end of the First World War centenary does not mark the end of the commemoration of the conflict across the globe. For many academics, as well as those in the cultural heritage industry, the commemorations held globally for the centenary left

---

<sup>4</sup> Timothy Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions in the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 108. Winegard notes that this figure also includes men from Samoa, Fiji, Norfolk Island, Tonga, Hawaii, Society Islands Tahiti, Chatham Islands, Gilbert Islanders (Kiribati), Ocean Island, Penrhyn Island, and the French territory of the Tuamotus.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Allen to Pomare, 3 September 1915. 9/296 Box 7578, AD1. Archives New Zealand, Wellington; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples*, 218.

<sup>6</sup> Phillipa Scarlett, “An Indigenous Nurse in World War One: Marion Leane Smith” *Indigenous Histories* (2013). Accessed online 20 September 2019, <https://indigenoushistories.com/2013/10/30/an-indigenous-nurse-in-world-war-one-marion-leane-smith-smith/>.

## Conclusion

many questions unanswered. Did the efforts of academics, educators, heritage professionals, curators, and passionate veterans and community members alter how the general public perceives the First World War, particularly with regards to Indigenous and other non-white involvement in the conflict? As Puawai Cairns questioned, how can those passionate about expanding the representation of Indigenous peoples in national commemorations do so whilst still challenging “all of the things that actually need to be challenged as part of this memory canon ... militarisation, Imperialization, indoctrination, assimilation”.<sup>7</sup> What forms should the commemoration of Indigenous war service take moving beyond the centenary, and how readily can they or should they be integrated into national commemorative events? Can, as Noah Riseman suggests, the expansion of the national narrative of war service to include Indigenous Australians facilitate a more open discussion and commemoration of the Frontier Wars in Australia, and does the New Zealand experience offer any parallels or insights?<sup>8</sup> This thesis cannot answer these questions. It can, however, offer the beginnings of a conversation that moves beyond national borders to interrogate how different national understandings of race and belonging have shaped national commemorations and national narratives.

Edward Lewis Maynard and Donald Ferris both died fighting for their countries in the First World War. Over a century after their deaths, the experiences of Indigenous soldiers in the First World War are only just beginning to be acknowledged at a national level in Australian and New Zealand sites of commemoration. Ferris’s gravestone on the Gallipoli peninsula promised that “their glory shall not be blotted out”. Whether this is to truly be the case moving beyond the centenary is yet to be seen.

---

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Puawai Cairns, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, 28 November 2018.

<sup>8</sup> Riseman, “Evolving commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 32 no. 1 (2017): 93.

## Appendix I

Breakdown of Indigenous Australian Enlistments in the A.I.F. by year and state<sup>1</sup>

State/Year		NSW	QLD	WA	VIC	TAS	SA	NT	Total
1914	Enlisted	18	10	2	5	3	7	0	45
	Deployed	17	10	2	5	3	7	0	44
	Not Deployed	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Status Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1915	Enlisted	123	47	39	28	25	13	0	275
	Deployed	108	42	34	25	22	12	0	243
	Not Deployed	12	3	5	2	2	1	0	25
	Status Unknown	3	2	0	1	1	0	0	7
1916	Enlisted	197	62	41	42	35	27	2	406
	Deployed	168	58	21	36	31	27	1	342
	Not Deployed	25	3	18	5	3	0	1	55
	Status Unknown	4	1	2	1	1	0	0	9
1917	Enlisted	100	91	23	16	7	23	2	262
	Deployed	64	62	12	12	5	8	2	165
	Not Deployed	31	29	11	4	2	14	0	91
	Status Unknown	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	6
1918	Enlisted	69	29	8	10	2	1	1	120
	Deployed	22	23	2	5	1	0	1	54
	Not Deployed	44	6	6	5	1	1	0	63
	Status Unknown	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Total	Enlisted	507	239	113	101	72	71	5	1108
	Deployed	379	195	71	83	62	54	4	848
	Not Deployed	113	41	40	11	8	16	1	235
	Status Unknown	15	3	2	2	2	1	0	25

<sup>1</sup> Data for this table was compiled using the list of names provide in Phillipa Scarlett, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers for the AIF* (Macquarie: Indigenous Histories, 2012), 85-152, and from the Australian War Memorial's list of known Indigenous veterans, as well as primary research drawing on family links using the National Archives of Australia digitised collection of A.I.F. records (series B2455).

## Appendix II

### The Ode of Remembrance – translated into te reo Māori and English<sup>1</sup>

E kore rātou e kaumātuaia  
Pēnei i a tātou kua mahue nei  
E kore hoki rātou e ngoikore  
Ahakoa pehea i ngā āhuatanga o te wā  
I te hekenga atu o te rā  
Tae noa ki te aranga mai i te ata  
Ka maumahara tonu tātou ki a rātou.  
**Ka maumahara tonu tātou ki a rātou.**

They shall not grow old  
As we that are left grown old.  
Age shall not weary them,  
Nor the years condemn.  
At the going down of the sun  
And in the morning,  
We will remember them.  
**We will remember them.**

---

<sup>1</sup> “The Ode of Remembrance”, *Manatū Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage* (2018). Accessed online, 21 June 2019, <https://mch.govt.nz/ode-remembrance>.

### Appendix III

Transcriptions of Spoken Word Poetry from *Pou Kanohi*, Auckland War Memorial Museum

#### **“Avondale Racecourse”, Sheldon Rua<sup>1</sup>**

"We must not forget that our Māori friends are our equals in the sight of the law. Why then should they be deprived of the privilege of fighting and upholding the empire?"

Isn't it ironic that Māori had to fight in order to fight?  
It's 1914, and it takes a white man war between worlds  
For our Māori men to weave their warrior wairua (spirit)  
It takes a government denial of a race  
For them to pull up their sleeves  
Show they share the same skin  
Same blood,  
Same tupuna (ancestor)  
Is it a shame that we had to find unity through warfare?  
Winds of conflict sweep every iwi abroad  
For broad shoulders and proud spines they find  
500 brown hands raised  
Pull them from every crevice in this here Papatūānuku (Earth)  
Uproot them from their mother  
Confuse and mix ignorance with mana  
And serve them service on a silver platter.  
Avondale Racecourse.  
Birthplace of Te-Hokowhitu-a-Tu.  
500 strong who threw their hands up  
Pick me  
Tūmatauenga pick me  
Brown boys ready and eager to please the crown  
Not made for our rangatira (chiefs)  
Fighting to shine on the frontline  
Told that war is a glorious thing  
That it is a privilege  
An honour to hold the destiny  
Of a man in your hands.  
I guess it's easy to sell when you've mastered the art of colonisation.  
Te mamae te pouri e (pain and deep sadness)  
E patu nei i ahau inā (beats so within me)  
See I watched you  
Stand for a flag that did not bleed for us  
March into a war that wasn't yours

---

<sup>1</sup> Sheldon Rua, “Avondale Racecourse,” (2017). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TsauHl8DkJM>.

