



RMIT DESIGN ARCHIVES JOURNAL

VOL 8 Nº2 2018

SPECIAL ISSUE

COMMERCIAL ART

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ARCHIVES
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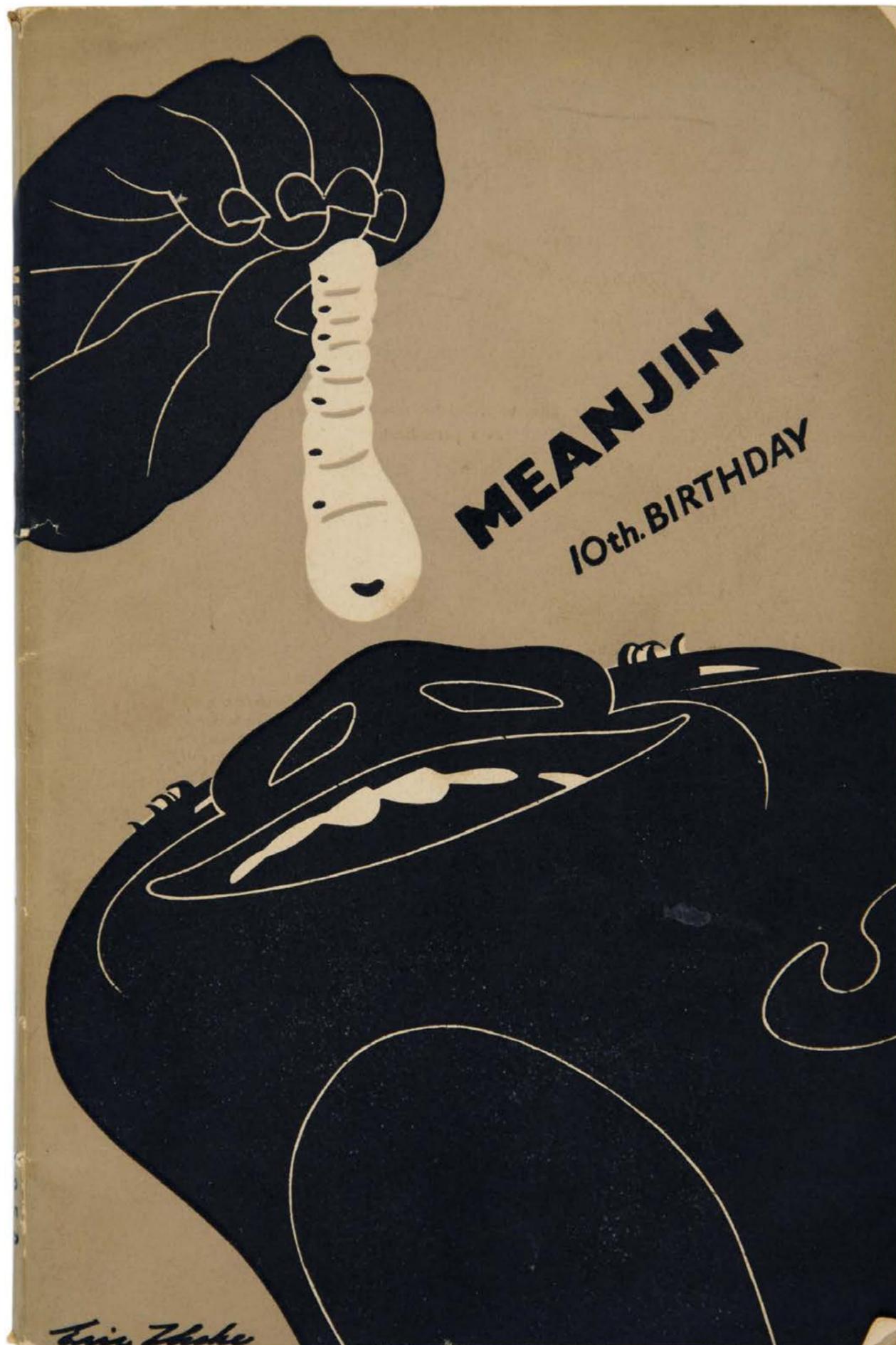
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Visualising Settler Colonialism: Australian modernism and Indigenous design

Daniel Huppatz



PEER
REVIEWED
ESSAY

In the two decades following the Second World War, Australia's design industry fundamentally changed with the institutionalisation of modernist, professional practice. Promoted as universal and timeless, modernism was also associated with scientific knowledge, technological progress and economic profitability. Formally, it was characterised by a reductive aesthetic and an emphasis on function. But, embedded within this burgeoning discourse was a paradox. Though eager to appear international, Australian designers also wanted to signify their difference and distinction, typically through reference to Indigenous flora, fauna, or Aboriginal culture.

