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Lest we forget black diggers: recovering Aboriginal Anzacs on television¹

For the association of white Australia with the Anzac legend to retain its narrative and symbolic power, those who fought in the First World War ought to be white Australians, and this is how they are now largely remembered.²

Introduction

In the recent past, a significant trend has emerged in both the historical writing and screen representations of non-European personnel who fought and laboured in the service of nations and empires in the First World War. Santanu Das's innovative multidisciplinary anthology, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, is a key text that helps to unravel the traditional Eurocentric narrative of the war, in the process opening up many new threads for further investigation in a field that has been seriously under-researched. Das numbers the Indigenous, African and Asian personnel who served in the war—both combatants and non-combatants—at over four million people.³ Yet we still know relatively little about the context of the war service for many of these men or its implications for their families on the home front.⁴ One notable example is discussed in Peter Stanley's chapter within the collection, "He was black, he was a white man, and a dinkum Aussie", a verbatim reference to the Aboriginal digger "Mick" King, who served on the Western Front.⁵ This perplexing title is emblematic of colonial policy and attitudes, saturated in contradiction. Stanley's use of the phrase brings the monolithic narrative of Anzac into critical focus, providing us with a space in which to recoup the core place of race (and empire) in the war.⁶ As he argues, the Anzac legend of the twentieth century wrote out both imperial and racial dimensions of the tradition even though these were ideas that held vital meaning for Australians in 1915—at least as important then as the

concept of “nation”. As much as we may now wish to distance ourselves from these ideas, race and empire were mutually constituted: namely, an Australian *Imperial* Force (AIF) was despatched overseas, one that had race pride at the core of its identity.⁷ The recovery of these elements helps us to rethink very familiar historical terrain by redirecting our attention to largely occluded threads—especially those of Aboriginal service and sacrifice. This approach, in turn, also assists us in challenging some long-held assumptions about the nature and impact of war on Australian society.

Karen Fox has noted some tensions between the transnational historical project and the writing of Indigenous histories that strive to remain grounded in the local.

Nonetheless, historical scholarship has advanced our understanding of issues (such as Indigenous rights movements) that have historically transcended national boundaries.⁸ The recent work of Timothy C. Winegard, a historian of mixed First Nations and European descent, is an example of the new international approach to Indigenous histories that addresses some critical historiographical oversights. Along with other historians whose studies of war and society embody the transnational turn, Winegard’s scholarship takes us away from the excessively nationalistic focus that is a hallmark of much of the memory and literature of the First World War. (The Gallipoli campaign is a case in point).⁹ Instead, Winegard considers Indigenous peoples of the four British Dominions—Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa—in the context of the First World War and shows a strong awareness of salient imperial factors. When read in conjunction with domestic exigencies pertaining to each of the Dominions, these factors shed valuable light on policy decisions affecting Indigenous people during the 1914–18 war. Winegard is able to

demonstrate, for instance, that although no European nation (apart from France) prior to the First World War saw their Indigenous subjects as suitable for service in a European war, the legislative position concerning Māori was, nonetheless, ambiguous. Because Māori were not mentioned in official policy, authorities could be influenced to include them for service. It helped that Māori were deemed to have martial qualities and the reputation for being “politically reliable”.¹⁰ In Australia, by contrast, the intent of the 1903 Defence Act was *exclusionist* and was consistent with other policies adopted during the colonial period.¹¹ However, knowledge of Māori war service provided a basis for some Aboriginal men to enlist by disguising their racial identity—an important issue that will be revisited later in the article.

Running in parallel with the recent international trend concerning writing about race, empire and the First World War is the historiographical project that seeks specifically to recover details about Aboriginal service and sacrifice in the wars that involved Australia overseas during the twentieth century. The Second World War in particular has been a rich site for investigation because sources are much more extensive than those for the earlier conflicts, and Aboriginal participation was significantly greater.¹² Scholarship on the 1914–18 conflict began, hesitantly, in the 1970s and has been piecemeal in coverage until more recently.¹³ A fuller recovery of the details of that service by scholars is now a project well underway—a project that is framed by an explicit postcolonial political and social context, and one that is gaining critical momentum in anticipation of the imminent centenary commemorations of the First World War. At the time of writing, memorialisation of the Indigenous role in Anzac—absent from popular consciousness for a long time—is now firmly on the agenda with a new war memorial planned for Hyde Park in Sydney and a debate underway over a national Indigenous war memorial on Anzac Parade in Canberra.¹⁴ Moreover,

the presentation of Aboriginal narratives of war is now emerging through a range of important cultural texts such as the Queensland Theatre Company's *Black Diggers*, a production that premiered at the Sydney Festival in January 2014.¹⁵

The small screen has been an important vehicle for disseminating narratives of Aboriginal Anzacs to a broader Australian audience, especially during the last decade. This article focuses principally on the representation of Aboriginal people in the First World War in postcolonial documentaries made for television. Recent historiographical progress in the recovery of these narratives has significantly stimulated the production of public history on television. Unlike the production and reception of most historiography, television productions are highly collaborative and have the capacity to reach a mass audience. Most of the television representations that deal with this issue are in the form of expository documentaries that present arguments with supporting visual and aural evidence. These productions employ the familiar devices of that mode: archival stills, fragments of recovered footage, camera zooms (and pans) focusing on key government or army documents, interviews with experts as well as interviews with veterans and the descendants of veterans—all framed by voiceover narration. In some cases, sound and music are added as powerful, affective devices. Additionally, several of these texts are inflected by the performative nature of the new documentary form, which blends the traditionally distinct categories of drama and documentary to heighten impact and maximise audience engagement. While a range of texts are referred to in the article, the emphasis is on six documentaries that foreground Aboriginal voices and build on new historical knowledge. Most of the examples found in the documentaries deal very briefly with the 1914–18 conflict, and are therefore limited. Where there are no visual examples for the First AIF available to support the arguments, evidence is

drawn from the examples for the Second World War where these are consistent with and support the metanarrative. Issues of freedom and legacy in relation to the Second World War are obvious examples.

All of the documentaries discussed here have screened on either SBS or the ABC, the main broadcasters for producing and transmitting documentaries on Australian television.¹⁶ In chronological order, the documentaries aired as follows: *The Forgotten* (2002); “The Last Post” (2005); “Lest We Forget” (2007); *Who Do You Think You Are?* (2008); *First Australians* (2008); and a mini-documentary series, *480: The Anzacs* (2012).¹⁷ Their common objective is to reveal the largely forgotten role of Aboriginal service personnel and to honour that service. “The Last Post” and “Lest We Forget” are half-hour, purpose-made documentaries for the ABC’s Indigenous series on culture, lifestyle and issues, *Message Stick*, the prime quest of which is to “allow ... Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians to tell their stories in their own way”.¹⁸ “The Last Post” features two veterans who are remembered by their families. It focuses on the principle of freedom, a concept fought for by Indigenous soldiers but denied to them on their repatriation to Australia. “Lest We Forget” is produced and presented by Miriam Corowa and introduced by former parliamentarian Aden Ridgeway. It considers Indigenous service during the twentieth century, contrasting the unity of black and white digger on the front line with division and exclusion on the home front, concluding with the recent advent of veteran outreach to Indigenous diggers. *The Forgotten*, an independently produced documentary, was written, produced and directed by Glen Stasiuk as a project for his honours degree at Murdoch University and later re-released by the ABC to fit its half-hour *Message Stick* series format; the production is a moving tribute to the black digger. The remaining three selections involve a particular episode from a series.