Declare yourself a warrior again as if you had something to prove  
As if your ancestors didn't wield taiaha (a long wooden weapon) in their hearts  
As if you had given up fighting  
Ten years on they were still fighting  
With lovers turned nurses for post traumatic taniwha (a monster) that would soon  
swallow them like a backhand full of alcohol  
One hundred years on we are still fighting  
For an equal war  
For support  
For a government that doesn't deny our brown boys for a chance to be Māori  
For a chance to feel Māori  
So I stand  
With the Pioneer Battalion and throw my hands up  
In pride  
Hands up  
In power  
Hands up  
In prayer  
Hands up  
In haka  
Hands up fists closed  
Ode to our poly panthers who oppose  
Hands up  
Pick me  
Hands up  
Pick me  
Hands up  
Palms open  
Asking you  
To join us  
For today we pick up our taiaha  
Put on our own crowns  
Fruits of our ancestors fight generationally drip down from the corners of our mouths  
See this is real  
This is raw  
This is still war  
But victory  
Is sweet today

## “Auckland Domain”, Onehou Strickland<sup>2</sup>

A story in the rākau (tree)  
Bearing witness in silence  
A sea of stale green stand in the calm  
Bid farewell  
Until we meet again  
See the waka of boys travel to the horizon  
See the waka of men return  
Planting, reunion  
In the curves of Auckland Domain.  
It departed from the harbour  
And has come back round here  
Like a hui [(meeting)] with the Gods  
Asking Tangaroa for his good graces  
As soldiers cross waters into unknown fates  
Calling, Tūmataunga forth  
To travel with our sons guard their hand in battle  
Praying, wairua tapu (sacred spirit)  
Many times over guide him home  
Back to these arms in this life  
Or so be the next.  
The waka (canoe/boat) departed from the harbour  
And has come back round here  
Ushering bodies of men with souls more blistered fragments from the machinery of war  
With mothers and children and children yet to come  
Caught breathless between thousands of bodies  
Finding, father again.  
Mothers hold men,  
Remind them of their boyhood  
Mothers hold men,  
Remind them of their boys  
Walk the grief sick journey away from the grounds  
Finishing the mile long trek he begun  
For every five mothers who stood amongst the crowd  
There was one whose farewell was final  
When the waka departed from the harbour.  
We have stood here before to commemorate at dawn  
Touched our fingers to Portland stone  
In hopes the gates of history would reopen and welcome us at the newly risen light  
A hundred years on this place still holds an untouched wairua  
A silence chill

---

<sup>2</sup> Onehou Strickland, “Auckland Domain,” (2017). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9w35wAJc87M>.

Some may have felt  
But now only the grounds itself truly knows.  
This, is a story in the rākau  
Arising from the belly of the domain  
Their wisdom growing watching from afar  
Death and joy dance together in a pit of people  
It would seem only moments ago  
That these returned faces were that of boys  
With a send off  
An embrace.  
Hands trembled at the sides of her hips  
Wailing haere rā (goodbye)  
Go forth with our sons  
Face the fear and terror head on  
Ka tū te ihihi (Face up to the fear)  
Ka tū te wanawana (Fight the terror)  
E tū iho nei (Fight up there)  
Ko Tūmatauenga (Tūmatauenga)  
Māu tēnei karanga (This call is for you)  
Show your chiselled face  
And go forth with our sons  
And in the light of battle be strong  
Kia kaha [(be strong)]  
We call you forward when the soldiers depart  
And bid you farewell on return.  
Uplift the fiery wairua  
Leave the war on the Anzac shores  
For the poppies to grow from  
Rebirthing and healing the men who did not die  
But there is shrapnel left  
No pliers or prayer could extract.  
From soldiers  
Are now men again  
But the war continues on indoors  
Anxious nights and exhausted journeys  
Carved deep in the valleys of their eyes  
Lest we forget, they cried  
As if you ever could  
Even if we tried.



## Bibliography

### **Primary Sources**

#### Archival Material

##### **Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.**

Apirana Ngata, "The Māori in the Second World War". Unpublished manuscript (1943), MS-Papers-6919-0234, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

##### **Andrew Bonar Law Papers, House of Lords Record Office/Parliamentary Archives, London, UK.**

Memorandum: Colonial Office to Governors-General and Administrators of British Dominions, Colonies and Protectorates, 8 October 1915. BL/55/16.

##### **Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Wellington, New Zealand (ANZ)**

Ceremonies, Entertainments, etc. – Memorial war – National, R22430149.

Establishments and Recruitment – Recruiting for the NZEF [New Zealand Expeditionary Force] – (Māori), R22431258.

Expeditionary Force – Māori s offering Services in Expeditionary Force, R22429025.

Expeditionary Force – Māori Contingent, R22429031.

Expeditionary Force – Māori s Relieving Section of Troops in Samoa, R22429032.

Military Personnel Files – AABK 18805 W5530/5

Reports on Māori contingent officers returned to New Zealand by GOC [General Officer Commanding] November 1916-October 1920, R3885593.

##### **Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia**

Australian Army Medical Corps files (Tait Collection), AWM32.

Australian War Memorial Council and related committee records, AWM170.

Australian War Memorial Registry Files – First Series, AWM93.

Australian War Memorial Museum Sydney Exhibition registry files, AWM265.

**Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland, New Zealand.**

Annual Report Archive. <http://annualreportarchive.aucklandmuseum.com/index>.

Ephemera – War – Commemorative Services, EPH4-W1-4.

**Lewis Vernon Harcourt Papers, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Oxford, United Kingdom.**

General correspondence, including some internal Colonial Office correspondence, 1910-1915. MS. Harcourt 468.

**National Archives of Australia, Canberra, Australia.**

First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers, 1914-1920, B2445.

Governor Generals correspondence relating to the war of 1914-1918 [War Files], A11803.