Beginning in the inter-war period, visual representations of Aborigines and their material culture by non-Aboriginal designers were promoted as a potential – if problematic – foundation for a modern, national culture. For designers in a peripheral locale such as Australia, Aboriginal culture could serve two functions – as a cipher of localisation and as a counterpoint to modernity. Although design critics have noted the appropriation of Aboriginal imagery, there has been little detailed reflection on this phenomenon.¹ Through examining key visual examples from the 1940s and 1950s from the *Australia National Journal*, cover designs of the cultural magazine *Meanjin*, and the design of the first Australian dollar bill, this article aims to further analyse the flip-side of colonialism and modernism.

Visualising a Settler Colonial Culture

In the twenty-first century, historians have constructed new frameworks for understanding colonial relationships, and 'settler colonialism' has proved a useful distinction for the Australian context.² Previously, the term 'colonial' could conflate two relationships – that between imperial metropole (Britain) and colonial periphery (Australia), and that between the primarily white Anglo settlers and Indigenous Australians. These were, of course, fundamentally different economic, political, social and cultural relationships.

Importantly, design, in the form of commercial art, advertising and posters, was seen by modern artists and designers in the mid-twentieth century as a means to potentially bridge these relationships. Yet, as we will see, this was a conflicted project.

A close-knit network of artists, designers, publications and organizations in the 1920s and 1930s first visualised aspects of Aboriginal culture. These included the modern lifestyle magazine, *The Home*, founded in 1920, that featured seminal articles on Aboriginal art by Margaret Preston; and the Australian National Travel Association (ANTA), founded in 1929. The latter produced tourist posters and publications (designed by James Northfield, Douglas Annand, and Gert Sellheim and others), which included depictions of Aboriginal people and their material culture. ANTA's magazine *Walkabout*, launched in 1934, emphasised depictions of Aborigines as 'primitive' people with a 'Stone Age' culture, rendered in modern photographic techniques.³ In advertising too, an interest in Australian history included 'the Aborigine as a graphic device or visual shorthand for the past.'⁴ During the interwar period, such representations provided a clear visual contrast with white, settler culture, reinforcing the latter's superiority and modernity.

Previous Spread

Mab Treeby,
The Swallow & Ariell
Cake Walk, postcard,
(1910–1930), Troedel
Collection, courtesy State
Library of Victoria

Opposite

Eric Thake, cover for
Meanjin Volume 9,
Number 2, 1950,
Gift of Harriet Edquist
2018, 0038.2014.0066
© 2018 Estate of
Eric Thake

Opposite

Margaret Preston,
Aboriginal Hunt Design,
woodcut, reproduced in
Meanjin, 2:2, 1943, p.3.
© Estate of Margaret
Preston/Copyright
Agency, 2018

Margaret Preston was one of the few artists in the inter-war period with an interest in Aboriginal art. In her 1925 article, 'The Indigenous Art of Australia', Preston celebrated the simple forms, patterns and natural colours of Aboriginal visual culture and argued that 'returning to primitive art' could provide a foundation for a national culture.⁵ Using designs from shields and objects in the Sydney Museum as examples, Preston proposed Australian artists and designers should use for home décor, on textiles, graphic art, pottery, furniture or even 'an amusing dado for a child's room'.⁶ In a 1930 article on the same theme, Preston adds 'please do not bother about what the carver meant in the way of myths, rites, etc; that is not the decorators' affair'.⁷

Numerous designers in the 1930s, including textile designers Frances Burke and Michael O'Connell, commercial artists Douglas Annand, Gert Sellheim, Dahl and Geoffrey Collings, Alistair Morrison and Gordon Andrews, took up Preston's proposal to use Aboriginal culture. Preston too self-consciously incorporated Aboriginal motifs, patterns and colours into her paintings and prints. Although her initial exposure to Aboriginal culture was entirely through museums and the writings of anthropologists, she travelled to the Northern Territory in 1940. This gave her some understanding of the regional variety of Aboriginal cultural practices, but, apart from brief references to spiritual beliefs, she remained primarily interested in form, pattern and colour.⁸

Such appropriation of Aboriginal culture was an instance of what Marcia Langton terms 'Aboriginality', the consumption of Aboriginal culture and people as 'primarily a textual or visual—and distant—experience for most Australians'.⁹ Langton thus notes:

[T]he familiar stereotypes and the constant stereotyping, iconising and mythologising of Aboriginal people by white people who have never had any substantial first-hand contact with Aboriginal people. These icons of 'Aboriginality' are produced by Anglo-Australians, not in dialogue with Aboriginal people, but from other representations ... inherited, imagined representations.¹⁰

This is an apt description of the work of Preston and the designers of the 1930s, whose primary interest lay in the utilisation of Aboriginality as a distinctive marker of national difference.

