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Research Note

"Growing Together": The Cultural Contribution of Indigenous Peoples in the Canadian Military since the First World War

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One hundred years ago, when the Canadian Army was overseas at war, the organization reflected the dominant attitudes of the society at the time. The stereotypical male WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) was very prominent in representations of army culture (although "Anglo-Saxons" had competition from the widespread Celtic presence). The famous painting by Edgar Bundy, *The Landing of the 1st Canadian Division at Saint-Nazaire (1918)*, captures the army of February 1915. Other groups (including francophones, visible minorities and women) were segregated or assimilated, if not completely banned (Lackenbauer et al, 2010, p. 119, 126). Today Indigenous peoples are welcomed, their cultural heritage appreciated and encouraged. This transformation of the Canadian military can be explained in part by how our society has evolved but even more by how Indigenous members of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) have proven that they can 'do the job.'

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This research note presents the perception of some veterans who adapted, in various ways, to the military culture while also retaining elements of their own culture that has helped significantly influence the Canadian military over the past century, most notably over the past fifty years.[1] The main source will be interviews of sixty veterans, from 1939 to 2000. In most histories of Indigenous peoples in the Canadian military, the focus has been on how the Armed Forces changed them; but after a century it is increasingly clear how much Indigenous people have changed the military. The experiences of 20 veterans of the Second World War reveal attitudes that differ from 20 others that have served since unification in 1968. In between, from 1945 to 1968, another 20 veterans of the Cold War describe a transitional period when they were very much aware of evolving expectations and assumptions and of an additional incentive for them to do their job well.[2]

Why is this important? Several excellent works have presented advantages for the Indigenous communities of accommodations to ensure greater equality for them (eg. Ray, 1996; Dickason, 1992). Other studies have, in general, suggested advantages for the military to adapt to socio-cultural movements in order to maintain the crucial cohesion and discipline required for effectiveness (Van Crevald, 2008, p. 335-36; Lackenbauer, 2007a). Armed Forces of today, in the words of one observer, "can no longer rely on rote indoctrination, but depend increasingly on professional education to adjust to changing values and prepare for complex new missions" (Last, 2004, p. 7; see also Innes and Anderson, 2005). Therefore this brief article hopes to add to the growing literature on the subject by emphasizing how the experiences of 60 indigenous members reflect the evolution to greater cultural accommodation that has improved the Canadian Armed Forces.

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[1] While the "Indigenous perception" is far from homogeneous (each individual or group has a unique definition of the appropriate balance between equality and recognition of difference), certain characteristics, common to all or to specific time periods, are apparent. On how egalitarian individual rights are limited by cultural demands of groups see Balkan (1997, pp. 118-33).

[2] These interviews are in the Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH) archives of National Defence Headquarters. They were conducted between July 2001 and July 2002. The selection of interview subjects was determined by the recommendations of friendship centers in each province. These may not be the Indigenous veterans with the most experience but they do provide a good sample of those known in their communities. Also, the number of sixty interviews may not be large enough to consider the study exhaustive but it does provide a good idea of the dominant perceptions. See appendix, as well as MacFarlane and Moses (2005).

Before looking at the three groups after 1939, it is important to note the crucial context provided by the experiences of the First World War. This participation greatly affected Indigenous perceptions of the Army, where the vast majority of Indigenous service personnel served. About 4000 treaty Indians signed up from 1914 to 1918, despite many obstacles. One of the most serious obstacles was Ottawa's policy not to accept Indigenous volunteers on the grounds that "Germans might refuse to extend to them the privileges of civilized warfare" (quoted in Summerby, 1993, p. 6).[3] Many had already enlisted, however, and many militia units were either unaware of the prohibition or decided to ignore it. They enlisted for the same reasons other Canadians did – patriotism, adventure or simply to earn a regular wage – but there was still a warrior ethos extant in certain bands, particularly those from the more remote regions of the country.[4] Once overseas there were problems adjusting to certain military practices, such as the distinction between commissioned officers and other ranks (Dempsey, 1999; Gaffen, 1985, p. 15). However, familiarity with rifles and nature proved useful to Indigenous Canadians – as it did to others – from rural backgrounds.[5]

On the whole Indigenous volunteers performed well and their service was appreciated by both their comrades in arms and by their communities. At least 37 were decorated for gallantry, including Henry Louis Norwest who was one of approximately 300 killed overseas (Moses, 2000; RCAP, 1997; Hutchinson, 1997; and Bell, 1996). Francis Pegahmagabow of Parry Sound was also highly decorated, with the Military Medal and two Bars, and he played a leading role among returning veterans who sought improvements to the *Indian Act* (Dempsey, 1989; Kulchyski, 1988; McInnes, 2016). The severely limited range of civil, political and legal rights however did not become more generous; in fact, amendments continued to restrict "cultural practices including spiritual observances and the wearing of traditional dress." Significantly, the Royal

[3] Many of them served in the 107th and 114th Battalions. On obstacles see Lackenbauer et al. (2010, p. 126); Winegard (2012); Holt (2013); and Talbot (2011).