Correspondence files, annual single number series [Main correspondence files series of the agency], 1903-1938, A1.

Correspondence files, multiple number series, first system, 1915-1923, A457.

**New Zealand Returned Services' Association Dominion Headquarters, Wellington, New Zealand.**

Minutes of Dominion Executive Committee of the New Zealand Returned Services' Association Meeting, 5 May 1970 (Appendix).

**Victoria Public Records Office, Melbourne, Australia.**

Board for the Protection of Aborigines to Manager of Lake Tyers Station, 23 February 1916, VPRS 10309.

Images

“Aerial View of the Australian War Memorial from the North-West” (1941)

Photograph. P01313.002. Australian War Memorial. Canberra, Australia.

“Arrangement of Australian War Museum”. Photograph. Melbourne: Australia. April 1922. J00292.

“Auckland Institute and Museum Coat of Arms”. (1928) Watercolour on Paper. PD-171-4-3. Auckland War Memorial Museum. Auckland, New Zealand.

Baker, Alec, Eric Kumanara Mungi Barney, Pepai Jangala Carroll, Taylor Cooper, Witjiti George, Willy Kaika, Kumanara (Breton) Ken, Kumanara (Ray) Ken, Dickie Marshall, Kumanara (willy Muntjanti) Martin, Peter Mungkuri, Kumanara (Jimmy) Pompey, Keith Stevens, Bernard Tjalkuri, Thomas Ilytjari Tjilya, Ginger Wilkilyiri, Mick Wilkilyiri, Kumanara (Mumu Mike) Williams, Frank Young, Kulatanku Angakanyini manta munu Tjukurpa [Country and Culture will be protected by spears]. Acrylic on linen. Painted in Nyapari, Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands, South Australia (2017). Acquired under commission by the Australian War Memorial. AWM2017.912.1 Australian War Memorial. Canberra, Australia.

Burton, Steve. “Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Australian War Memorial”, (2013). Photograph. PAIU 2013/193.12. Australian War Memorial. Canberra, Australia.

“Opening of the Auckland War Memorial Museum” (1929) Photographic Negative. PH-NEG-5787. Auckland War Memorial Museum. Auckland, New Zealand.

Raine, William Hall. “National War Memorial, Wellington. Dedication of the National War Memorial Carillon, in Wellington, on Anzac Day, 25 April 1932” (1932). Photograph. 1/1-018026-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Sodersteen, Emil and John Crust, “The accepted joint architectural design by Emil Sodersteen and John Crust of the Australian War Memorial”, (1927) Sketch. Architectural Drawings Collection, Drawer 3, Item 5. Australian War Memorial. Canberra, Australia.

### Interviews

Cairns, Puawai. Interviewed by author, Wellington, 28 November 2018.

Proctor, Ian. Interviewed by author, Auckland, 3 December 2018.

## Newspapers & Online News Media

### **Australia**

Australian Broadcasting Corporation News (Brisbane, QLD)

Canberra Times (Canberra, ACT)

Evening Post (Sydney, NSW)

Lithgow Mercury (Lithgow, NSW)

The Adelaide Review (Adelaide, SA)

The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA)

The Age (Melbourne, VIC)

The Argus (Melbourne, VIC)

The Australian (Sydney, NSW)

The Chronicle (Adelaide, SA)

The Evening Telegraph (Charters Towers, Qld)

The Mirror (Sydney, NSW)

The Mercury (Hobart, TAS)

The News (Adelaide, SA)

The Sydney Morning Herald (Sydney, NSW)

The Telegraph (Brisbane, Qld)

The West Australian (Perth, NSW)

Townsville Daily Bulletin (Townsville, Qld)

### **New Zealand**

Evening Post (Wellington)

Nelson Evening Mail (Nelson)

New Zealand Listener (Auckland)

Radio New Zealand (Wellington)

Otago Daily Times (Dunedin)

The Dominion (Wellington, NZ)

The New Zealand Gazette (Wellington)

Timaru Herald (Timaru)

## Parliamentary Acts

Auckland Museum Act 1996 (NZ)

Australian Constitution 1901 (Cth)

Defence Act 1909 (Cth)

Military Service Act 1916 (NZ)

Native Land Act 1909 (NZ)

## Press Releases

Manatu Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage. “Māori Ode of Remembrance recognises women in uniform”. Media release. 30 July 2015, last updated 11 April 2016.

<https://mch.govt.nz/māori-ode-of-remembrance-recognises-women-in-uniform>

Australian War Memorial. “Strong crowd numbers for Anzac Day Dawn Service – 2019”, Media release. 25 April 2019. <https://www.awm.gov.au/media/press-releases/DawnService2019>

<https://www.awm.gov.au/media/press-releases/DawnService2019>

Australian War Memorial. “Thousands attend Anzac Day 2019 National Ceremony”.

Media Release. 25 April 2019. <https://www.awm.gov.au/media/press-releases/National-Ceremony2019>

Auckland War Memorial Museum. “Auckland Museum opens new commemorative gallery – Pou Maumahara Memorial Discovery Centre”. Media Release. 10 November 2016. <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/media/media-releases/2016/commemorative-gallery-pou-maumahara-opens>

Auckland War Memorial Museum. “New WWI gallery to open at Auckland Museum” Media Release. 7 September 2017. <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/media/media-releases/2017/new-ww1-gallery>

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. “Te Papa extends Gallipoli exhibition to Anzac Day 2022.” Press Release. 24 April 2019.

<https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/press-and-media/press-releases/2019-media-releases/te-papa-extends-gallipoli-exhibition-anzac>

Returned Services League, Western Australia. “We are not banning the First Nations flag.” Press Release. 21 February 2020. <https://www.rslwa.org.au/news/rslwa-media-release-we-are-not-banning-the-first-nations-flag/>

### Printed Primary Material

Armistice Centenary National Ceremony – Pukeahu National War Memorial Park – 11 November 2018. Official order of service programme.

Auckland War Memorial Museum, Future Museum: Auckland Museum – Master Plan. Auckland: Auckland Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira, 2012.

Australian Public Service Commission, Commonwealth Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Employment Strategy. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2015.

Bleakley, J.W. The Aborigines of Australia: Their History – Their Habits – Their Assimilation. Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1961.

Carkeek, Rikihana. Home Little Māori Home: A Memoir of the Māori Contingent 1914-1916. Wellington: Tōtika Publications Ltd., 2003.