But, while it is tempting to dismiss all appropriations of Indigenous art by non-Indigenous artists and designers as essentially exploitative, and ultimately complicit if not colluding with the ongoing colonial project, both the designers' motivation and public assessment of such work was not always consistent with this position. Preston's Aboriginal appropriations, for example, were 'for the most part greeted with indifference or actual hostility',¹¹ suggesting her cross-cultural ideals were at odds with mainstream Australian culture of that time. Primitive bodies and Stone Age material culture, objectified as visual evidence of another time and another place, were indissolubly linked to the modern. Yet this pairing was clearly too confronting for many Australians at the time.

Anthropologist A P Elkin, in his 'Foreword' to *Australian Aboriginal Decorative Art* of 1938, an illustrated booklet

produced for Sydney's Australian Museum, further illustrates this conflicted motivation. For Elkin, an aesthetic appreciation of Aboriginal art by non-Aboriginal Australians was part of a larger project: 'in so far as we let the aborigines [sic.]—the civilized ones in particular—know our appreciation, we shall help them get rid of that feeling of inferiority for which contact with us has been responsible'.¹² Patronising and paternal, Elkin's 'appreciation' of Aboriginal art was seen as a potential bridge. This paradoxical visualisation of Aboriginal culture continued into the 1940s and 1950s, even as the disparity between these representations and the actual lived circumstances of Indigenous people grew.

The Australia: National Journal: 1939–1940

In 1939, publisher Sydney Ure Smith set out the *Australia: National Journal's* aim as 'to give expression to our progress in Art, Architecture and Industry'.¹³ The journal was intended as a self-conscious vehicle for integrating the arts and the modern manufacturing sector. Promoting industrial progress in transport, mining and new technologies were part of Smith's initial agenda, and the architecture, industrial design, furniture and advertisements featured in the journal were distinctively modern. Richard Haughton-James, in the journal's inaugural issue, declared that 'good design is good always, at all times' and urged Australians to keep up with international standards.¹⁴ A tireless promotor of modernism on radio and in print, Haughton-James claimed modernist design constituted a universal, international language.

For Australian design, 1939 was a significant year. Dahl and Geoffrey Collings returned from four years working in London, Geoff for an American advertising agency, and Dahl at Simpson's Department Store, where she had been the only female in Lazlo Moholy-Nagy's design team. With Haughton-James, also recently arrived from London, they founded a design consultancy, the Design Centre in Sydney.¹⁵ Within modernist historiography, it is also worth noting that 1939 was the year architect Harry Seidler established his Sydney studio, after training and working in the United States with Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer. Although not the first self-conscious modernists in Australia, these arrivals certainly constituted a significant boost for the legitimacy of Bauhaus-trained modernists and London connections. Yet there remained an anxiety amongst cultural practitioners and critics about viewing Australian culture as international and innovative, not derivative and imported.

As well as Haughton-James' article on modernist design, *Australia: National Journal's* first issue featured an article on Harold Clapp (chairman of the Victorian Railways) alongside an advertisement for BHP Steel. Yet, amongst the articles and advertisements devoted to modern industry, it is the page of illustrations by Douglas Annand that stands out. Titled 'Abo Annand', Annand's 'primitive' style drawing depicts Australians engaged in leisure activities such as golf, horse racing and fishing. A pastiche of Aboriginal art styles from various places, including rock engravings around Sydney, northern bark painting and the heads of Wandjina figures from the Kimberley, Annand's 'Abo' art was a continuation of his reworking of Indigenous art.¹⁶

In *Australia: National Journal's* 1940 issue, 'At Last—Australian Design Fabrics,' comprised a short text and images promoting



the launch of a clothing line for women and dressing gowns for men, called 'Arunta', from David Jones.¹⁷ The text referenced Picasso and Dali, European modernists known for their appropriation of primitive art, and continued 'these age-old designs, representing primitive culture, strike a modern and sophisticated note'. The author also connected the appropriation of Aboriginal culture to the European vogue of appropriating local cultures, as 'an interesting and characteristic variation on the peasant art of European countries'. David Jones' 'Aboriginal chic', like Annand's 'Abo' illustration, comprises motifs from various places (not necessarily the Central Desert as the title suggests), abstracted and repeated as decorative patterns.