[4] There might have been more recruits of that type if it had not been for the fact that many such men did not speak either English or French. See Dempsey (1988).

[5] Duncan Campbell Scott (1919) wrote that "the Germans had a wholesome fear of the Canadian methods of fighting, of the efficiency of our sharpshooters, and the sudden, desperate nature of our trench raids…[alertness, use of natural advantages] had a remote Indian origin, and as for the Indian himself, there is no doubt that he excelled in the kind of offensive that had been practiced by his ancestors and was native to him" (p. 285).

Canadian Legion passed resolutions supporting indigenous demands for equal benefits for status Indians. Their military service and sacrifices had not gone unnoticed by those who fought together with them (Lackenbauer et al, 2010, p. 131-35).

"Not in vain did our young men die in a strange land," announced Cree clergyman Edward Ahenakew in 1920. "Not in vain are our Indian bones mingled with the soil of a foreign land for the first time since the world began; not in vain did the Indian fathers and mothers see their son march away to face what to them were un-understandable dangers; the unseen tears of Indian mothers in many isolated Indian reserves have watered the seeds from which may spring those desires and efforts and aspirations which will enable us to reach sooner the stage when we will take our place side by side with the white people" (quoted in Lackenbauer et al, 2010, p. 131; see also MacFarlane, 2013).

Part I – The Second World War, 1939-45

When the Second World War began in 1939 approximately 3000 Indigenous people living on reserves volunteered for service.[6] This was an impressive number considering their position in Canadian society but it was less than the number who volunteered for the First World War.[7] Ottawa's policies, particularly the decision to conscript "status Indians," hampered recruitment.[8] Despite the obstacles, the number of Indigenous people enrolling was close to the Canadian average (Lackenbauer, 2010,

[6] Indian enlistments by province (with total native population in brackets) were: NS, 117 (2364); NB, 203 (2047); PEI, 27 (266); QC, 316 (15,182); ON, 1324 (32,421); MB, 175 (15,892); SK, 443 (14,158); AB, 144 (12,754); BC, 334 (25,515); YK, 7 (1531); NWT, 0 (3816). From Indian Affairs Branch, 1945-6.

[7] Census, 1911 lists the number of people declaring their origins to be Indian as 105,611 or 1.5% of the Canadian population (7,206,643). In 1941 it was 160,937 or 1.4% of 11,506,655. There were also 35,416 Métis. The *Annual Report* for the Department of Indian Affairs in March 1919 estimated that 35% of Indian males of military age had applied.

[8] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), MG 27 IIIB14, General Laflèche papers: a letter from the Six Nations outlines the grievances. Indians whose status was regulated by treaty argued that they did not enjoy full citizenship rights so were not subject to compulsory service for home defence under the National Resources Mobilization Act of 1940. On other restrictions see RCAP (1997, vol. 12, chapter 4.1).

p. 135-39; Summerby, 1993, p. 20; RCAP, 1997).[9] Many performed exceptionally well, most famously the highly-decorated Tommy Prince (Sealey and Van De Vyvere, 1981; Lackenbauer, 2007b). Of twenty veterans interviewed, the influence of community, family and particularly the father played an important role in their decision to join.[10] Only two veterans suggested that they had been victims of racism during the war and that they had to work harder to prove themselves. The great majority (fourteen) remembered that they had been treated as equals—several mentioning that they walked "shoulder to shoulder" with their "brothers" through those very trying times. "We depended on each other," several noted, and all that mattered was that people did their job well. However, only one of these fourteen considered that such equality extended to civilian life after they returned to Canada.[11]

Howard Anderson of Punnichy, Saskatchewan, notes that "it was the coming back that was the hard part… That's where the problem was. We could never be the same yet we were the same in the Army. When [we came back we] were different" (Interview SK-3).[12] Russell Modeste remembers being jailed upon his return for possession of a liquor ticket (rationed in Canada and forbidden to Indians). He and other soldiers received the ticket departing the ship but "the Magistrate told me that 'once you entered Canadian territorial waters you were now just another Indian! You have no special privileges and you have to abide by the law.'…You remember these things" (Interview BC-7).[13] According to Sam Sinclair of Edmonton, in the post-war

[9] Most served in the infantry, partly because its demands were suited and the Air Force and Navy showed a reluctance to accept recruits not of Caucasian origin. On conscription see Stevenson (1996) and Sheffield (1996, 2012).

[10] Of the 20, eleven felt encouraged, two discouraged and seven had not been affected either way.

[11] Six replied that there was racism in Canada, five some discrimination and one that there was not.

[12] As an example of the friendship that existed between those that experienced war together, Anderson cites the case of a "funeral in Saskatoon, and there was a white guy and he was about six foot six and [he had been a friend of] this young Indian guy. When they were in the Army they got bombed when they were on this bridge and he fell off. He was under the water and he was hurting badly [when] this Indian guy pulled him up and saved his life. He comes to the funerals with us. Whenever there is a First Nations' funeral we go to honour the veterans… Quite a few veterans… come to the funerals and… we do our ritual like the legion does, we do ours" (Interview SK-3).