The ABC series *480: The Anzacs* is a mini-documentary series that pays homage to individual service personnel who fought for Australia in the twentieth century. The discussion here will be concerned with episode four of the series, which presents a thumbnail sketch of Douglas Grant and Sendy Togo. The landmark SBS series *First Australians*, directed by Rachel Perkins, presents Australian history for the first time from an Indigenous perspective, and, in so doing, significantly contributes to decolonising the screen. A brief segment from episode six, “A fair deal for a dark race”, is central to this discussion. Finally, *Who Do You Think You Are?* is a celebrated documentary series about genealogy packaged for particular national audiences. Season one, episode four—about Olympic gold medallist Catherine Freeman—is presented with particular reference to Freeman’s rediscovered ancestor, Frank Fisher Senior. For all of these texts, a thematically arranged discussion will consider ways in which the pre-war context and issues surrounding repatriation are presented, in addition to features of the 1914–18 period itself.

It is argued here that while historians—as in these documentaries—play a number of roles in broadcast media, visual history still has a marginal position in the consciousness of many professional historians. This hints at a broader problem: the democratisation of history has led to tension between those having traditionally accepted expertise and training on the one hand and “the increasing number of history-making sites and audiences for public history on the other”.¹⁹ To complicate matters, many historians (and political commentators) see a fundamental tension between the two forms of history, the one emphasising reason and complexity, the other emphasising emotions, an absence of ambiguity and, where dramatisation is used, the compromising of authenticity.²⁰ Such a reductionist perspective is unhelpful and overlooks the “very real financial, industrial and political limitations”

that shape and constrain the production of history for television.²¹ Further, as William Guynn has argued, film (and television) can be a medium for collective memory that creates a critical link between the past and social identity in the present.²² As several scholars have observed, media (such as film and documentary), autobiographies and oral histories have more readily accommodated Aboriginal “narrative strategies and forms” than has traditional historical scholarship.²³ Given that Aboriginal histories and their inclusion in the public record are by no means confined to the traditional written historical canon, we can realistically expect the continuing emergence of cultural texts that bypass traditional scholarship in the recovery of details about Aboriginal war service. At the same time, however, the imminent centenary commemorations are likely to reproduce a monolithic invoking of the white Australian Anzac legend and its associated nationalism, in turn perpetuating the peripheral status of the black digger. The report by the Rudd Government’s Centenary Commission on Anzac, a document publicly released in 2012, recognises the importance to Aboriginal communities of acknowledging their service. The role of personal stories in advancing community awareness of narratives of war—both on the home front as well as on the front line—is identified by the Commission as a pivotal part of this process.²⁴ Uncovering alternative narratives provides us with a critical tool to challenge the dominant paradigm in re-remembering Anzac—a compelling reason, then, to examine the value of counter-histories on the small screen and to consider their potential impact.

Exclusion from the Australian Army

Any discussion of the position of Aboriginal men in the services needs to first contextualise their status by referencing pre-war regulations. At the birth of the Australian Commonwealth in 1901, Aboriginal people were subjects who were

almost completely denied the rights and entitlements enjoyed by white Australians. Indeed, Aboriginal people would not achieve equal citizenship for many decades.²⁵ An amendment in 1909 to the Defence Act of 1903 provided for compulsory peacetime military training, including formation of a reserve comprised of white men aged over twenty-five. Section 61(h) had an important influence on Indigenous service. It reads:

The following shall be exempt from service in time of war, so long as the employment, condition, or status on which the exemption is based continues:--
(h) Persons who are not substantially of European origin or descent, of which the medical authorities appointed under the Regulations shall be the judges....
Provided that, as regards the persons described in paragraphs (h) and (i) [Conscientious Objectors] of this section, the exemption shall not extend to duties of a *non-combat* Nature [emphasis added].²⁶

Winegard contends that it is a moot point whether an Indigenous exemption from service prevented volunteering; however, the marginalisation of Indigenous people in the body politic combined with their non-European ethnic status meant it was unlikely that Aboriginal people entered the consciousness of defence policymakers at the time.²⁷ Moreover, researchers have found that the actual experience of a large number of Aboriginal men is that they *were* rejected precisely because they were not substantially of European background.²⁸ While there was no question in the *Attestation of Persons enlisting for service overseas* that specifically addressed racial background, information concerning enlistees' Indigenous status could sometimes be gleaned from this form or other documentation attached to the service record—notably medical details.²⁹ As Philippa Scarlet has argued, an Aboriginal volunteer could get past the initial recruitment hurdle only to be rejected at the medical.³⁰ The evidence for this is the “re-examined and rejected” stamp put on the

service records of enlistees who were “not of substantial European origin”. Some medical officers were explicit in their pathologisation of Aboriginality, conceptualising their racial identity as evidence of a physical disability. Where the volunteer enlisted was another critical variable in the process, accounting for over-representation in some locations where admittance was widely known to be easier.³¹ In a broader sense, the phenomenon mirrors the prevailing scientific racism of this era.³² At the same time, there was a loophole in Section 61 (h) allowing Aboriginal people to have roles as non-combatants, perhaps most commonly as civilian labourers.³³ As Das has made clear in an international context, the roles of Indigenous and other non-European non-combatants, mostly as labourers and personnel on the home front, are highly significant, the details of which deserve fuller recovery.³⁴

The blanket exclusion on Aboriginal enlistment did not persist for the duration of the war. Written instructions issued by the Australian Army to enlisting officers in Queensland in early 1916 did not allow any leeway in the interpretation of the rules: “Aboriginals, half-castes or men with Asiatic blood are not to be enlisted. This applies to all coloured men”.³⁵ However, by 1917 the situation had changed: there was an urgent need for reinforcements to replace the many men lost by the AIF on the Western Front. An updated military memo then advised that mixed-race Aborigines could enlist, subject to proving that one parent was of European descent. In Queensland, the revised guidelines stated the following:

Half-castes may be enlisted when, in the opinion of the District Commandant, they are suitable. Half-castes are usually of two classes –those who have mixed all their lives with white people and copied their ways, and those who have enlisted with their full-blooded brothers; the former class might be suitable for enlistment, but the latter is not eligible, and is not to be enlisted.