Australian modernists used Aboriginal art and culture in a number of ways at this time. As design director of the Australian Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair, for example, Annand drew together a team that included Dahl and Geoffrey Collings and photographer Russell Roberts. Annand's contribution to the Fair included motifs derived from Aboriginal rock art which depicted Aborigines hunting and fishing.¹⁸ Graphic designer Alistair Morrison's cover for the exhibition 'Art of Australia, 1788-1941', which toured the United States and Canada in 1941, featured his version of Aboriginal art. And, although relatively minor in Australian modernist design overall, the presence of Aboriginal culture was nonetheless consistent.

The 1941 exhibition 'Australian Aboriginal Art and its Application', an Australian Museum exhibition at the David Jones gallery in Sydney, aimed to promote Indigenous culture as a source of inspiration from which to build a national visual culture. In this, the exhibition directly followed Preston's earlier articles. But, according to the catalogue, another reason to use Aboriginal art as source material was to 'avoid the necessity of paying heavily to other countries for the right to use their designs in commercial work'.¹⁹ The exhibition presented a mix of Indigenous material culture, including bark paintings, shields and photographs of rock art and engravings, as well as non-Indigenous design and craft by practitioners including Preston, Annand and Sellheim.²⁰

Australia's first film on modern design, *By Design*, directed by Geoff Collings and released in 1950, also included Aboriginal culture.²¹ Collings' intention was to promote the benefits of industrial design to Australians. The modernist belief that design should be functional, timeless and improve the quality of people's lives is illustrated in the first scenes. As a modern jet taxis along a runway and takes off, the voiceover draws the audience's attention its form, suitably designed for its purpose. The next scene features a group of Aboriginal men working on their boomerangs. One stands and throws his, and as it flies through the air, the film cuts back to the jet and the voice over tells us that boomerangs are also designed to fit their purpose. This juxtaposition of the modern and ancient was important as it situated modernist design within a distinctly Australian context.

Meanjin: 1940–1954

Founded in 1940, the literary and cultural journal, *Meanjin* began modestly in Brisbane. The journal's title, noted editor Clem Christensen in the first issue, 'was the aboriginal [sic.] word for "spike," and was the name given to the finger of land bounded by the Brisbane River and extending from the city proper to the Botanic Gardens'.²² A more extensive explanation of the word's origins and pronunciation appeared in a later issue, clearly, the title's Aboriginal origin was deemed important.²³ Christensen was one of a quartet of bohemian Brisbane poets who founded the journal, and its initial scope was to publish Queensland writers, but it soon became a national journal that published well-known Australian writers from poets A D Hope and Judith Wright to art historian Bernard Smith.²⁴ *Meanjin's* self-conscious quest to establish a modern Australian culture included not only European literature but Australian history, anthropology and an ongoing interest in Aboriginal art.²⁵

Like the Collings' and Haughton-James, Christensen returned from Europe in 1939, keen to establish a modern literary culture in Brisbane.²⁶ Initially, *Meanjin* shared an outlook with the Jindyworobak writers, and the Jindyworobak founder Rex Ingamells contributed to early issues of *Meanjin*. The Jindyworobak program was a nationalist one that attempted to self-consciously blend elements of European and Aboriginal culture. Like *Meanjin*, Jindyworobak was a word appropriated from an Aboriginal language (specifically, Woiwurrung from Victoria, though the Jindys were based in Adelaide), and their annual anthology was published from 1938 to 1953. Aboriginal culture, as the editors understood it, was intimately connected to the local landscape, therefore could ground an authentic Australian culture. However, their literature was written by non-Aboriginal people.

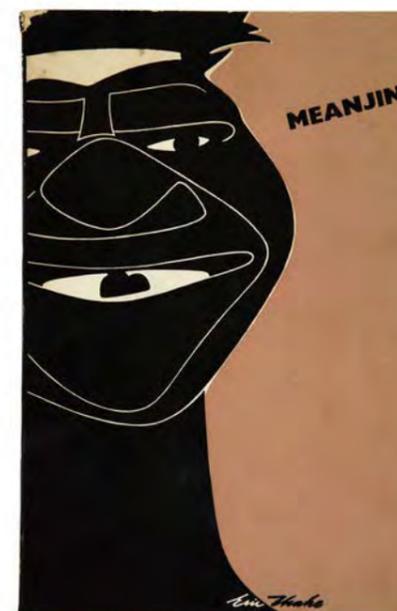
For *Meanjin* and the Jindyworobaks, the borrowing of an Aboriginal word was part of a broader agenda in which Aboriginal art and culture were understood as a repertoire of materials available to found a national culture. Aboriginal words, Ingamells wrote, could 'express something of the Australian place spirit which baffles expression in English words',²⁷ and Ingamells used Aboriginal words and stories in his poetry. But, though there were certainly similarities in their approach in the 1940s, *Meanjin* was more diverse and its impact on Australian culture ultimately more lasting.