Cheeseman, Thomas. The First Fifty Years of the Auckland Institute and Museum, and its Future Aims: a Jubilee Sketch. Auckland: Wilson & Horton, 1917.

Guide to the Australian War Memorial Canberra Eleventh Edition. (Sydney: Halstead Press Pty Ltd., 1950).

Huggonson, David. Too Dark for the Light Horse: an exhibition of photographs & documents depicting Aboriginal involvement in the Australian Army at the Albury Regional Museum, August 11<sup>th</sup>-September 27<sup>th</sup>. Albury, NSW: Albury Regional Museum, 1988.

Kilford, Angela. Welcoming Our Warriors Home: Wellington's Pōhutukawa. Wellington: NZ Transport Agency/Memorial Park Alliance, 2014.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Policy for the Selection and Management of Memorials within the Pukeahu National War Memorial Park. Wellington: Manatū Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2013.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Pukeahu National War Memorial Park Vision, Values and Mission Statements. Wellington: Manatū Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2013.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Pukeahu National War Memorial Park: International Memorials Selection, Location and Design Guidelines. Wellington: Manatū Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017.

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates. Volume 175, 9 May – 15 June 1916. Wellington, New Zealand.

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates. Volume 187, 6 August-24 September 1920. Wellington. New Zealand.

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates. Volume 192, 3 November – 14 December 1921. Wellington, New Zealand.

Parliamentary Handbook of the Commonwealth of Australia, 33rd Edition. Canberra: Department of Parliamentary Services, 2014.

Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, Report together with Minutes of Evidence relating to the proposed Australian War Memorial, Canberra. Canberra: H.J. Green Government Printer, 1928.

Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, “The War Memorial redevelopment of the First World War Galleries” Report 1/2013 – Referrals made May to November 2012. Canberra: Parliament of Australia, 2013.

Pukeahu National War Memorial Park Official Opening. Booklet. Wellington: Manatu Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 18 April 2015.

War Memorial: gallery master plan. Canberra: War Memorial, 1995.

War Memorial Museum: The Relics and Records of Australia’s Effort in the Defence of the Empire, 1914-1918. Guidebook. 1925.

### Speeches & Spoken Media

Keating, Paul. “Remembrance Day 1993”. Commemorative Address. 11 November 1993. <https://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/speeches/keating-remembrance-day-1993>.

Nelson, Brendan. “Our Vision”. National Press Club Address. 18 September 2013. <https://www.awm.gov.au/about/our-work/projects/our-vision>.

Rua, Sheldon. “Avondale Racecourse.” Spoken Word Poem. 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TsauHI8DkJM>

Strickland, Onehou. “Auckland Domain.” Spoken Word Poem. 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9w35wAJc87M>

## Secondary Sources

### Articles

Attwood, Bain. "Unsettling pasts: reconciliation and history in settler Australia." *Postcolonial Studies* 8 no. 3 (2005): 243-259.

Barsh, Russel. "American Indians in the Great War." *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 3 (1991): 276-303.

Beckstead, Zachary, Gabriel Twose, Emily Levesque-Gottlieb, and Julia Rizzo, "Collective remembering through the materiality and organisation of war memorials." *Journal of Material Culture* 16, no. 2 (2011): 193-213.

Beer, Chris. "Spectacle, Urban Governance and the Politics of Nationhood: Canberra and the Production of Anzac Day Commemorations and Australia Day Live." *Urban Policy and Research* 27 no. 1 (2009): 59-72.

Belich, John. "Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand." *New Zealand History Journal* 31, no. 1 (1997): 9-22.

Bennett, James. "Lest we forget black diggers: recovering Aboriginal Anzacs on television." *Journal of Australian Studies* 38, no.4 (2014): 457-475.

Bevan-Smith, John. "'Lest We Remember/Lest We Forget': Gallipoli as Exculpatory Memory." *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 18 (2014): 2-22.

Brennan, Anne. "Lest We Forget: Military Myths, Memory, and Canberra's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Memorial." *Memory Connection* 1, no. 1 (2011): 35-44.

Bull, Anna Cento, Hans Lauge Hansen, Wulf Kansteiner, and Nina Parish. "War museums as agonistic spaces: possibilities, opportunities and constraints." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25 no. 6 (2019): 611-625.

Clark, Anna. "The Place of Anzac in Australian Historical Consciousness." *Australian Historical Studies* 48, no. 1 (2017): 19-34.

Coates, Natalie. "A Consideration of the Place of Pōwhiri in the State Sector." *Journal of South Pacific Law* 2012, no. 1 (2012): 5-14.

Conde, Anne-Marie. "Capturing the Records of War: Collecting at the Mitchell Library and Australian War Memorial." *Australian Historical Studies* 125 (2005): 134-152.



- Davison, Graeme. "The habit of commemoration and the revival of Anzac Day." *Australian Cultural History* 23 (2003): 73-82.
- Due, Clemence. "Lest We Forget': Creating an Australian National Identity from Memories of War." *Melbourne Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (2008): 23-39.
- Donoghue, Jed and Bruce Tranter, "The Anzacs: Military influences on Australian identity." *Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 3 (2015): 449-463.
- Eldridge, Claire. 'The Forgotten of this Tribute': Settler Soldiers, Colonial Categories and the Centenary of the First World War." *History and Memory* 31, no. 2 (2019): 3-44.
- Everett, Kristina. "Welcome to Country...Not." *Oceania* 79, no. 1 (2009): 53-64.
- Fauvel, Maryse. "Museums as sites of memory and oblivion: the persistence of alterity in museums of the Western World." *Contemporary French Civilisation* 40, no. 3 (2014): 331-349.
- Fletcher, Alison. "Recruitment and Service of Māori Soldiers in World War One." *Itinerario* 38, no. 3 (2014): 59-78.
- Gall-Haultan, Matthew. "Same old relics, same old story? Displaying the third battle of Ypres at the War Memorial, past and present." *History Australia* 14.3 (2017): 444-460.
- Hall, Robert. "Black Australians and the Anzac Legend." *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 16 (1990): 51-52.
- Hamilton, Paula. "Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape." Review of *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, by Ken Inglis, *Australian Historical Studies* 30, no. 113 (1999): 353.
- Henry, Matthew. "Making New Zealanders through commemoration: Assembling Anzac Day in Auckland, 1916-1939." *New Zealand Geographer* 62, no. 1 (2006): 3-12.
- Horton, Jessica. "'Willing to Fight to a man': The First World War and Aboriginal Activism in the Western District of Victoria." *Aboriginal History* 39 (2015): 203-222.
- Huggonson, David. "The Dark Diggers of the AIF." *The Australian Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (1989): 352-357.
- Huggonson, David. "Aborigines and the Aftermath of the Great War." *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1 (1993): 2-9.