[13] Modeste spoke often to school children about his experiences and how uncomfortable he was on several occasions when he had to compromise his cultural customs. "One of the things that we do not do is eat anywhere near a dead person. You know it's like having a coffin in the dining room… And yet in the field I told them that once there was a dead German officer over here to my left, a private to my right.

period "our people knew they were not [receiving] fair treatment but they did not raise hell" with protests or sit-ins like they have now (Interview AB-2). In this period the desire to be seen as equal was much stronger than the desire to have cultural distinctions recognized (Sheffield, 2001).

Several of the twenty veterans recalled how cultural characteristics helped them during their time overseas, particularly their prewar exposure to the use of firearms for hunting.[14] Elmer Sinclair of Nanaimo, B.C., recalled his father teaching him to shoot a rifle by looking along the barrel with both eyes open but his army instructor insisted that he close the disengaged eye: "I couldn't do it. I got on the rifle range and I had both eyes open… I never learned to close one eye," but he did qualify as a sharpshooter (Interview BC-6). As Canadian soldiers were helping liberate Holland and good relations with the local populations were important, Lawrence Martin of Nippigon, Ontario remembered staying with a family that was most interested in the Indigenous culture. He kept in touch after the war and recently returned with a native group to perform a pipe ceremony that was greatly appreciated (Interview ON-4).[15] Almost all those interviewed were glad to have had the experience, the education, and the training,[16] and survivors were well received back into their community.[17]

During the Second World War women had become more involved in support roles, and this included Indigenous women. An estimated 72 status Indian women served during the war. As with most Indigenous men their focus was on doing their job well and they were too busy to worry about the colour of skin (see Lackenbauer et al,

My buddy said 'well, there's a lull, what do you say we have something to eat.' That's a no-no in our culture… yet we had to do this" (Interview BC-7).

[14] Four referred to Indigenous peoples being particularly good with rifles, one suggested that leadership skills were more developed and one believed that his family had helped him prepare for the military.

[15] Martin recounted: "When we were in Holland I stayed with a family of people and they were pretty nice people, they were tops. I guess they were happy that we liberated them and they really enjoyed our company… [the kids had no footwear] so I got them shoes they needed for work… I've been back over there twice…We did the pipe ceremony over there the last time I went over with a native group" (Interview ON-4).

[16] Only one of the twenty, Fernand Lainé (who was conscripted) described the experience as negative.

[17] Two exceptions were J.B. and Fernand Lainé. The loss suffered by all communities due to the numbers of young potential leaders killed was recently lamented in a CBC news story of 8 November 2018. Edward Clutesi, killed in France in August 1944, was remembered by his brother as a soldier who would have returned and become Chief, an opinion supported by the interview selection process report of January 1943.

2010, p. 141). Irene Hoff remembered that she was given the opportunity to work in the orderly room and was rewarded when she did it well: "I was well trained. I was a sergeant-major. I knew my business" (Interview, QC-4). She began during the war and continued to be promoted throughout the 1950s as she stayed in the Army.

Part II – Transition during the Cold War, 1946 to 1967

After the Second World War, even more than after the First, when Indigenous veterans returned home many led their communities in the search for improved citizenship status and legal rights.[18] As one observer points out, their experiences were also picked up and used by others in the community to strengthen their cases. "Between 1945 and 1960 Saskatchewan Aboriginal veterans' social and political activism was in a transitional phase. Aboriginal veterans in the immediate postwar years can be characterized as 'passive participants' in the social and political changes" (Innes, 2007, p. 36).[19]

Although treaty Indians would not have the right to vote until 1960 they once again answered the call when the Korean war broke out in 1950.[20] Many also remained in the military to participate in the first peacekeeping operations. For Robert Carriere of Winnipeg, fighting communist aggression in Korea was more important than maintaining the traditional hostility towards the Army that some members of his family had shared since his grandfather had fought with Louis Riel (Interview MB-1). However the influence of family members remained great for most, including Harvey Tommy Holmes Horlock of Toronto whose Uncle Tommy Holmes won the Victoria

[18] RCAP (1997, vol. 12, chapter 4.1) refers to the role in Canadian society, while chapter 4.3 details the role of returning veterans in seeking improvements. See also Gaffen (1985, p. 72, 79). Of particular importance was the parliamentary hearings on the *Indian Act* in 1946-7. See RCAP (1997), chapters 4.5, 5.1 and 5.3.
[19] Innis (2007) adds that the experiences of the war were "crucial in the social and political changes" sought and received by Indigenous people throughout Canada. In the same collection, R.S. Sheffield (2007) notes that the Veterans Charter, helpful for most vets, was more harmful for Indigenous vets.
[20] In 1951 there were 165,607 people identifying themselves as Indians, or 1.2% of the Canadian population. Summerby (1993, p. 31-33).