This page Left
Richard Beck, cover
for *Meanjin*, Volume
5, Number 47, 1951,
Gift of Barbara Beck,
0001.2011.0009

This page Right
Stan Ostoja-Kotkowski,
cover for *Meanjin*
Volume 12, Number 1, 1953,
Gift of Harriet Edquist
2018, 0038.2014.0069,
©Copyright courtesy
estate J S Ostoja-Kotkowski

Opposite page Left
Douglas Annand, cover
for *Meanjin* Volume 9,
Number 1, 1950, Gift of
Harriet Edquist 2018,
0038.2014.0068, © 2018
S A Annand & family.

Opposite page Right
Eric Thake, cover for
Meanjin Volume 9,
Number 4, 1950, Gift of
Harriet Edquist 2018,
0038.2014.0067
© 2018 Estate of Eric
Thake



Early *Meanjin* covers of the 1940s featured a trail of four footprints. While they may have represented the journal's four founders, a trail of footprints also unmistakably represented an idea borrowed from Aboriginal mythology. In an early issue, anthropologist A P Elkin related the footprints to *mundowi*, 'spirit-tracks', or traces of ancient heroes or spirits:

To the aborigines [sic.], those foot-prints, those mythological paths, are not simply relics, fossils or memorials of an age long past. They are steps into a present, of which the past and future are but phases. In aboriginal [sic.] philosophy, as in dreaming, the limitations of time and space do not exist. They live in the 'eternal now,' in all the richness of its experience and the inspiration of its conviction.²⁸

He then described an Aboriginal ritual in some detail and concluded with the idea of 'an Australia in which we shall live out our 'dream-time' myths, sharing them with all men of vision, courage and truth'.²⁹ The same 1943 issue of the magazine featured a full-page reproduction of a Margaret Preston print titled 'Aboriginal Hunt Design' (although the 'earthy' ochres, yellow and black colours were lost in the black and white magazine).

This intersection of literary, anthropological and visual cultures is characteristic of the journal's first fifteen years or so. In 1945, *Meanjin* shifted to the University of Melbourne and from a bimonthly to a quarterly magazine. Starting in 1949, the footsteps disappeared, and the cover of each issue instead featured a unique design. One of the first illustrated covers, by Peter Burrowes, featured two stick figures on a dotted ground, while another, by W E Green, featured a caricature of a crouching Aboriginal, a cartoon-like figure with a long headdress holding a painted shield. Over the next six years, a dozen covers featured similarly Aboriginal-inspired art, motifs or imagery.³⁰ As a representative sample, the four covers analysed below illustrate their variety.

Eric Thake's two *Meanjin* covers from 1950 feature line-art portraits of Aboriginal men's heads. Before the Second World War, Thake had worked for Paton's advertising agency in Melbourne, and also painted and designed engravings and book plates. He gained some notoriety as a surrealist when he shared the Contemporary Art Society prize in 1940 with James Gleeson, for his painting 'Salvation from the Evils of Earthly Existence'. After serving in the RAAF, Thake returned to Paton's and to his design and art work, which also included covers, newspaper advertising, stamp design and murals. However, these covers are rare in his oeuvre in their overt visualisation of Aboriginal culture.

In contrast, Douglas Annand's work was littered with Aboriginal references. His 1950 cover comprises a black background on which Annand highlights an Aboriginal figure by the use of white body paint and a ceremonial headdress. Annand grew up in Brisbane, and his design career began at Read Press where he learned printing technologies and worked on packaging, advertising and poster design. After moving to Sydney in 1930, Annand found work with David Jones and ANTA, and he became known for his innovative techniques, including photomontage and collage. Annand worked on publications such as *The Home, Art in Australia* and *Australia: National Journal*, and produced graphics for the Orient Line cruise ship company, including 'Kangaroo Hunt', a mural for RMS Orcades inspired by the bark paintings of Arnhem Land.³¹

Expatriate British designer Richard Beck arrived in Sydney in 1940, and, after the War, worked as a freelance designer in Melbourne. Beck already had an impressive portfolio from London, including posters for Orient Line and brochures and posters for the London Transport Board. Although best known today as the designer of the 1956 Melbourne Olympic poster and the iconic Wynn's wine label, Beck also designed a *Meanjin* cover inspired by Aboriginal bark painting. This same 1951 issue featured an article by Ronald

Berndt on Aboriginal art, so perhaps that was the inspiration for Beck's design. His later work showed little engagement with Aboriginal culture, so this cover seems to be a one-off production.