- Huggonson, David. "The White Australia Ideal and Australia's Defence Policy." *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 17, no. 8 (2000): 373-379.
- Ignatieff, M. "Soviet war memorials." *History Workshop* 17 (1984): 156-163
- Inglis, Ken, and Jock Phillips, "War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand." *Australian Historical Studies* 24, no. 96 (1991): 179-191.
- Inglis, Ken. "World War One Memorials in Australia." *Guerres mondiales et conflit contemporains* 167 *Les Monument aux Mort de la Premiere Guerre Mondiale* (1992): 51-58.
- Inglis, Ken. "Entombing Unknown Soldiers: From London and Paris to Baghdad." *History and Memory* 5, no. 2 (1993): 7-31.
- Inglis, Ken. "The Unknown Australian Soldier." *Journal of Australian Studies*, 60 (1999): 8-17.
- Johnson, Nuala. "Mapping Monuments: the shaping of public space and cultural identities." *Visual Communication* 1, no. 3 (2002): 293-298.
- Kansteiner, Wulf "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies." *History and Theory* 41 (2002): 179-197.
- Light, Rowan. "Unknown Anzacs: The Politics and Performance of Bodily Repatriation in Postcolonial State Formation." *Australian Historical Studies* 49, no. 2 (2018): 237-254.
- Macleod, Jenny. "The fall and rise of Anzac Day: 1965 and 1990 compared." *War and Society* 20, no. 1 (2002): 149-168.
- Mayes, Robyn. "Origins of the Anzac Day ceremony: spontaneity and nationhood." *Journal of Australian Studies* 33 no. 1 (2009): 51-65.
- McConville, Alex, Tim McCreanor, Margaret Wetherell, Helen Moewaka Barnes, "Imagining an Emotional nation: the print media an Anzac Day commemorations in Aotearoa New Zealand." *Media, Culture & Society* 39, no. 1 (2017): 94-110.
- McGregor, Russell. "Another nation: Aboriginal Activism in the Late 1960s and Early 1970s." *Australian Historical Studies* 40, no. 3 (2009): 343-360.

- McKenna, Mark. "Tokenism or belated recognition? Welcome to Country and the emergence of Indigenous protocol in Australia, 1991-2014." *Journal of Australian Studies* 38, no. 4 (2014): 476-489.
- McKernan, Amy. "Discomfort at the War Memorial: learning the trauma of war." *History Australia* 14, no. 1 (2017): 99-114.
- Mein Smith, Phillipa. "The 'NZ' in Anzac: different remembrance and meaning." *First World War Studies* 7, no. 2 (2016): 193-211
- Murray, Sarah. "The Empire Called and the Dominions Responded: Remembering the First World War in New Zealand." *The Northern Review* 44 (2017): 415-426.
- O'Connor, P.S. "The Recruitment of Māori Soldiers, 1914-1918." *Political Science* 19 (1967): 48-83.
- Oakley, Gary. "Honouring Service and Sacrifice: Yinimadyemi – Thou didst let fall." *Art Monthly Australia* 278 (2015): 62-63.
- Phillips, Jock and Ken Inglis, "War Memorials in Australia and New Zealand: A comparative survey." *Australian Historical Studies* 24, no. 96 (1991): 179-191.
- Phipps, Gareth. "Bringing our boy home: The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior and Contemporary War Remembrance." *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 10 (2011): 159-184.
- Powell, Damien. "Remembrance Day: Memories and Values in Australia since 1918." *Victorian Historical Journal* 75, no. 2 (2004): 165-188.
- Riseman, Noah. "Introduction: Brothers and Sisters in Arms." *Wicazo Sa Review* 32, no. 1 (2017): 5-8.
- Riseman, Noah. "Evolving Commemorations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service." *Wicazo Sa Review* 32, no. 1 (2017): 80-101.
- Riseman, Noah. "Just another start to the denigration of Anzac Day': Evolving Commemorations of Australian LGBTI Military Service." *Australian Historical Studies* 48 no. 1 (2017): 35-51.
- Robinson, Helen. "Lest We Forget? The Fading of New Zealand War Commemorations, 1946-1966." *New Zealand Journal of History* 44, no. 1 (2010): 79-91.
- Ross, Kirstie. "Conceiving and Calibrating Gallipoli: The Scale of our War." *Museums Australia Magazine* 24, no. 1 (2015): 23-30.

Roudometof, Victor. "Introduction: Beyond Commemoration: The Politics of Collective Memory." *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 31, no. 2 (2003): 161-169.

Scarlett, Phillipa. "Aboriginal Service in the First World War: Identity, recognition, and the problem of mateship." *Aboriginal History* 39 (2015): 163-181.

Scates, Bruce, Rae Frances, Keir Reeves, Frank Bongiorno, Martin Crotty, Gareth Knapman, Graham Seal, Annette Becker, Andrew Reeves, Tim Soutphommasane, Kevin Blackburn, Stephen J. Clarke, Peter Stanely, Andrew Hoskins, Jay Winter, Carl Bridge, Laura James, Rebecca Wheatley, Leah Riches, Alexandra McCosker, Simon Sleight. "Anzac Day at Home and Abroad: Towards a History of Australia's National Day." *History Compass* 10 no. 7 (2012): 523-536.

Scott, James. "Objects and the Representation of War in Military Museums." *Museum & Society* 13 no. 4 (2015): 489-501.

Sullivan, Tim, Lynda Kelly, and Phil Gordon. "Museums and Indigenous People in Australia: A Review of Previous Possessions, New Obligations: Policies for Museums in Australia and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples." *Curator: The Museum Journal* 46, no. 2 (2003): 208-227.

Tinsley, Meghan. "'We Will Re-Member Them': Muslims in the Great War Semi-Centenary." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 14, no. 3 (2014): 399-417.

Twomey, Christina. "Trauma and the Reinvigoration of Anzac." *History Australia* 10, no. 3 (2013): 85-108.

Walker, James. "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force." *Canadian Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (1989): 1-26.