Cross during the First World War (Interview ON-9).[21] In addition to wars and following family members, some referred to specific events that motivated them to join. Fred Young of Winnipeg was moved by the work of the Armed Forces during the Winnipeg flood of 1950: "it was very impressive to me, the way they rescued people [from] the second story windows. They were very inspirational, and I thought, you know, I love what they do" (Interview MB-3). Bill Lafferty of Fort Simpson, NWT, was eleven years old in 1942 when the American Army arrived at Fort Simpson, building the current airport and bringing movies: "the Royal Canadian Engineers and the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals [who replaced the American Army after the war]… inspired me to become a soldier myself" (Interview N-NT-1).

Making the world a safer, better place, has been a consistent motivation for most recruits into the Canadian Armed Forces; but this post-war period was when Indigenous recruits began to be more active promoting their culture. Fourteen of the twenty found that they had not been treated differently because of their heritage,[22] but one who did and was initially hurt when friends called him "the Indian," was Joe John Sanipass of Big Cove New Brunswick. Coming from an isolated community he found the strict discipline, morning inspections and shining shoes very different from what he was used to and when he was leaving for Germany to unfamiliar songs and bagpipe music he felt even more out of place. However, after he met a group of "natives from Saskatchewan… he just fit right in there," and found it much easier to socialize with white friends – and sometimes one "would sit right in with us and we'd take him as our brother and that guy learned a great deal about natives" (Interview E-NB-4).

Stephen Simon of Big Cove New Brunswick remembered a field training exercise in 1955. He had been talking about his culture with a curious friend and one day "they took away all our canvas and everything…I said 'just stick with me, if you are willing to work hard we are going to have an enjoyable time, we are going to be comfortable'."

[21] Five members of Horlock's mother's side of the family went overseas during the Second World War and only one returned. On his father's side (who had Scottish and English origins) four uncles went overseas, including Tommy Holmes (Interview ON-9).

[22] Among the Korean veterans, none replied yes, two remembered some racism and eight replied none at all. For the others three replied yes and six none at all. Interview, Elmer Sinclair affirmed that "In all the time I served in the Army [1940-67] I don't recall ever hearing or seeing one of the [many Indigenous people I met] being treated as other than a soldier. We served in units overseas and we were all treated as equals" (Interview BC-6).

Together they made a teepee and "about four o'clock in the morning, when the storm hit, our teepee was a sack full of white guys." He also made a pot out of birch bark to boil water and caught a rabbit (Interview E-NB-1).[23] In the case of Russell Piché of Calgary his attempt at map reading in Korea was not as successful. "I never was much on maps" so when asked to locate a spot "I was having a heck of a time." The previous night some of his group had been commenting "how the North American Indian could find his way around in the bush better with a compass or a map than the caucasian" and one friend now commented that Piché, a Métis, must be only half lost!

Mary Wuttunee remembered that when she joined the Air Force in the mid-1950s it was "definitely a cultural shock." She explained that her and her sister, while growing up, "were not used to be being yelled at, especially by men, maybe our mother but not by our father. He just never yelled at us, he didn't believe in yelling. Then all of a sudden you go to St. Jean Quebec, and you get on a parade square and everybody is yelling. And that was a shock." After learning she could not quit, she served at Cold Lake analyzing flight runs of missiles and fighter jets; she found "it gave me a very positive attitude because no one ever said 'Mary you can't work on the computer because… When you got into the Armed Forces… you were just a person the same as everyone else and that was different. People accepted you for who you were" (Interview AB-6; Lackenbauer et al, 2010, p. 166-68).

Part III – 1968 to the present

In the period since unification a minority of participants mentioned that they had experienced, or been aware of some discrimination. Although still a minority, the numbers were highest in this final period after 1968.[24] Coreena Letendre perceived such

[23] Simon recounted: "I took an axe, I cut half a dozen or so poles. We formed a teepee or wigwam type structure. We moved in there, I lit the fire. I left a small hole in the top and we [brought in] some firewood and some rocks. Boy, we were comfortable that night…. You know you can do many things to survive. Today I still maintain my dad's ability, what he used to do [as] I used to watch him" (Interview E-NB-1).

[24] Three replied yes, five that there was some racism, and ten that there was none. A report by Cross-Cultural/Multicultural Associates Inc. (1997) concluded that Aboriginal people in the military's "attitudes towards diversity were mostly positive, but only somewhat less positive than in the general population"

problems in 1984 – in addition to problems encountered by women – when she sought to join the military police. She was asked "what would a little Indian girl like you want this trade for?… [What would you do with] two six-foot guys fighting?" She asked what he would do as "he was not any taller than me" (Interview MB-5).[25] As earlier, by insisting on the opportunity, and proving that she could do her job well, she was accepted and enjoyed her experience.