In a more abstract way, Stanislas Ostoja-Kotkowski created covers in 1953 that made use of a boomerang form. Polish-born Ostoja-Kotkowski arrived in Melbourne in 1949, and worked in graphic design and art there for some years before moving to South Australia. This simple, abstract cover image is indicative of the abstract style of covers that would dominate *Meanjin* covers in the 1960s, but one of the later examples of Aboriginal-inspired covers. Like Beck, Ostoja-Kotkowski's later work displays no engagement with Aboriginal culture, so this cover also seems to have been designed specific for *Meanjin*.

Inside, *Meanjin* featured a few reproductions of paintings and drawings by Australian artists, and particularly after 1945, drawings, paintings and photographs became regular features. In 1950, Aboriginal art appeared for first time in an article titled 'Aboriginal Art from Central-Western Northern Territory'.³² Captions for the reproduction of bark paintings included no names of artists, dates or regions. Articles by anthropologists during the 1950s also appeared in the magazine, including the one by Berndt noted above. Importantly, writing by Aboriginal people did not feature in *Meanjin* during the 1950s and it was not until the 1960s that writers such as Oodgeroo Noonuccul (Kath Walker) gained some recognition.

The dichotomy between visions of modern Australia in the 1940s and 1950s as urban, modern, and technologically-progressive seemed in conflict with a nationalism that could incorporate the mythical bush and pastoral visions. While the latter idea was rejected by modernists, both ideals measured Australian culture in relationship to European standards. Alternatively, *Meanjin* and the modernist designers' visualisation of Aboriginal bark painting, rock art, and

even the exotic imagery of Northern and Central Australian people might, in this context, be seen as a modernism that projected a distinctive sense of place. Even if – as the final example graphically illustrates – designs were literally stolen from Aboriginal people.

The Flip-Side of a Dollar Bill: 1963-66

In 1963, Treasurer Harold Holt announced Australia would convert to a decimal currency in the near future. The Reserve Bank approached seven designers to produce a set of banknotes, of whom four produced a set of sample notes. Of these, Gordon Andrews' designs were selected to become the new Australian bank notes. The original set of two, ten, twenty and fifty-dollar notes featured the head of a prominent Australian man on each side – were celebrated as bold, colourful and distinctive designs.

The one-dollar note featured the Queen on one side and Aboriginal imagery on the other. Andrews later wrote that by including Aboriginal art on a bank note, 'I hoped to celebrate their culture through something all citizens would handle and come to respect. The idea, back in 1964, was unlikely to be accepted by the Bank, but I knew I would have an ally in the Governor, Dr Coombs.'³³ He noted that the images came from photographs of Karel Kupka's collection of bark paintings. At the time, Andrews knew nothing about the artist or the meaning of the art, and assumed the artist was long dead.³⁴

This was soon proved incorrect. After the notes were released in 1966, Alan Fidock, of the Milingimbi Mission in Arnhem Land, recognized the image on the dollar bill as belonging to the Gurrumurringu story, which he knew belonged to David Malangi Daymirringu. It then became clear that Malangi had not given permission for the design to be used and 'Fidock wrote to H C Coombs, then Governor of the Reserve Bank, suggesting that a suit might be brought on Malangi's behalf for breach of copyright. Coombs investigated the matter and found that indeed Malangi had received



Right
The \$1 banknote, showing designs based on a bark painting by David Malangi and stylised Aboriginal imagery designed by Gordon Andrews.

neither recognition nor reward.³⁵ In 1966, Coombs ensured Malangi was paid a fee and received a commemorative medallion, the first public acknowledgement of an Aboriginal design being used without permission.

However, as an Aboriginal man in the 1960s, Malangi was not a citizen but a ‘ward’ of the Northern Territory and not technically allowed to sell his art so these negotiations were mediated through the Northern Territory government administration and mission bureaucracy. Since the late 1950s, Malangi had been painting barks for sale through the Mission.³⁶ This was at a time when Aboriginal people were beginning to produce art and artefacts for sale or exchange, and encountering a wider market than just anthropologists. In the 1950s, collecting Aboriginal material culture was shifting from an anthropological pursuit to a practice popular with tourists.