As a guide in this matter it is to be borne in mind that these men will be required to live with white men and share their

accommodation, and their selection is to be judged from this standpoint and whether their inclusion will cause irritation to the men with whom they will serve.³⁶

The context behind the exclusion from service is omitted in most of the documentaries discussed here or is briefly mentioned to register the point in the viewer's mind: that Aboriginal men were deemed "neither desirable nor necessary".³⁷ One episode of *480: The Anzacs* does address the issue in depth by presenting the contrasting fortunes of two Aboriginal men who "were willing to fight and die for their country" regardless of their success in circumventing the ban on Indigenous service. The series is presented by actor Luke Carroll, who anchors the narrative. Extensive use is made of archival footage and photographic stills with occasional re-enactments to fill the gaps.³⁸ Each episode presents a vignette of one or two Aboriginal people, with a focus on their wartime service. In episode four, the audience is introduced to Sendy Togo, a man who travelled over 800 kilometres from the North Coast of NSW to Sydney to enlist. But, at Paddington, he was separated from white enlistees and discharged without explanation before being sent home. News of the case reached the wider community and prompted a sharp rebuke from a reader of the *Sunday Sun* who wrote to the prime minister, appealing to him to see that "these hideous wrongs are righted".³⁹

Douglas Grant ("Poppin Jerri") is one of the most celebrated black diggers of the First World War and is profiled in the same episode of *480: The Anzacs*.⁴⁰ Grant was an adopted child who enlisted in the hope of being seen as equal to whites. But, in 1916, he was discharged from the Thirteenth Battalion of the AIF due to his Aboriginality. In late 1917, he succeeded in re-enlisting in the Thirteenth following the easing of regulations governing the service of mixed-race men. The power of those who adjudicated on the issue of race and service is highlighted on-screen using bold

white text synchronised with the sound of a clicking typewriter: **“Half-castes may be enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force provided that the Examining Medical Officers are satisfied that one of the parents is of European origin.”**⁴¹ Grant was later captured by the Germans in the first battle of Bullecourt in 1917 by the Germans, who then interned him as a prisoner of war. German anthropologists studied his artwork with great interest and showed respect for their Indigenous captive. A man of many talents, including artistic abilities, Grant was characterised as “a scholar, speaker and humorist”.⁴² His German captors tasked him with the responsibility of food distribution to his fellow prisoners. The narrator’s question framing this episode opposes traditional understandings of the war: “Nothing could have been more horrible than being held captive by your enemy ... but what if your enemy treated you better than most of your own allies?” Posing this question is a very effective narrative device, provoking the audience to rethink war in more complex ways.⁴³

Enlistment as sacrifice

As with white Australian narratives of war, service by Aboriginal people in wartime has been understood by the families and ancestors of service personnel as a sacrifice—one that is a double sacrifice because the outcomes of the war led to little if any tangible benefit to improve the state of the Aboriginal community.⁴⁴ A range of compelling incentives explains the apparent perverse willingness of so many men to become black diggers. Key among the incentives were the army wage of six shillings a day (a very high wage compared to that earned by Indigenous cattle hands at the time), the romance and adventure that travel conjured up, and the patriotism and pro-imperial sentiment instilled by missionaries and reserve administrators.⁴⁵ Recent oral testimony of Aboriginal service personnel involved in the Vietnam war has

additionally pointed to the opportunities provided by the army, and the skills that could be learnt.⁴⁶ Indigenous enlistment also provided the opportunity to assert soldier citizenship: a claim to greater equality with whites based on war service, performance and sacrifice. It was an idea very powerfully promoted by an Indigenous elite in New Zealand, notably by the parliamentarians Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck. They encouraged Māori to enlist, preferably in a defined Indigenous unit, as evidence that Māori were the equal of whites, and that their war service demanded equal treatment.⁴⁷ Although not explicitly articulated by any Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander before the war, this was a view that emerged from some Aboriginal leaders in the interwar period. This important idea of Aboriginal war service as a claim to soldier citizenship and its rejection by the white state is presented in an episode of *First Australians*.

Before exploring this issue, the series and relevant episode first call for some contextualisation. *First Australians* is an important example of what has been described as “historical event television” that crosses media platforms (television, DVD, book and high-tech web portal) to maximise audience share and audience engagement.⁴⁸ The visual style of the series reflects the technical influence of Ken Burns, who had produced a number of celebrated and popular documentary series on American history for the American Public Broadcasting Service (notably *The Civil War* series). Burns’s style is evident in the panning and zooming techniques used to show archival images, in the reading of diary extracts, in the use of contemporary landscapes, and in the eschewal of re-enactment.⁴⁹ The challenge was a “reframing of national history” that revealed the “trail of horror” in colonial history, but presented in a way that provided space for a national television audience to engage emotionally with the characters using a semibiographical approach.⁵⁰ Beyond the archival

images, the series invites the viewer to imagine beyond the surviving fragments of the past to engage one's "ethical imaginations".⁵¹ In this sense, *First Australians* contributes significantly to an anticolonial politics.⁵² Episode six, "A fair deal for a dark race", includes a brief segment on Aboriginal service in war, its impact and legacy. The presence of experts, in this case Marcia Langton, Peter Read, Bain Attwood and Richard Frankland, lends gravitas to the unfolding narrative.

This episode of *First Australians* is framed as a search by Aboriginal people for equality and full citizenship. It structures this idea, above all, around mini-biographical portraits of footballer Doug Nicholls, who is a vital bridge between Aboriginal people and the white community, as well as William Cooper, Nicholls's uncle. In many ways, Cooper, Secretary of the Australian Aborigines League and tireless campaigner for Aboriginal land rights and enfranchisement, came to symbolise the uphill struggle for Indigenous advancement built on the back of war service. Cooper's leadership in the struggle for equality led him to identify with Jews and other persecuted minorities around the world. His words are presented to the audience by a voiceover accompanying photographic stills of him and his son Dan, who had died in overseas service during the First World War. William Cooper was angry about the prospect of Aboriginal servicemen fighting in future wars for a country that had systematically taken away their rights, had marginalised their identity and alienated them from their land; indeed, a country that would not even recognise them as citizens.⁵³ Cooper often contrasted the lack of Aboriginal rights with the rights of Māori in New Zealand and First Nations people in Canada, but his protests were ignored—a familiar refrain typifying relations between coloniser and colonised in Australia.⁵⁴ Yet, despite the many obstacles that would confront them,

Indigenous veterans would go on to play an important role in political advances made by Aboriginal people.⁵⁵