Ernest Nadjiwan considered that his people he knew had to work harder and were often passed over for promotions (Interview ON-7).[26] But the majority felt comfortable and continued, as the earlier group, to promote Indigenous culture to curious colleagues. Peter MacGregor of Québec noted that some soldiers would ask him questions about his culture and he would "fill them in" - but he adds that for him French-English tensions were much more noticeable (Interview QC-6). Garnett Bauersfeld was never offended by being called "chief," on his ship; he considered this as a sign of friendship…that at times led to confusion when he was with the Chief Petty Officer: "when somebody called 'Chief' I turned at the same time as the other… [eventually] even the Chiefs were calling me chief" (Interview QC-9).[27]

Jocelyn Paul of Wendake, Québec, remembered feeling uneasy during his first months with the R22R, during the Oka Crisis, but added that people "quickly realized that I was doing my job" and he got along very well (Interview QC-1). An article in *the Maple Leaf* in Spring 2018 revealed how well he has gotten along: as Brigadier-General he is the most senior Indigenous member of the Canadian Armed Forces. He was appointed Commander 4th Canadian Division (Ontario) on 22 June 2018 and attributed much of his success as a leader to his Indigenous upbringing as a member of Huron-Wendat First Nation in Quebec. Being "proud of my heritage, attracted by the traditional way of life, and growing up on a reserve allowed me to spend a lot of time in the bush," he explained, which enabled him to be comfortable during infantry training

(p.2) In an interview, Allan Knockwood noted "the only chance I had here in Canada was going into the infantry" (Interview E-NS-6).

[25] Letendre then joined the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, and 17 Wing transport squadron, and has enjoyed her military experiences very much (Interview MB-5).

[26] Nadjiwan stated: "I think I was passed by for promotions because I was an Aboriginal person. My crew had the best serviceability when I ran it" (Interview ON-7).

[27] Frank Michon remembers that his nickname was "beaver: that's what they called me and that was ok…Everybody had some sort of name" (Interview ON-3).

with the Royal 22e Régiment. "Living in the community of Wendake as a youth meant I spent lot of time speaking with our Elders, learning about our identity and the way other cultures view their respective identities. I learned that there are multiple layers of identity for all people, but in our community, the Aboriginal identity was always first" (quoted in Meszaros, 2018).

On the question of how their background has helped their participation, the more recent group of CAF service personnel and veterans appears much more likely to emphasize their Indigenous culture. Certainly earlier groups were aware of and took pride in the advantages provided by their background (as snipers, scouts, during survival activities), but they valued being treated equally more than having their distinctiveness recognized. This has encouraged the military to innovate in many ways. For example, Earl Charters was asked by the Navy on many occasions, in Canada and abroad, to perform his ceremonial dance. Far from hiding his background to fit in, as some had done in previous periods, Charters and others such as Dusty Bouthillette of Edmonton have benefited from the recent Forces regulation permitting Indigenous members to grow longer hair to communicate their cultural heritage. "Whenever something is said against my hair," Earl Charters notes, "there are five others who speak in defence of my decision before I can say anything. It really has been a positive experience. My braids are finally long enough after three years growth….I really wanted to emulate some of the best fancy and hoop dancers that wear braids" (Interview BC-13).

Survival techniques perfected by generations continue to be adopted by the military, notably in 1999 when Canadian Rangers helped avalanche victims at Kangiqsualujjuaq, Québec.[28] This special subcomponent of the CAF Reserves continues to be of particular interest. The knowledge of their unique terrain, and of the skills required for survival there, has made the Inuit living throughout the North particularly

[28] Ranger Vallee Saunders recounted how the avalanche of 1 January 1999 killed nine and injured 70, of a population of less than 700 people. He remembers "calling up his Rangers to be ready" and 11 of the 14 Nunavik Patrols responded to the emergency. "They were really glad to see us, to receive fresh hands… most of them were really exhausted" (Interview N-QC-4). See also Lackenbauer (2013, 4-5, 378, 382). Alec Tuckatuck notes that Rangers "are trained every week, and they have different kinds of training programs [involving] military, and also…Inuk culture," such as how to do things in the cold such as collect food and how to dry yourself in soft snow if you fall into the water (Interview N-QC-8).

valuable partners for the CAF, providing an operational military presence across the remote coastal and inland reaches of the Canadian North since the 1950s (Lackenbauer, 2013, 2015). The local and traditional Indigenous knowledge and expertise of Rangers has clearly provided many benefits for the Army in the North. The program is known and respected by the local population largely due to the willingness to avoid attempts to impose cultural norms (Lackenbauer, 2013; Lackenbauer and Vullièrme articles in this issue). "The Rangers are unique in several respects," including "elect[ing] their own patrol leaders from amongst local membership, and decision-making within patrols respects local cultural and political norms. They are not issued with typical military uniforms. Instead, the military assumes that those who enlist are able to survive in their local environment by virtue of their 'typical' civilian clothing and equipment" (Lackenbauer et al, 2010, p. 175-79; Lackenbauer, 2013).