Malangi developed his art growing up on Milingimbi Island in the 1950s and learned stories from elders preparing ceremonies. The bark painting used on the one-dollar note illustrates part of the story of Gurrmirringu, the Ancestral Hunter of Malangi’s country in Central Arnhem Land, and depicts the mortuary ritual that Malangi painted numerous times (and his barks of this ritual now reside in Canberra’s National Gallery of Art and Sydney’s Museum of Contemporary Art). Belatedly, Malangi was recognised as one of Australia’s most significant artists, represented at the Biennale of Sydney in 1979, and by a solo exhibition at the National Gallery in 2004 (unfortunately after his death in 1999).³⁷

While the Malangi case was clearly theft of an Aboriginal artists’ design by a non-Aboriginal designer, the authors and meanings – if any – of the rock art and the X-ray figures are unclear. Whether these were appropriated from a specific bark or rock art place (most likely a photograph) or were inventions of Andrews is now unknown. But Andrews intended the ensemble as a whole to be wholly decorative, and, like Preston in the 1920s, showed no interest in the cultural or spiritual aspects of the design.

Conclusion

Artefacts produced by Aboriginal people in the 1940s and 1950s, most famously Albert Namatjira’s watercolours, occupied a realm ranging from fine art to tourist souvenirs.³⁸ For some contemporary Aboriginal artists, such Aboriginal-inspired souvenirs, formerly dismissed as kitsch, ‘have become, collectively, a repository of memory and a reminder that Aboriginal culture had the first claim on what it is to be properly Australian’.³⁹ But the creation of a modern Aboriginal art in the 1970s and 1980s – exemplified by the artists of Papunya Tula – and the attention it has garnered since then has downplayed the more conflicted, earlier use of Aboriginal art by non-Aboriginal artists and designers.⁴⁰

Whether understood as theft or misguided homage, it was in the decorative and commercial realm that Aboriginal culture remained visible in Australia in the 1940s and 1950s. But for Aboriginal people, the unauthorized appropriation of certain designs constituted not only theft but desecration.⁴¹ With all of these examples by non-Aboriginal designers, there was no question of observing Aboriginal protocols for image-making and authority to use certain designs. Nor was there any appreciation of the cultural knowledge embedded within such designs and their relationship to country. For Aboriginal people today, the visual realm constitutes part of an ongoing struggle for recognition, not only culturally, but in its relation to the custodianship of land, Indigenous law and knowledge.