Passing the race bar

The act of enlistment—often interpreted as a double sacrifice by families—needs to be explained through the eyes of the men who signed up. Here, the home front context provides some important clues. The army functioned as a site of refuge from the many controls and surveillance mechanisms of the protection system, an invasive regime in the everyday lives of Aboriginal people that hardened during this period. In a more positive sense, the army offered important opportunities and inducements to black diggers: “respect, advancement and equality”.⁵⁶ “Lest We Forget” touches on that issue. In this documentary, a variety of experts are interviewed, including those with historical knowledge who are able to explain the relative popularity of the army to Aboriginal men despite all of the barriers restricting their entry. Indigenous liaison officer at the Australian War Memorial, Gary Oakley, explains that once a serviceman enlisted, the army did not see his skin, only his service.⁵⁷ Similarly, in *First Australians*, leading Indigenous scholar Marcia Langton suggests that war service was one of three ways in which Aboriginal people could sometimes be treated in a “reasonably civil way that marked them out as distinct from the Aboriginal people of white fellas’ stereotyped imagination”.⁵⁸ Or, as Richard Frankland sums up the conundrum: “Do I stay here and get treated like scum or go there and get shot at?”⁵⁹ The notion of the army as a “colour blind” institution, notwithstanding the presence of individuals in it with racist beliefs, is an idea common to oral accounts of Australian veterans who served in the twentieth century.⁶⁰ This perspective is stated in some detail in *The Forgotten*.

The twin inspirations that propelled Glen Stasiuk to make *The Forgotten* were his ancestors who fought in both world wars and “the respect he felt for the Anzac ‘black diggers’ ”.⁶¹ Contributing to the overall impact of Stasiuk’s work are clips from Richard Frankland’s 1999 short film drama *Harry’s War*, a soundtrack including evocative and celebrated singles by Eric Bogle and Paul Kelly, and some powerful interviews with veterans. *The Forgotten* extensively documents the views of Aboriginal veterans on a range of twentieth-century conflicts and peacekeeping missions, at times with great emotion to reinforce the central idea that the army was an important leveller. Coverage of Aboriginal service in the First World War is limited to approximately eight minutes. Yet the documentary successfully conveys a key message to the viewer: Aboriginal servicemen in the First World War proved themselves capable; they suffered casualties comparable to the overall casualty rate of the First AIF; and many were awarded military medals for courage—despite the fact that black diggers were considered “neither desirable nor necessary”.⁶² Stasiuk’s respect for the contribution of black diggers and their marginal status is captured starkly in a cameo in Wain Fimeri’s 2000 drama-documentary, *Pozières*. The viewer is presented with a vignette about Aboriginal serviceman David Pearson⁶³, in the Seventh Battalion, who was twice wounded and then killed on the Western Front but not before being awarded the Military Medal for bravery. Pearson’s status is symbolic of the broader disenfranchisement of Aboriginal diggers: soldiers but not citizens, and without the vote. As the film’s voiceover track makes clear, concise and powerful, “David Pearson has legally no country to fight for”.⁶⁴

The Forgotten outlines one of the most common ways in which Aboriginal men subverted army regulations and enlisted in the First AIF: by signing a document denouncing their Aboriginality. The narrative of Trooper Horace Dalton, which

emerged in 2012 through broadcast media, exemplifies this colonial attitude. Trooper Dalton had enlisted in the Eleventh Light Horse Regiment in 1918 and died in 1956, buried in an unmarked grave near Brisbane. To verify to authorities that he was sufficiently “civilised” to serve with the AIF, Dalton had to sign a statutory declaration verifying that “he knew how to live like a white man”.⁶⁵ At least one commentator has observed the deeply ironic nature of this official requirement given the soldier’s involvement in one of the twentieth century’s most *uncivilised* conflicts.⁶⁶

One other way for Aboriginals to enlist in the AIF was “racial passing”. This phenomenon is identified by historian and expert John Connor in “Lest We Forget” and by Richard Frankland in *First Australians*, but is not named as such. Anecdotally, the concept is familiar within Aboriginal communities but there has been very limited research on it, and only a few examples of screen representation exist.⁶⁷ Racial passing is also under-researched in African-American historiography, where it is more identifiable in fiction feature films and in literary texts.⁶⁸ And yet, the sometimes draconian consequences of the protection laws and the discriminatory treatment in the civilian community significantly incentivised the act of racial passing. Although we cannot be certain how most men managed to enlist, some Aboriginal men presented as part-Indian or part-Māori to persuade military authorities that their enlistment was bona fide. They did this, as it was widely known that Indian and Māori men had been permitted to serve in combat roles from early in the war following the lifting of an embargo by the British government. At least one Aboriginal digger, Albert Tripcony, who enlisted in 1916, managed to pass as a “black Italian”.⁶⁹ As Gary Oakley has noted, some Aboriginal diggers used invented names to disguise their true identities.⁷⁰

Civilian exclusions and denial of repatriation benefits

Exclusion from civilian society not only in the pre-war context but even after meritorious service and sacrifice in war is a theme that permeates many of the documentaries discussed here. The restriction on Aboriginal veterans preventing them from entering public bars continues to be a painful memory for many in the Aboriginal community. That the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA) clubs were key sites of exclusion and discriminatory practice in the interwar period merely added salt to the psychological wound. The continuation of these practices by many RSL clubs after the Second World War would become a focal point for protest. The issue is recalled with great emotion in a veteran interview featured in *The Forgotten*. Similarly, oral testimony of a family member in “The Last Post” reveals that bars were sites of exclusion. The 2006 Anzac Day edition of *Message Stick*, “The Last Post”, pays homage to Indigenous war veterans who fought for the principle of freedom. It includes extended recollections from Sandra Hill, daughter of navy veteran, Herbert Hill. As Sandra Hill recounts, the opportunity to be treated equally was likely to have been a major inducement for her father to enlist and serve as a stoker with the navy. The particular form of racial segregation she recollected was the colour bar imposed by publicans in front bars. With considerable emotion, she recalls how hurtful the denial of this basic freedom must have been to him.⁷¹ In *The Forgotten*, the director draws on clips from *Harry’s War* showing the mateship of two men, Harry (a Koorie), and Mitch (a non-Aboriginal Australian), who serve in Papua New Guinea in the Second World War.⁷² *Harry’s War* was made by Aboriginal director, Richard Frankland, and is based on the experiences of his uncle, Harry Saunders, who served in Papua New Guinea. A key scene from *Harry’s War* ends in a bar-room brawl when Mitch defends the right of his Aboriginal comrades to drink in a public bar. Although the scene takes place much

later in the twentieth century, this dramatic device nevertheless illustrates the kind of discrimination faced by Aboriginal servicemen in a civilian context in the interwar period.