How Indigenous service personnel perceive that participation in the Canadian military has affected their life has evolved from a focus on adventure up to the 1950s, to a greater focus on discipline in the 1950s and '60s, to a post-1968 focus on training and education. The interviews reveal a remarkable continuity in their views that their time in the military was worthwhile and enjoyable.[29] Family and community have remained strong influences on their decision to join; however, in this final period, it seemed less significant in many cases of CAF members who had no family history of service.[30] The search for adventure remained popular but most were attracted by the prospect of full-time employment.[31] With career motivations being the main reason for joining the CF, the focus on education and training is unsurprising, as are feelings related to prestige and self-confidence.[32] The recognition and appreciation of these experiences have helped shape current Armed Forces recruitment and retention efforts.

[29] It should be added that the impression of those who agreed to be interviewed for this study would probably be more favourable than those who refused to be interviewed.

[30] Six had many relatives in the Armed Forces, four had some members, while ten had none. In addition, many noted community pride in traditional participation with the military (particularly with the Rangers where the chance for specialized training and responsibility carries a certain amount of prestige) (eg. Interview N-N-10). Only one felt discouraged by his community to join, ten felt no pressure, and nine felt encouraged.

[31] Twelve of the 20 replied that they joined for the work, five adventure, two prestige, and one for a cause.

[32] Six answered that training and education had been the most helpful way the CF affected their lives, while four referred to greater respect, three to increased self-confidence and three to improved discipline.

Current CAF Aboriginal Programs

After varying degrees of segregation and assimilation policies in the first part of the 20th Century, the Canadian Forces' attempts to recruit and retain Indigenous peoples in the past fifty years have been increasingly based on mutual accommodation.[33] In April 2013 there were approximately 2100 Indigenous members in the CAF, mostly in the Army (DND DND News Release 2013).[34] A Defence Aboriginal Advisory Group (DAAG) meets monthly to offer advice on workplace issues such as "barriers to recruiting, training, developing and promotion of the Aboriginal people in the Department of National Defence" ((D Strat HR news, 2003; also MacLaren and Davis, 2001). On the 20th anniversary of the DAAG in June 2015, a "DND and CAF Eagle Staff" was presented to Army Commander LGen M. Hainse before "the Staff's journey across Canada as it assumes its role as the travelling symbol of unity among Aboriginal Peoples in the defence community." The Staff was created in 2002 by "two former Aboriginal CAF members, CPO 2nd Class Debbie Eisan and PO 2nd Class Chris Innes" to serve as "a reminder [so] that Canada will never forget the legacy of the First Peoples. The Staff represents traditional Aboriginal culture and clans, as well as traditional belief in spiritual entities, healing and reverence for the Creator and all life" (DND News Release, 2015). On National Aboriginal Day in June 2017, CDS J. Vance invited Indigenous people in the CAF to "encourage your family and friends to consider a

Gerard Joe from Conne River Newfoundland believes that if young people knew "just how rewarding being in the military can be" there would be more recruits; he appreciated in particular how his view of who he thought he was evolved as the Army helped him by developing "a whole new identity and teaching you how to be part of a team" (Interview E-NF-3).

[33] A report by Cross-Cultural/Multicultural Associates Inc., "A Conceptual Framework for Achieving Diversity and Equity in the Canadian Forces" (April 1997, p. 2), notes that "research in culturally plural societies clearly shows that, among the various ways to deal with this diversity, attempts at assimilation or segregation do not work. Instead, a process of mutual accommodation, in which individuals and institutions change to meet the evolving needs of its changing population, is the most effective course of action." Two issues to be worked out are identified on p. 9: *cultural maintenance* and *contact- participation* (to what extent should they become involved with other cultural groups). See also DND (1995).

[34] This was 2.11% of the Regular and Primary Reserve forces. According to the 1996 census 799,010 individuals identified themselves as Indigenous peoples in Canada or 2.8% of the 28,528,125 population. The percentage of Indigenous people in the CF was: 1.5% of the Regular Force, 1.0% of the Primary Reserves and 1.3% of the total, not including the Rangers. According to the 2001 census 976,305 individuals identified themselves as Indigenous peoples or 3.3% of the population and in the CF it was: 2.3% of the Regular Force, 1.8% of the Primary Reserves and 3.4% of the total, which includes the Canadian Rangers.

rewarding career with us. And do this while remaining true to your inspiring culture" (DND News Release, 2017).[35]

In addition to studies and speeches there have been concrete programs, such as the Bold Eagle Initiative (to build self-confidence among Native youth through militia training within a context of First Nations cultural awareness) and the Sergeant Tommy Prince Initiative (to increase numbers of Indigenous soldiers in the infantry and trades to which their tradition, culture and often life experience make them particularly well suited) (DND News Release 2012, 2013). The Northern Native Entry Program of 1971, which expanded into the CF Aboriginal Entry Program in the late 1990s, offers Indigenous peoples "the opportunity to explore military careers before making the commitment to join." It offers them pre-recruitment training courses that include cross-cultural and military awareness sessions. CF recruiters also receive "cultural awareness training that help them to better associate with Aboriginal applicants and understand their needs" (DND 2018; also McCue, 2000).[36]

Another unique initiative that has worked to accommodate indigenous skills is the current Canadian Forces Artists Program. The artists and their subjects reflect the increased diversity when compared to the artists and images of the First World War. Some of the great Indigenous artists that have participated include Adrian Stimson, Tony Atsanilk, Eric Walker, Rosalie Favell and Tim Pitsiulak (see the Directorate of History and Heritage website, under CFAP).