Walton, Alexandra. "Australia in the Great War, War Memorial, Canberra." *Australian Historical Studies* 46, no. 2 (2015): 304-307.

Waterton, Emma and Jason Dittmer. "The museum as assemblage: bringing forth affect at the Australian War Memorial." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 29 no. 2 (2014): 122-139.

Winegard, Timothy. "A Case Study of Indigenous Brothers in Arms during the First World War." *Australian Army Journal* 6, no. 1 (2009): 191-206.

Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 no. 4 (2006): 387-409.

Worthy, Scott. "Communities of Remembrance: Making Auckland's War Memorial Museum." *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 4 (2004): 599-618.

### Books

Aldrich, Robert. *Vestiges of the Colonial Empire in France: Monuments, Museums and Colonial Memories*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Alexander, Edward P. *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Function of Museums*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1979.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London & New York: Verso, 2006.

Armitage, Andrew. *Comparing the Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995.

Baker, Paul. *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, conscription, and the Great War*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988.

Ball, Desmond. *Aborigines in the Defence of Australia*. Sydney: Australian National University Press, 1991.

Beaumont, Joan. *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2013.

Belich, James. *Paradise Reforged: A History of New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.

Bell, Ian. *Australian Army Mobilisation in 1914*. Canberra: Australian Army History Unit, 2016.

Borg, Alan. *War Memorials: from antiquity to modernity*. London: Leo Cooper, 1991.

Britten, Thomas. *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

Butler, Arthur Graham. *The Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services in the war of 1914 to 1918. Vol. III. Special problems and services*. Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1943.

- Cadzow, Allison, and Mary Anne Jebb, eds. *Our Mob Served: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Histories of War and Defending Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2019.
- Condliffe, JB. *Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1971.
- Cowan, James. *The Maoris in the Great War*. Auckland: Māori Regimental Committee, 1926.
- Damousi, Joy. *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory and Wartime Bereavement in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Damousi, Joy. *Living with the Aftermath: trauma, nostalgia and grief in post-war Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Das, Santanu. *India, Empire, and First World War Culture: Writings, Images, and Songs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Evans, Julie, Patricia Grimshaw, David Philips, and Shurlee Swain. *Equal subjects, unequal rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- Gardiner, Wira. *Te Mura O Te Ahi: The Story of the Māori Battalion*. Auckland: Reed Books, 1992.
- Gower, Steve. *The War Memorial: A Century on from the Vision*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2019.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Hanson, Neil. *The unknown soldier: the story of the missing of the Great War*. London: Doubleday, 2007.
- Harris, Aroha. *Hikoi: Forty Years of Māori Protest*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2004.
- Headrick, Daniel. *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Hodgen, Margaret. *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.

- Holbrook, Carolyn. *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography*. Sydney: NewSouth Press, 2014.
- Inglis, Ken. *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998.
- Jackomos, Alick, and Derek Fowell. *Forgotten Heroes: Aborigines at war from the Somme to Vietnam*. Melbourne. Melbourne: Victoria Press, 1993.
- Kartinyeri, Doreen. *Ngarrindjeri Anzacs*. Adelaide: Aboriginal Family History Project, South Australian Museum & Raukkan Council, 1996.
- Kavanaugh, Gaynor. *Museums and the First World War: A Social History*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994.
- King, Michael. *Te Paea: A Biography*. Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977.
- Lake, Marilyn and Henry Reynold (eds.) *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010.
- Luckins, Tanja. *The Gates of Memory: Australian People's Experiences and Memories of Loss and the Great War*. Fremantle: Curtin University Press, 2004.
- Macdonald, Sharon, ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.
- Macintyre, Stuart and Anna Clark. *The History Wars*. Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 2003.
- Mackenzie, John. *Museums and Empire: Natural history, human cultures and colonial identities*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2009.
- Maclean, Chris and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*. Wellington: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1990.
- Maclean, Chris. *For Whom the Bells Toll*, Wellington: Heritage Group Department of Internal Affairs, 1998.
- Mann, Jatinder. *Redefining Citizenship in Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2019.
- Markus, Andrew. *Australian Race Relations*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994.

- McKernan, Michael. *Here is their spirit: a history of the Australian War Memorial 1917-1990*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press in association with the Australian War Memorial, 1991.
- Mein-Smith, Philippa. *A Concise History of New Zealand*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Meyer, Andrea, Bénédict Savoy and Lars Blunk, eds. *The Museum is Open: Towards a Transnational History of Museums 1750-1940*. Berlin: De Gruyter Inc., 2013.
- Morris, Barry. *Protest, land rights and riots: Postcolonial struggles in Australia in the 1980s*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2013.
- Mosse, George. *The Nationalisation of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*. New York: Howard Fertig, 1975.
- Mosse, George. *The Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Moyd, Michelle. *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa*. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2014.
- Phillips, Ruth. *Museum Pieces: Towards the Indigenisation of Canadian Museums*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.
- Powell A.W.B., ed. S.G. Brooker, Christina Troup, and E.G. Turbott. *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum*. Auckland: Council of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 1967.
- Prior, Robin. *Gallipoli: The End of the Myth*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2009.
- Pugsley, Christopher. *Te Hokowhitu a Tu: The Māori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War*. Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2006.
- Reid, John. *Australian Artists at War: Compiled from the Australian War Memorial Collection*. Volume 1: 1885-1925. South Melbourne: Sun Books, 1977.
- Richards, Thomas. *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*. New York: Verso, 1993.



- Richardson, Donald. *Creating Remembrance: The Art and Design of Australian War Memorials*. Champaign, Illinois: Common Group Publishing LLC, 2015.
- Riseman, Noah, Shirleene Robinson and Graham Willett. *Serving in Silence: Australian LGBT Servicemen and Women*. Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2014.
- Riseman, Noah. In *Defence of Country: Life Stories of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Servicemen and Women*. Canberra: Aboriginal History, 2016.
- Riseman, Noah, and Richard Trembath. *Defending Country: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Military Service since 1945*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2016.
- Robson, Leslie Lloyd. *The first A.I.F.: a study of its recruitment 1914-1918*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1970.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf, distributed by Random House, 1993.
- Sandell, Richard. *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference*. London & New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Scarlett, Philippa. *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers for the AIF. Macquarie, ACT: Indigenous Histories*, 2015.
- Scates, Bruce. *A Place to Remember: The History of the Shrine of Remembrance*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Seal, Graham. *Inventing Anzac: The Digger and National Mythology*. St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2004.
- Sheets-Pyenson, Susan. *Cathedrals of science: the development of colonial natural history museums during the late nineteenth century*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.
- Sheftall, Mark. *Altered Memories of the Great War: Divergent Narratives of Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada*. London & New York: I.B Tauris, 2009.
- Soutar, Monty. *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E!: Māori in the First World War*. Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2019.
- Spillman, Lyn. *Nation and commemoration: Creating national identities in the United States and Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Wellington, Jennifer. *Exhibiting War: The Great War, Museums, and Memory in Britain, Canada, and Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Winegard, Timothy. *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Winter, Jay, and Antoine Prost. *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Winter, Jay. *Remembering War: The Great War Between History and Memory in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006.