It is important to note the link between the front line and home front in the context of Indigenous war service. John Maynard has pointed to discriminatory treatment by the state, not only in relation to eligibility for rehabilitation grants and the soldier settlement scheme, but also by requisitioning Aboriginal land for resettling white veterans.⁷³ There are very few cases documented of land resettlement for Aboriginal returned servicemen. The best known case—and the only one to be commonly cited in the literature—is that of Sergeant George Kennedy, who is known to have received a block of land under the scheme: a 17,000-acre entitlement near Ivanhoe in the far west of NSW.⁷⁴ Less well known is the case of Percy Pepper, who returned from the war in Europe in September 1918 and successfully obtained a block at Koo-wee-rup, south-east of Melbourne. Pepper would face many of the same problems as non-Indigenous returned servicemen, on his block of reclaimed swampland.⁷⁵ The home front nexus is also significant as service in the First AIF coincided with a tightening of the protection regime—with obvious implications for the families of Indigenous servicemen.⁷⁶ The withholding of pay from the families of Aboriginal servicemen and other forms of discriminatory treatment are further issues dealt with in some detail in these documentary texts, and nowhere are these more powerfully shown than in *Who Do You Think You Are?*

Michelle Arrow has argued that experience, identity and empathy are all vital ingredients in reception of the new television history.⁷⁷ *Who Do You Think You Are?* is a series billed as one in which “Australian celebrities play detective as they go in search of their family history, revealing secrets from the past”.⁷⁸ While it is a series

that may impose limits to our understanding of history, its quest for identity nonetheless responds to the pressing contemporary desire for personal or family history ahead of knowledge about key events in the national story.⁷⁹ Here the viewer is asked to imagine what lies behind the photographs and documents presented on-screen. Historians and archivists are commonly co-opted in this series to help piece together the narratives that lie buried with the celebrity's ancestors. In episode four, series one, about the ancestry of Aboriginal Olympic gold medallist Catherine Freeman, Gary Oakley from the Australian War Memorial plays a supporting educational role, answering Freeman's many questions about her Anzac ancestor and the context of his war service.

Freeman's quest to solve the puzzle of her family history tells, in microcosm, part of a much wider national story about the repressive nature of the protection regime. It also brings forward emotions surrounding her ancestors' personal lives and experiences in ways that can be repressed in scholarly histories.⁸⁰ Freeman's immense surprise and obvious delight at the discovery of previously unknown forebears and their achievements is a major factor in audience engagement with the show. One notable example is the revelation that her great-grandfather Frank Fisher Senior⁸¹ was a Light Horseman in the Eleventh Battalion of the AIF who served in Egypt and Palestine.⁸²

The discussion later turns to the thorny issue of the implications for his family on the home front. Freeman holds a letter from the Queensland State Archives written by Fisher Senior's wife, Esme, to the Chief Protector in August 1918, notifying him that she had experienced problems withdrawing her husband's pay from the post office at Murgon. In reply, the Chief Protector advised Esme that he was acting in accordance with the 1897 Protection Act, which empowered him to control the wages of mixed-

race Aboriginal servicemen. As Freeman notes (with bitter irony), by that time Fisher Senior had already been fighting for country (and, indeed, empire) for eighteen months. The collective weight of these revelations leads Freeman to question Fisher Senior's motives for fighting for Australia, given that he had so many reasons not to do so. However, in the end she respects his decision and feels proud and humbled by his achievements.⁸³

Legacy: honouring black diggers

Over half a century ago, historian John La Nauze wrote that Aboriginal people had been consigned to the status of a “melancholy anthropological footnote” in the writing of Australian history.⁸⁴ In his Boyer lectures a decade later, anthropologist W.E.H. Stanner talked about that neglect, introducing a powerful new phrase to the lexicon—the “great Australian silence”—a line that continues to reverberate today.⁸⁵ More recently, cultural historian Chris Healy has written of the cyclical process (rather than continuous process) of forgetting about Aboriginal people, which is tightly bound to political cycles. An unending series of rediscoveries of Indigenous Australians occurs, he argues, precisely because “non-Indigenous Australians forget their own forgetting”.⁸⁶ The same invisibility and depredations that plagued Indigenous veterans of the First AIF returned to haunt their successors from the Second AIF; indeed, the years 1946 to 1966 comprise an era during which Aboriginal people are now commonly remembered to have been invisible in the life of the nation.⁸⁷

In episode six of *First Australians*, historian Peter Read segues from war into a discussion of the civilian life experienced by Aboriginal service personnel. He explains that veterans were “shoved off again”, and expected to reabsorb back into

the community and “disappear”.⁸⁸ The narrative of Trooper Horace Dalton, who enlisted in the Eleventh Light Horse Regiment in 1918, will be recalled from earlier in the discussion. His official burial ceremony in 2012 was described by Dalton’s family as an incremental step in reconciliation, investing the event with much greater significance than the belated recovery and honouring of one Indigenous serviceman. The Dalton case study is consistent with the failure of the state (until more recently) to provide Indigenous veterans with a military burial, to compensate them for funeral costs, to provide them with war pensions, or with access to soldier settlement schemes, as was common for non-Indigenous veterans.⁸⁹ The ceremony also served to underscore the point—in graphic terms—that the black digger was written out of the Anzac legend.⁹⁰ In “Lest We Forget”, made in the late Howard government era, narrator Miriam Corowa notes “signs of a turning tide” in providing belated recognition. Here, the role of the Department of Veterans’ Affairs is foregrounded. This documentary points to the growing role of outreach by the Department in providing support to the veteran community. The spotlight shines on Robert Noble, a Murri from Queensland, who has been tasked with taking this message to department staff and the Indigenous community.⁹¹

Perhaps the most piquant irony of Aboriginal war service and sacrifice was the belief of black diggers that they were fighting for freedom and expected that things would change in the war’s aftermath, but that they were never to be free of the colour bar once they returned to civilian life. “The Last Post” is a touching presentation of the important healing and reconciliation mission of the organisation Honouring Indigenous War Graves Inc., founded by John Schnaars. A Vietnam veteran who is very conscious of the occluded nature of Aboriginal war service, Schnaars discusses the rationale of his organisation. He describes the outright denial of Aboriginal rights,

the status of Aboriginals as flora and fauna and, in many cases, the further injustice of family removals under the auspices of the protection system. Added to the weight of these historical injustices was the steadfast refusal of the state to grant graves to Aboriginal diggers. The latter instance of discrimination created a heavy emotional burden for the families of veterans, who had been acutely aware of the legacy of war and what their ancestors had fought for. As “The Last Post” documents, the erection of headstones on Aboriginal graves, and ceremonies incorporating traditional elements (including a smoking ceremony and the playing of the didgeridoo) have been critical in bringing families and communities—Indigenous and non-Indigenous—together, in the process providing healing and closure. A ceremony honouring Hubert Headland (one of the two Aboriginal veterans spotlighted in this documentary) at Karrakatta cemetery in Western Australia enables the audience to witness the blending of Indigenous ceremony with that of the official organs of the state. On the one hand, the viewer hears the national anthem, words of reconciliation from the state Indigenous Affairs minister, and sees the official presence of the Australian Army, one of whose representatives performs the “last post”. At the same time, the event embodies a strong Indigenous presence through the display of objects and the enactment of ceremonial rites. The daughter of Hubert Headland expresses gratification that her father’s last wish is fulfilled through enactment of the ceremony. In the final scene of “The Last Post”, the viewer sees the spirit of Herbert Hill, the other featured serviceman, walking through a cemetery past the departing car of his daughter, Sandra, who has been paying her respects at his grave and headstone. Her “spirit guide” dad pauses and looks in her direction. The scene is set to the tune of a well-known song, “I’m going home”. The final screen titles complete

the process of honouring these men: “In memory of all Indigenous men and women who fought for our freedom”.⁹²