[35] See also DND News Release (2013) which notes that "each time there has been a need, Canada's Aboriginal soldiers have overcome cultural challenges and in making sacrifices have made impressive contributions to restore world peace." It adds that the National Indigenous Veterans Monument in Ottawa was unveiled on 21 June 2001.

[36] A DND press release of 7 July 2017 on the "Canadian Forces Aboriginal Entry Program" specifies: "you will learn about the long and proud history of Aboriginal peoples in Canada's military and take part in exercises similar to Basic Training, such as morning inspections, daily physical fitness and sports, navigation with compass and maps, basic weapons training and military drill. You will also try living in field conditions. Civilian Aboriginal counsellors will be available to assist you with the transition to military life" (DND News Release 2017). Howard Anderson, Grand Chief of the Saskatchewan First Nations Veterans, observed that kids come out of the Bold Eagle Program with "their heads up in the air and they are proud as hell. Really and truly they are really a proud bunch of kids when they are done" (Interview SK-3).

Conclusion

The Canadian military has learned, over the past century, that while a great deal of conformity is essential for efficient military training and operations in most situations, there are occasions when a certain amount of accommodation for individuals or cultural groups is appropriate and beneficial (White, 1990). Diversity is strength and Indigenous cultures have strengthened the Canadian Armed Forces (Lackenbauer et al, 2010, p. 183).

There remains, of course, room for improvement. Perhaps the strongest cultural difference, that certainly makes adaptation a challenge, is the preference among Indigenous soldiers for greater equality among the ranks.[37] Recent Armed Forces efforts to attract and retain these members, involving elders, have been well received but some refer to the need to provide more support. Victor Lyall, an Inuk from Labrador, remarked that "people coming from smaller communities might be a little more timid and quiet" and although he appreciated the pre-enrollment training sessions, after the course "there was never contact from that department. Once you signed those papers and then went through there wasn't any real check back done to see how you were doing" (Interview E- NF-2).[38] Others praised the efforts of the CAF, particularly in the north through the Canadian Rangers.

Last year the Defence Advisory Group reported continuing challenges for Indigenous members of the Armed forces who faced what some called "systematic discrimination." A web page invited public comment that attracted various reactions. Some agreed, others did not; some were pessimistic others more hopeful. One provides a fitting conclusion to this paper: "The progress of civilization is a double-edged sword. The reunification of humanity over this last little while is a beautiful chaos of clashing

[37] McCue emphasized the "challenge to reconcile the requirements of a military culture with the cultural diversity found in the society that the military represents and from which it draws its members." The author then described how the military culture differed from Indigenous culture in Canada by being much more assertive, leadership-driven and non-egalitarian (2000, p. 28-33).

[38] Victor Lyall adds that more follow-up might have been helpful ((Interview E- NF-2). Frank Michon notes that some "could hardly speak English…others were having problems [adjusting]…To me it was frustrating to see them take that approach – just grab a guy and then put him in with the rest of the guys with no support." "They had two young Inuits working in the kitchen… this was when they were trying to get young native people into the military. They were going about it the wrong way but they were trying…" (Interview ON-3).

cultures. The advantage will fall to the early adopters of other cultures' strengths" (APTN News, 2017).

Table 1: The Second World War, 1939-1945

CODE	NAME	BIRTHPLACE	INDIGENOUS GROUP	MILITARY GROUP
BC-1	Richard Parker	BC- Vernon	Okanagan	Army-infantry
BC-6	Elmer Sinclair	MB- Selkirk	Cree - Peguis	Army-signals
BC-7	Russell Modeste	BC- Duncan	Cowichan	Army -artillery
BC-12	Harry Lavalee	MB- Stonewall	Métis	Army-infantry
AB-2	Sam Sinclair	AB-Lesser Slave Lake	Cree	Army -service
SK-1	Sidney Gordon	SK-Gordon	Saulteaux	Army- infantry
SK-2	Charles Bird	SK-File Hills	Cree	Army- infantry
SK-3	Howard Anderson	SK- Gordon	Cree	Army-service
SK-4	Thomas Opwam	SK-Paynton	Saulteaux	Army- infantry
SK-5	Henry Beaudry	SK-Paynton	Ojibway	Army- infantry
MB-6	Ray Anderson	AB- Edmonton	Métis	Army-paratroop
MB-7	George Myram	MB-Edwin	Ojibway	Army- infantry
ON-1	Cecil Ace	ON-West Bay	Ojibway	Army- artillery
ON-4	Martin Lawrence	ON-Nippigon	Ojibway	Army- Armour
ON-8	David Moses	ON-Ohswekan	Delaware	Air Force
QC-2	Fernand Laine	QC-Wendake	Huron	Army- infantry
QC-3	Jean Baptiste Laine	QC-Wendake	Huron	Army- infantry
QC-4	Irene Hoff	QC-Odanak	Abenaki	Army-nurse, cwac
QC-5	Roger Ouimet	QC-Kahnawake	Mohawk	Army- infantry
QC-7	Stuart Beauvais	QC-Kahnawake	Mohawk	Army- infantry