Endnotes

- 1 A recent challenge to this is Nicola St John, “Australian Communication Design History: An Indigenous Retelling,” *Journal of Design History*, [advance access] 2018. For briefer accounts, see Anne-Marie Van de Ven, “Images of the Fifties: Design and Advertising,” in *The Australian Dream: Design of the Fifties*, ed. Judith O’Callaghan (Sydney: Powerhouse Publishing, 1993), 28–41; Steve Miller, “Designs on Aboriginal Culture,” in *Modern Times: the Untold Story of Modernism in Australia*, eds Ann Stephen, Philip Goad and Andrew McNamara (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2008), 30–35.
- 2 See Patrick Woolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: the Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999) and Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- 3 See Mitchell Rolls and Anna Johnson, *Travelling Home*, ‘Walkabout Magazine; and *Mid-Twentieth Century Australia*, (London: Anthem Press, 2016); and Lynette Russell, ‘Going Walkabout in the 1950’s: Images of ‘Traditional’ Aboriginal Australia’, *The Olive Pink Society Bulletin* 6, No.1 (1994): 4–8.
- 4 Jackie Dickenson, “The Past in Australian Advertising, 1906–2010,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 36, no.1 (2012): 73.
- 5 Margaret Preston, “The Indigenous Art of Australia,” in *Modernism and Australia: documents on art, design and architecture 1917–1967*, eds Ann Stephen, Philip Goad and Andrew McNamara (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006) 156.
- 6 Preston, “The Indigenous Art of Australia,” 158.
- 7 Margaret Preston, “Applications of Aboriginal Design,” *Art in Australia*, 3, no. 31, (1930).
- 8 Lyn A. Riddett, “‘Be Aboriginal’ – Settler Women Artists Inspired by Aboriginal Artists,” *Northern Perspective*, 19, no.1 (1996): 51–60.
- 9 Marcia Langton, “Introduction: Cultural Wars,” in *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*, ed. Michele Grossman (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003), 91.
- 10 Marcia Langton, “Aboriginal Art and Film: The Politics of Representation,” in *Blacklines*, 119–120.
- 11 Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 142.
- 12 A.P. Elkin, “Foreword”, *Australian Aboriginal Decorative Art, 1938*, in *Modernism and Australia*, 378.
- 13 Sydney Ure Smith, “The Aims of this Journal,” *Australia National Journal* 1, no.1 (1939): 15.
- 14 Richard Haughton James, “The Designer in Industry: A Serious National Need,” *Australia National Journal* 1, no.1 (1939): 87–91.
- 15 See Denise Whitehouse, “Richard Haughton James: Australia National Journal and Designers for Industry,” DHARN, 2017, <http://dharn.org.au/richard-haughton-james-australia-national-journal-and-designers-for-industry-author-denise-whitehouse/> (accessed September 1, 2018).
- 16 Roman Black, in his interview with Annand, in *Old and New Australian Aboriginal Art* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1964), 130.
- 17 *Australia National Journal*, 1, no.2 (1940): 26–28.
- 18 See Ann Stephen, “Designing for the World of Tomorrow: Australia at the 1939 New York World’s Fair,” *reCollections: Journal of the National Museum of Australia*, 1, no.1 (2006): 29–40.
- 19 *Exhibition of Australian Aboriginal Art and Its Application*, catalogue (Sydney: Australian Museum, 1941), 3.
- 20 Nicholas Thomas analyses this exhibition and its reception in *Possessions*, 120–125.
- 21 Michael Bogle, *Design In Australia, 1880–1970* (Sydney: Craftsman House, 1998), 133.
- 22 Clem Christensen, “Note”, *Meanjin*, 1, no.1 (1940): 1.
- 23 F.J. Watson, “Meanjin: It’s [sic] Meaning,” *Meanjin*, 1, no.6 (1941): 24.
- 24 See Lynne Strahan, *Just City and the Mirrors: Meanjin Quarterly and the Intellectual Front, 1940–1965* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1984).
- 25 Clem Christensen, “Trailer,” *Meanjin*, 2, no.2 (1943): 64.
- 26 Jenny Lee, “Clem Christensen and his Legacy,” *Australian Literary Studies*, 21, no.3 (2004): 4–7.
- 27 Ingamells, quoted in Ellen Smith, “Local Moderns: The Jindy-worobak Movement and Australian Modernism,” *Australian Literary Studies*, 27, no.1 (2012): 1–17.
- 28 A.P. Elkin, “Step into the Dream-time,” *Meanjin*, 2, no.2 (1943): 15.
- 29 Elkin, ‘Step into the Dream-time’, 17.
- 30 These included: 8:1, 1949 by Peter Burrowes; 8:3 1949 by unknown; 8:4 1949 by W.E. Green; 9:1, 1950 by Douglas Annand; 9:2, 1950 by Eric Thake; 9:4, 1950 by Eric Thake; 9:4; 1951 by Richard Beck; 11:2, 1952 by Douglas Annand; 12:1, 1953 by Ostoja-Kotkowski (this cover was repeated for the next three issues), 13:1, 1954 by Douglas Annand.
- 31 Anne McDonald, *Douglas Annand: The Art of Life* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2001), 32.
- 32 *Meanjin*, 9, no.3 (1950).
- 33 Gordon Andrews, *Gordon Andrews: A Designers Life* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1993), 145.
- 34 David H. Bennett, “Malangi: The Man Who Was Forgotten Before He was Remembered,” *Aboriginal History*, 4, no.1 (1980): 42–47.
- 35 David H. Bennett, “Malangi: The Man Who Was Forgotten Before He was Remembered”, *Aboriginal History* 4, no.1 (1980): 45
- 36 See also Stephen Gray, “Government Man, Government Painting? David Malangi and the 1966 One-Dollar Note,” in *Indigenous Intellectual Property: A Handbook of Contemporary Research*, ed. Matthew Rimmer, (London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2015), 133–154.
- 37 See Susan Jenkins, ed., *No Ordinary Place: The Art of David Malangi* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2004). Malangi died in 1999.
- 38 A lesser known example is Bill Onus’ Aboriginal Enterprises, an Aboriginal-run outlet for art and crafts, founded in 1952 in Belgrave, Victoria.
- 39 Adrian Franklin, “Aboriginalia: Souvenir Wares and the ‘Aboriginalization’ of Australian Identity,” *Tourist Studies*, 10, no.3 (2010): 197.
- 40 This idea is taken up by Chris Healy in *Forgetting Aborigines* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2008), especially 65–100.
- 41 Nicola St John notes the ‘cultural and physical distress’ caused by such theft. St John, “Australian Communication Design History,” 7.