Conclusion

Recently published historical studies about the First World War—globally and domestically —have provided important new insights into rethinking the impact of war on Indigenous peoples. A long under-researched field, the fruits of these continuing labours hold much promise in nuancing and extending our understanding of this multifaceted twentieth-century watershed. For Aboriginal people, the First World War is inseparable from the ravages of the protection regime, and analyses that attempt to dissolve traditional distinctions between overseas service and the home front are more likely to yield meaningful understanding of a complex set of issues and their legacy. Popular forms of history—especially the television documentary form with its capability to both instruct and connect with a mass audience—have a major role to play in fuller recovery and dissemination of this still inchoate area of Australian history. While some recent history initiatives created for television have been scorned by historians, the examples selected and analysed in this article are resistant to such attacks on their historical integrity. For one thing, their subject matter stands in stark contrast to the Howard-era return of a top down “great [white] man” approach to understanding Australian history through television.⁹³ Moreover, the visual histories that form the focus of this article do not rely on dramatisation to convey their narratives. Instead, these postcolonial documentaries foreground Aboriginal voices, disseminate the knowledge of historians and allied experts, and, in most cases provide space for audiences to experience intimacy through limited recourse to actors and dramatisation. Aboriginal people have actively participated in the production of these documentaries, using

them to tell the stories of their own people to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal audiences, through public television. These documentaries contribute to the process of incremental change by telling often neglected stories that assist in overturning white settler mythology. In so doing, they can be seen as empowering, even cathartic for Aboriginal audiences, and enlightening for non-Aboriginal people.⁹⁴ They also highlight the conundrum for Aboriginal people of forgetting one thing (the horror and violence of the colonial wars) to remember another (the wars of the twentieth century).⁹⁵ Ongoing production of screen texts for a wider public will continue to raise community consciousness of the many and varied narratives about Aboriginal service and sacrifice, whether from the front line or the home front, and whether involving combatants or non-combatants. As the Centenary Commission on Anzac has suggested, this would be a valuable step in reconciliation.⁹⁶

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²Ann 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: Routledge, 2000), 133.

³At the same time, there is evidence that the media continues to dramatically under-report the scale of non-European contributions to the war effort. See for example Paul Daley, "Black Diggers Challenging Anzac Myths," *Guardian Australia*, <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/australia-culture-blog/2014/jan/14/black-diggers-challenging-anzac-myths>. Daley reports that "hundreds of Indigenous servicemen fought for the British empire in the first world war [sic]".

⁴Santanu Das, ed., *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 4. See also, Toby Haggith and Richard Smith, "Sons of Our Empire: Shifting Ideas of 'Race' and the Cinematic Representation of Imperial Troops in World War I," in Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe, ed. *Empire and Film* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 35-53.

⁵Peter Stanley, "'He was Black, he was a White Man, and a dinkum Aussie': Race and Empire in revisiting the Anzac Legend," in Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, 213-30. It seems that "Mick" King was in fact William King, who enlisted with the Ninth Reinforcements of the Fifty-Sixth Battalion. Personal communication with Michael Wenham, May 14, 2013.

⁶For an earlier impassioned plea to redress the lack of inclusiveness of the legend, see Robert A. Hall, "Black Australians and the Anzac Legend," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 16 (April 1990): 51-52.

⁷Stanley, "'He was Black, he was a White Man, and a dinkum Aussie'," 215-19.

⁸Karen Fox, "Globalising Indigeneity? Writing Indigenous Histories in a Transnational World," *History Compass* 10.6 (2012): 423, doi:10.1111/j.1478-0542.2012.00855.x.

⁹See in particular: Tim Travers, *Gallipoli 1915* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2001); Harvey Broadbent, *Gallipoli: The Fatal Shore* (Melbourne: Penguin, 2005); Peter Stanley, *Quinn's Post, Anzac, Gallipoli* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2005); and Robin Prior, *Gallipoli: The End of the Myth* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009).

¹⁰Timothy C. Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 190.

¹¹Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions*, 1, 66-67.

¹²Until very recently it was thought that several hundred Aboriginal men had served in the First AIF. The most recent estimates put Aboriginal enlistment in the First World War at over 1,000. Personal communication with John Maynard, April 14, 2013. At the time of writing, a major ARC linkage grant project, *Serving Our Country: A History of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People in the Defence of Australia*, is underway to recover this service. The key researchers involved are: Ann McGrath, Mick Dodson, Sam Furphy, John Maynard, Noah Riseman and Geoffrey Gray.

¹³See for example: Chris Coulthard-Clark, "Aborigines in the first AIF," *Army Journal* 286 (March 1973): 21-26; Chris Coulthard-Clark, "Aborigine medal winners," *Sabretache* 18.4 (October 1977): 244-48; Robert A. Hall, *The Black Diggers: Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the Second World War* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989). Rod Pratt's series of four articles on Aboriginal volunteers in Queensland, published in *Sabretache* in 1990 were especially significant. Apart from his many articles on the subject, David Huggonson was creator of "Too Dark for the Light Horse", an exhibition that toured Australia at the turn of the millennium. Accessed February 14, 2013, <http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/toodark/>. Also see "Too Dark for the Light Horse: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People in the Defence Forces," Resource Book, Memorial Box 03, Australian War Memorial, accessed May 19, 2013, http://www.awm.gov.au/education/box/03_res_book.pdf.

¹⁴On the Sydney memorial and the Coloured Diggers Project, see "Hyde Park Monument to Honour Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who have served their Country," City of Sydney, accessed September 20, 2013, <http://www.cityartsydney.com.au/projects/hydeparkmonument.asp>. A prominent national memorial marking Aboriginal service and sacrifice is one short-term initiative that would assist in promoting awareness among Australians of this suppressed history. As Gary Oakley has observed, the plaque (created by a non-Indigenous Australian in 1993) in an obscure bush setting at the base of Mt. Ainslie in Canberra with an inscription reading "Remembering the Aboriginal people who served in the Australian forces", does not do justice to their memory. "Living Black," SBS TV, April 28, 2013; ABC 7 pm TV News, April 24, 2013; World News Australia, SBS Radio, April 15, 2013; "Sacred Site: National Indigenous War Memorial in the Canberra Bush," ABC online, April 22, 2013, accessed September 20, 2013, <http://www.abc.net.au/local/videos/2013/04/19/3741143.htm>.