Wittman, Laura. *The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Modern Mourning and the Reinvention of the Mystical Body*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.

Wolfe, Richard. *A Noble Prospect: 75 Years of the Auckland Museum Building*. Auckland: Auckland War Memorial Museum, 2004.

Ziino, Bart. *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War*. Crawley, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2007.

### Book Chapters

Abel, Sue. "Māori Television, Anzac Day, and Constructing 'Nationhood'." In *The Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by B. Hokowhitu and V. Devadas, 201-215. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

Ashplant, T.G., Graham Dawson and Michael Roper. "The politics of war memory and commemoration: Contexts, structures and dynamics." In *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, edited by T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 3-85. London & New York: Routledge, 2000.

Assmann, Jan "Communicative and Cultural Memory." In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, 109-118. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.

- Barringer, Tim and Tom Flynn, "Introduction." In *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, edited by Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, 1-8. London & New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Bayly, Christopher. "The British and indigenous peoples, 1760-1860: power, perception and identity." In *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, edited by Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern, 19-41.
- Beaumont, Joan. "Commemoration." In *Serving Our Country: Indigenous Australians, War, Defence and Citizenship*, edited by Joan Beaumont and Alison Cadzow, 201-212. Sydney: NewSouth Press, 2018.
- Butts, David. "Māori and museums: the politics of Indigenous recognition." In *Museums, Society, Inequality*, edited by Richard Sandell, 225-243. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Clunas, Craig. "China in Britain: The Imperial Collections." In *Colonialism and the Object: Material Culture and the Museum*, edited by Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, 41-51. London & New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Curthoys, Ann. "National narratives, war commemoration and racial exclusion in a settler society: The Australian case." In *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, edited by T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, 128-144. London & New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Damousi, Joy. "Why do we get so emotional about Anzac?" In *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, edited by Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, 45-70. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010.
- Dittmer, Jason and Emma Waterton. "Embodied Memory at the Australian War Memorial." In *Memory, Place and Identity: Commemoration and Remembrance of War and Conflict*, edited by Danielle Drozdowski, Sarah de Nardi, Emma Waterton, 169-188. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Eichstedt, Jennifer. "Museums and (In)Justice." In *Museum Philosophy for the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Hugh Genoways, 127-137. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006.
- Fulbrook, Mary. "History-writing and 'collective memory'." In *Writing the History of Memory*, edited by Stefan Berger and Bill Niven, 65-88. London & New York: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Gould, Ashley. "Different Race, Same Queen': Māori and the War." In *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War 1899-1902*, edited by John Crawford and Ian McGibbon, 119-127. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003.

Haami, Bradford. "Māori in the Armed Forces." In *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, edited by Ian McGibbon, 301-303. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Hacker, Barton C. and Margaret Vining. "Military Museums and Social History." In *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representations of Violence in Exhibitions*, edited by Wolfgang Muchitsch, 41-59. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014.

Hobsbawm, Eric "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger, 1-14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Kaplan, Flora Edouwaye. "Making and Remaking National Identities." In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, 152-169. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Karp, Ivan and Steven Lavine, "Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, 2-5. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Kelly, Lynda and Phil Gordon, "Developing a community of practice: museums and reconciliation in Australia." In *Museums, Society, Inequality*, edited by Richard Sandell, 153-174. London: Routledge, 2002.

Lackenbauer, P. Whitney, and R. Scott Sheffield, "Moving Beyond 'Forgotten': The Historiography on Canadian Native Peoples in the world wars." In *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historiographical Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield, and Craig Leslie Mantle, 209-232. Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007.

Macleod, Jenny. "The Gallipoli Centenary: an International Perspective." In *War and Commemoration*, edited by Brad West, 89-106. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Maynard John. "The First World War.", In *Serving Our Country*, edited by Joan Beaumont and Allison Cadzow, 55-68. Sydney: NewSouth Press, 2018.

McKenna, Mark. "Anzac Day: How did it become Australia's national day?" In *What's Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, edited by Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, 110-134. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010.

McQuilton, John. "Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space." In *Gallipoli: Making History*, edited by Jenny Macleod, 150-158. London: Routledge, 2004.

Nora, Pierre. "From Lieux de Memoire to Realms of Memory." In *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past, Volume I*, edited by Pierre Nora, xv-xxiv. New York: Columbia University Press.

Oliver, Graham. "Naming the dead, writing the individual: classical traditions and commemorative practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." In *Cultures of Commemoration: War Memorials, ancient and modern*, edited by Polly Low, Graham Oliver and Peter Rhodes, 113-134. Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 2012.

Page, Melvin. "Introduction: Black Men in a White Man's War." In *Africa and the First World War*, edited by Melvin Page and Andy McKinlay, 1-27. London: Macmillan, 1987.

Pratt, Rod. "Queensland's Aborigines in the First AIF", In *Aboriginal Peoples and Military Participation: Canadian and International Perspectives*, edited by P. Whitney Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield and Craig Leslie Mantle, 215-236. Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007 [1990].

Prost, Antoine. "Monuments to the Dead." In *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past Volume II: Traditions*, edited by Pierre Nora, 307-332. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Pugsley, Christopher. "Stories of Anzac." In *Gallipoli: Making History*, edited by Jenny Macleod, 44-58. London: Routledge, 2004.

Pugsley, Christopher. "Images of Te Hokowhitu A Tu in the First World War." In *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, 194-210. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Riseman, Noah. "Enduring Silences, Enduring Prejudices: Australian Aboriginal Participation in the First World War." In *Endurance and the First World War*, edited by

Katie Pickles, David Monger and Sarah Murray, 178-195. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

Reynolds, Henry and Marilyn Lake, "Epilogue: Moving On?" In *What's Wrong With Anzac: The Militarisation of Australian History*, edited by Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, 157-167. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010.