Table 2: Korea and Early Peacekeeping, 1946-1967

Korean War:

CODE	NAME	BIRTHPLACE	INDIGENOUS GROUP	MILITARY GROUP
BC-2	Len Desjarlais	MB-Fox Horn	Métis	Army-artillery
BC-3	Victor Flett	MB-St. Peters	Cree	Navy
BC-4	Bob Ducharme	MB-East	Métis	Army-infantry
BC-5	Bob Rogers	ON-Thamesville	Delaware - Thames	Army-mechanic
AB-3	Wes Whitford	NB-Chatham	Métis	Army-Armour
AB-5	Russell Piché	ON-Vankleek Hill	Métis	Army-Signals
MB-3	Fred Young	ON-MacDermid	Ojibway	Army-infantry
ON-2	Russell Moses	ON-Ohsweken	Delaware	Air Force and Navy
QC-10	Clarence Cote	ON-Parry Sound	Ojibway	Army- infantry
E-NB-5	Michael Sanipass	NB-Big Cove	Mic mac	Army-infantry
MB-1	Robert Carriere	MB-St. Boniface	Métis	Army- infantry

Early Peacekeeping:

CODE	NAME	BIRTHPLACE	INDIGENOUS GROUP	MILITARY GROUP
BC-11	Louis Schmidt	MB- Flin Flon	Cree – Sandy Bay	Navy
AB-6	Mary Wuttunee	AB-Red Pheasant	Cree	Air Force
MB-2	Joe Meconse	MB-Churchill	Dene	Army- infantry
ON-9	Harvey Horlock	ON-Toronto	Métis	Army
E-NB-1	Stephen Simon	NB-Big Cove	Mic mac	Army-signals
E-NB-4	Joe John Sanipass	NB-Big Cove	Mic mac	Army-infantry
N-NT-1	Bill Lafferty	NT-Ft. Simpson	Métis	Army-engineer
N-BC-2	Cliff Bolton	BC-Port Essington	Kitsumkalum Band	Army-infantry
N-NT-6	Joe Mercredi	NT-Fort Smith	Métis	Army-musician

Table 3 : Post Unification, 1968-2002

CODE	NAME	BIRTHPLACE	INDIGENOUS GROUP	MILITARY GROUP
BC-9	David Ward	AB- Drifthall	Cree	Army-infantry
BC-13	Earl Charters	BC-Coldwater	Okanagan	Navy
AB-1	Dusty Boutillette	QC- Kahnawake	Mohawk	Army-MP
AB-4	Ed Borchert	AB-Red Deer	Métis	Army
MB-4	Mel Swann	MB-Ashen	Ojibway-Saulteaux	Air Force & Army- MP
MB-5	Corena Letendre	MB-Fairford	Saulteaux-Pinaymootang	Army- transport
ON-3	Frank Michon	ON-Ft. William	Métis	Air Force & Navy
ON-5	John MacLeod	ON-Nawash	Chippewa	Army-mechanic
ON-7	Ernest Nadjiwan	ON-Parry Sound	Ojibway	Air Force
QC-1	Jocelyn Paul	QC-Wendake	Huron	Army- infantry
QC-6	Peter Macgregor	QC-Kahnawake	Mohawk	Army-infantry
QC-9	Garnett Bauersfeld	QC-Kahnawake	Mohawk	Navy
E-NF-2	Victor Lyall	NF-Labrador	Inuit	Army-armour
E-NF-3	Gerard Joe	NF-Conne River	Mic mac	Army-engineer
E-NS-6	Alan Knockwood	NS-Shubenacadie	Mic mac	Army-?
N-QC-4	Vallee Saunders	QC-Kuujjuaq	Inuk	Army-Rangers

N-ON-7	Abraham Metatawabin	ON-Ft. Albany	Cree	Army-Rangers
N-QC-8	Alec Tuckatuck	QC-Kuujjuarapik	Inuk	Army-Rangers
N-Yk-9	Ukjese vanKampen	YK-Whitehorse	Kwantlendun	Air Force-Army
N-N-10	Solomon Curley	NWT-Iqaluit	Inuit	Army-Rangers

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