¹⁵*Black Diggers* (directed by Wesley Enoch, Sydney Opera House, January 17-26, 2014).

¹⁶Michelle Arrow, "The Making History Initiative and Australian Popular History," *Rethinking History* 15.2 (June 2011): 160-61.

¹⁷*The Forgotten* (Glen Stasiuk, 2002, 27 mins); "The Last Post" (Adrian Wills, 2005, 27 mins); "Lest We Forget" (Miriam Corowa: 2007, 27 mins); *Who Do You Think You Are?* (Jane Manning, 2008, season one, episode four, 54 mins); *First Australians* (Rachel Perkins, 2008, episode six, 53 mins); and a mini-documentary series, *480: The Anzacs* (Ryan Griffen, 2012, episode four, 10 mins).

¹⁸*Message Stick*, ABC Online Indigenous, accessed February 26, 2014, http://www.abc.net.au/indigenous/programs/message_stick/.

¹⁹ Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton, "'Unfinished Business': Public History in a Postcolonial Nation," in *Contested Histories in Public Space: Memory, Race and Nation*, ed. Daniel J. Walkowitz and Lisa Maya Knauer (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 72.

²⁰ As Jerome de Groot notes, the use of re-enactment has been commonplace in television historical documentaries since 1990, although it was rarely used before then. Whereas audiences are largely comfortable with the visual anachronism of re-enactment in documentary, it is professionals who dislike it, claiming it compromises authenticity. However, this is to ignore the role of dramatisation in stimulating the historical imagination. See Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2008), 110–13; Arrow, "The Making History Initiative," 154–55. It has also been argued that the use of actors rather than actual footage breaks the indexical relationship between the image and its historical referent. See Bill Nicholls, *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 21. Despite the irony, "found" footage is the generally accepted term. I would be content with "archival" or "recovered footage", but "actual" implies "real", ignoring the constructed nature of the documentary form.

²¹ Arrow, "The Making History Initiative," 170.

²² William Guynn, *Writing History in Film* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 178.

²³ See in particular, Ashton and Hamilton, "'Unfinished Business'," 90.

²⁴ The National Commission on the Commemoration of the Anzac Centenary, *How Australia May Commemorate the Anzac Centenary* (Canberra: Department of Veterans' Affairs, 2011), 3, 70, 75.

²⁵ For further details see John Chesterman and Brian Galligan, *Citizens without Rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

²⁶ *Defence Act of 1903*, Act No. 26 of 1903 as amended, Office of Legislative Drafting and Publishing, Canberra, 2005 as quoted in Timothy Winegard, "A Case Study of Indigenous Brothers in Arms," *Australian Army Journal* VI, no. 1 (2009): 193; Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions*, 62–63. Also see David Huggonson, "The Dark Diggers of the AIF," *Australian Quarterly* 61.3 (1989): 352.

²⁷ Winegard, "A Case Study of Indigenous Brothers in Arms," 193.

²⁸ Michael Wenham, for example, has found examples in South Australia of men passing their physical examination only to be later discharged for being "too Aboriginal". Personal communication with Michael Wenham, May 14, 2013.

²⁹ For details see, Philippa Scarlett, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers for the AIF: The Indigenous Response to World War One*, 2nd ed. (ACT: Indigenous Histories, 2012), 11.

³⁰ Scarlett, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers*, 11.

³¹ John Maynard, 'More than Service: Black Diggers and the Great War,' History Council of NSW Forum, State Library of NSW, 9 July 2014.

³² Scarlett, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers*, 11, 13.

³³ Winegard, "A Case Study of Indigenous Brothers in Arms," 192–93.

³⁴ Das, *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*, 4; For a discussion on the status of the Torres Strait Islander Infantry Battalion in the Second World War, see "Lest We Forget".

³⁵ Australian Army, *Instructions for the Guidance of Enlisting Officers at Approved Military Recruiting Depots* (Brisbane: Government Printer, 1916), 3.

³⁶ Australian Army, *Instructions to Enlisting and Recruiting Officers: Regarding Enlistment of Recruits in the Australian Imperial Forces* (Brisbane: Government Printer, n.d.), 13. Also see Huggonson, "The Dark Diggers of the AIF," 353.

³⁷ *The Forgotten*.

³⁸ Archival footage used in this documentary is almost certainly taken from the Second World War. This is a necessary compromise made by the filmmaker in view of an absence of visual material available from the First World War. An approximation between narration and footage is part of the constructed nature of documentary film and is not in itself a violation of the documentary "contract". See Stella Bruzzi, *New Documentary: A Critical Introduction* (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 44.

³⁹ 480: *The Anzacs*.

⁴⁰ For further details on Douglas Grant, see Scarlett, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers*, 69–70, and "Stolen Years: Australian Prisoners of War", Australian War Memorial, accessed September 20, 2013, <http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/stolenyears/ww1/germany/>.

⁴¹ 480: *The Anzacs*.

⁴² Cited in Scarlett, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers*, 69.

⁴³ 480: *The Anzacs*.