Savage, Kirk. "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument." In *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, edited by John Gillis, 127-149. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Sandell, Richard. "Museums and the combatting of social inequality: roles, responsibilities, resistance." In *Museums, Society, Inequality*, edited by Richard Sandell, 3-23. London: Routledge, 2002.

Scates Bruce, and Rebecca Wheatley, "War memorials." In *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, edited by Jay Winter, 528-556. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Soutar, Monty. "Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu." In *Māori and Oral History: a collection*, edited by Rachel Selby and Alison J. Laurie, 1-3. Wellington: National Oral History Association of New Zealand, 2003 [1998].

Stanley, Peter. "'He was black, he was a White man, and a dinkum Aussie': race and empire in revisiting the Anzac legend." In *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, edited by Santanu Das, 213-230. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Thomson, Alistair. "Anzac Memories: Putting popular memory theory into practice in Australia." In *The Oral History Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, edited by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, 244-254. London: Routledge, 2006.

Winter, Jay. "Museums and the Representations of War." In *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representations of Violence in Exhibitions*, edited by Wolfgang Muchitsch, 21-37. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014.

#### Conference Papers & Public Lectures

Bradford, Ben, Victoria Passau & Jo Brookbanks. "WWI Centenary at Auckland Museum– A Sum of all Parts." Conference Paper delivered at the Canterbury 100 Conference. Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 November 2018.

Light, Rowan. "Protest Encounters and the Remaking of Anzac Day." Conference Paper – New Zealand Historical Association (Wellington, New Zealand), November 2019.

Macleod, Jenny. "Remembering Gallipoli in New Zealand and beyond." NZ-UK Link Foundation Annual Lecture, 2015.

Pugsley, Christopher. "Reflections on W100: A Personal Perspective." Conference Paper delivered at Canterbury 100 Conference, Christchurch, New Zealand. 23 November 2018.

Vink, Erin. "For Our Country Sculpture Talk." NAIDOC Week, Australian War Memorial, 11 July 2019.

#### Unpublished Papers & Thesis

Cairns, Puawai. "The Wait and the Fight – Telling Māori WWI Histories and the Search for Alternative Platforms." Unpublished Article. 2015.

Clarke, Stephen. "The One Day of the Year: Anzac Day in Aotearoa/New Zealand 1946-1990." Masters diss., University of Auckland, 1994.

Davis, George. "Anzac Day Meanings and Memories: New Zealand, Australian and Turkish perspectives on a day of commemoration in the twentieth century." PhD diss. The University of Otago, 2008.

#### Websites and Online Sources

Auckland War Memorial Museum. "World War One Hall of Memories." Accessed 18 April 2019, <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/galleries/level-two/world-war-one-hall-of-memories>.

Australian Army. "Anzac Day." Army: Our History. Accessed online 6 June 2019, <https://ww.army.gov.au/our-history/traditions/anzac-day>.

Australian Electoral Commission. “Electoral milestones for Indigenous Australians.” Last updated 22 August 2019, <https://www.aec.gov.au/indigenous/milestones.htm>.

Australian War Memorial. “Anzac Day: Early Commemorations.” Accessed online 9 June 2019, <http://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/anzac-day/traditions>.

Australian War Memorial. “First World War Galleries – Photograph Portrait Ribbons”, 30 November 2014, <https://www.awm.gov.au/media/press-releases/fww-photograph-portrait-ribbon>.

Australian War Memorial, “For Our Country – Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Memorial.” Accessed online 13 July 2019, <https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/ForOurCountry>.

Australian War Memorial. “Indigenous Employment.” Accessed online 18 December 2019, <https://www.awm.gov.au/get-involved/work-or-volunteer/Indigenous-employment>.

Australian War Memorial. “Indigenous Service.” Australian War Memorial. Accessed online 20 July 2018, <https://www.awm.gov.au/webgroups/indigenouspercent20service>.

Australian War Memorial. “New First World War Galleries. Last modified April 2014, <https://www.awm.gov.au/node/20557>.

Australian War Memorial. “The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commemorative Ceremony.” Accessed 6 May 2019, <https://www.awm.gov.au/commemoration/anzac-day/atsivsaa>.

Australian War Memorial. “Too Dark for the Light Horse”. Accessed online July 2018, <https://www.awm.gov.au/visit/exhibitions/toodark>.

Baird, Kingsley. “The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior: Te Toma o Te Toa Matangaro, National War Memorial Wellington New Zealand 2004”. Accessed online 13 July 2019, <https://www.kingsleybaird.com/artwork/tomb-of-the-unknown-warrior>.

Clarke, Stephen. “Peter Jackson’s war museum reeks of a \$12 million indulgence of private passion.” The Spinoff, reprinted on The Council of Australasian Museum Directors – News. 5 July 2018, <https://camd.org.au/te-papas-gallipoli-the-scale-of-our-war/>.



Manatu Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage. “The Ode of Remembrance. Last updated 23 November 2018, <https://mch.govt.nz/ode-remembrance>.

Paul, Mandy. History Trust of South Australia, “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander War Memorial”, SA History Hub, Last modified 2018, <http://sahistoryhub.com.au/things/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-war-memorial>.

Pukeahu National War Memorial Park. “Pukeahu Redevelopment.” Last updated 15 January 2020, <https://mch.govt.nz/pukeahu/park/redevelopment>.

Scarlett, Phillipa. “An Indigenous Nurse in World War One: Marion Leane Smith.” Indigenous Histories, 30 October 2013, <https://indigenoushistories.com/2013/10/30/an-indigenous-nurse-in-world-war-one-marion-leane-smith-smith/>.

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. “Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War.” Accessed online 29 November 2019, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/visit/exhibitions/gallipoli-scale-our-war>.

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. “Building Gallipoli: Episode 3”. 5.24 minutes. 7 April 2015, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/discover-collections/read-watch-play/behind-scenes/behind-scenes-gallipoli/watch-episode-3-building>.

Victoria Passau, Victoria. “The Mystery of the Flags - Auckland Museum's World War One Sanctuary Display”, Auckland Museum - Tāmaki Paenga Hira, February 2018, [www.aucklandmuseum.com/discover/stories/flags-in-the-hall-of-memories](http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/discover/stories/flags-in-the-hall-of-memories) .