- ⁴⁴See for example, Doreen Kartinyeri, *Ngarrindjeri Anzacs* (Adelaide: Aboriginal Family History Project, South Australia, 1996), 9.
- ⁴⁵Huggonson, "The Dark Diggers of the AIF," 352–54; R. Evans, K. Saunders and K. Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination* (Sydney: Australia and NZ Book Co., 1975), 121–22; *First Australians*.
- ⁴⁶Noah Riseman, "Equality in the Ranks: The Lives of Aboriginal Vietnam Veterans," *Journal of Australian Studies* 36.4 (2012): 411, 414, 421.
- ⁴⁷James Bennett, "Maori as Honorary Members of the White Tribe," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29. 3 (2001): 43.
- ⁴⁸Therese Davis, "A post-apology National History: First Australians—The Untold Story of Australia," *Metro Magazine* 159 (2008): 106.
- ⁴⁹Felicity Collins, "After the Apology: Reframing Violence and Suffering in *First Australians*, *Australia*, and *Samson and Delilah*," *Continuum* 24:1 (2010): 69, doi:10.1080/10304310903362742; Larry Schwartz, "Playing with Reality," *Age* (Melbourne) April 12, 2008, Green Guide, 12.
- ⁵⁰Collins, "After the Apology," 69; Davis, "A post-apology National History," 106.
- ⁵¹Davis, "A post-apology National History," 108.
- ⁵²Collins, "After the Apology," 65.
- ⁵³*First Australians*; Heather Goodall, "Not such a respected soldier: The Impact of World War I on Aborigines in New South Wales," *Teaching History* 21.4 (1987): 5; Alick Jackomos and Derek Fowell, *Forgotten Heroes: Aborigines at War from the Somme to Vietnam* (Melbourne: Victoria Press, 1993), 9.
- ⁵⁴Diane Barwick, "Cooper, William (1861–1941)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (National Centre of Biography: Australian National University, 1981), accessed February 12, 2013, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cooper-william-5773/text9787>.
- ⁵⁵John Maynard, *Fight for Liberty and Freedom: The Origins of Australian Aboriginal Activism* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2007): 39; *The Forgotten*.
- ⁵⁶*The Forgotten*.
- ⁵⁷"Lest We Forget".
- ⁵⁸*First Australians*.
- ⁵⁹*First Australians*.
- ⁶⁰*The Forgotten*.
- ⁶¹*The Forgotten*. See *Message Stick* web page, ABC Television, <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/messagestick/stories/s820390.htm>, accessed April 25, 2013. Notwithstanding a few minor factual errors, *The Forgotten* is an important early example of documentaries made by Indigenous people that have helped to focus on this neglected area.
- ⁶²*The Forgotten*.
- ⁶³The catalogue entry for *Pozières* indicates that some of the characters and events portrayed in this blended documentary are fictional. The brief thumbnail sketch given of Pearson's military service matches the biographical details of Corporal Harry Thorpe MM, who served in the Seventh Battalion in France in July 1916 and who was killed two years later. For details of Thorpe, see his official record in the Australian War Memorial collections at <http://www.awm.gov.au/collection/P01695.002>, accessed October 16, 2013. For the Ronin Films study guide on *Pozières* see www.roninfilms.com.au/get/files/935.pdf.
- ⁶⁴*Pozières* (Wain Fimeri, 2000, 52 mins).
- ⁶⁵ABC 7 pm TV News, September 29, 2012; Rebecca Lynch, "Military service finally honoured," *Queensland Times*, October 1, 2012, <http://www.qt.com.au/news/military-service-finally-honoured/1563973/>.
- ⁶⁶Rod Pratt, "Queensland's Aborigines in the First AIF," Part 2, *Sabretache* 31.2 (1990): 17.
- ⁶⁷Three examples of screen text by Indigenous filmmakers that address the issue of racial passing are: Darlene Johnson's award-winning short drama "Two Bob Mermaid" made in 1996 by the Australian Film Commission's Indigenous Branch. This 15-minute film is part of the *Sand to Celluloid* series. Set in rural NSW in 1957, it evokes very effectively the context of a post-war (see my earlier comment about the need for a hyphen in this word) Australian town marked by segregation and exclusion. The issue of racial passing is shown occurring at public swimming pools, one of the symbols of segregation in this era, along with RSL clubs. *Beneath Clouds* (Ivan Sen, 2002, 90 mins), is an award-winning dramatic feature about a young girl in flight from a small impoverished rural town in NSW, and her Aboriginal mother, while in search of her Irish father. See Australian Film Commission, *Dreaming in Motion* (Sydney: AFC, 2007), 38, 59; and Felicity Collins and Therese Davis, *Australian Cinema After Mabo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 162–67.

- ⁶⁸Personal communication with Kathleen Jackson, March 15, 2013. A more recent, and highly successful, example is *The Sapphires* (Wayne Blair, 2012, 103 mins). This feature film, based on a true story, includes a character, Kay, who was removed from her family as part of the government's assimilation policy. When her three cousins catch up with her, they find Kay is passing as a white woman in suburban Melbourne.
- ⁶⁹Pratt, "Queensland's Aborigines in the First AIF," 19. NB: the vol and issue numbers are there because this article (with the same title) was written in several parts. Without this information, the reader will be unsure which issue to consult.
- ⁷⁰Gary Oakley in *Living Black*, SBS TV, April 28, 2013.
- ⁷¹"The Last Post".
- ⁷²*Harry's War* (Richard Frankland, 1999, 27 mins).
- ⁷³Maynard, *Fight for Liberty and Freedom*, 39; *Vote Yes for Aborigines* (Frances Peters-Little, 2007, 52 mins).
- ⁷⁴David Huggonson, "Aborigines and the Aftermath of the Great War," *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1 (1993): 7.
- ⁷⁵National Archives of Australia and the Public Record Office, *Footprints: The Journey of Lucy and Percy Pepper* (Melbourne: NAA and PRO, 2008), 59.
- ⁷⁶Maynard, *Fight for Liberty and Freedom*, 39; Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Victorians: A History since 1800* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2005), 202; Huggonson, "The Dark Diggers of the AIF," 354.
- ⁷⁷Michelle Arrow, "'That History Should Not Have Ever Been How It Was,' *The Colony, Outback House* and Australian History," *Film and History* 37.1 (2007): 58.
- ⁷⁸See for example the synopsis of the show on IMDb, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1152296/>.
- ⁷⁹Marnie Hughes-Warrington, "Marketing and Receiving Historical Film," in *The History on Film Reader*, ed. Marnie Hughes-Warrington (London: Routledge, 2009), 236. See the related chapter, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, "The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life," in Hughes-Warrington, *The History on Film Reader*, 239–48; Graeme Davison, "Speed Relating: Family History in a Digital Age," *History Australia* 6.2 (2009): 43.7.
- ⁸⁰Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Past within Us: Media, Memory, History* (London: Verso, 2005), 24.
- ⁸¹For details, see Scarlett, *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers for the AIF*, 80, 105.
- ⁸²The Eleventh Light Horse included a significant number of Indigenous recruits. Personal communication with Michael Wenham, May 14, 2013.
- ⁸³*Who Do You Think You Are?*; Rod Pratt, "Queensland's Aborigines in the First AIF," Part 4, *Sabretache* 31.4 (1990): 37.
- ⁸⁴J.A. La Nauze, "The Study of Australian History, 1929–1959," *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* 9.33 (1959): 11.
- ⁸⁵W.E.H. Stanner cited in Henry Reynolds, "The Breaking of the Great Australian Silence: Aborigines in Australian Historiography 1955–1983" (The Trevor Reese Memorial Lecture, January 30, 1984), <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/artshums/ahri/centres/menzies/research/Publications/TrReynolds.pdf>.
- ⁸⁶Chris Healy, *Forgetting Aborigines* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2008), 14, 203.
- ⁸⁷Healy, *Forgetting Aborigines*, 31.
- ⁸⁸*First Australians*.
- ⁸⁹Winegard, "A Case Study of Indigenous Brothers in Arms," 201.
- ⁹⁰Hall, "Black Australians and the Anzac Legend," 51–52.
- ⁹¹"Lest We Forget".
- ⁹²"The Last Post".
- ⁹³See Arrow, "The *Making History* Initiative," 162–64.
- ⁹⁴See Jennifer Debenham, "Representations of Aborigines in Australian Documentary Film 1901–2009" (PhD thesis, University of Newcastle, 2013), 174–76, 202, 211.
- ⁹⁵Mick Dodson, panel discussion, 'More than Service' Forum.
- ⁹⁶*How Australia May Commemorate the Anzac Centenary*, 69.