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Colonial / Post Colonial: Art exhibitions and postcolonial theory in the 1990s

Abstract

This paper examines some of the ways in which art exhibitions presented postcolonial perspectives on Australian art during the last decade of the twentieth century. This broad topic will be examined through the lens of two case studies: two exhibitions that presented colonial and contemporary art in creative juxtaposition. These exhibitions, *Colonial Post Colonial* at the Melbourne metropolitan Museum of Modern Art at Heide and *Sweet Dampier and Gossip* at the Victorian regional gallery of Benalla – took place during the mid-1990s. It will be argued that different understandings of postcolonialism can be discerned in each display, with one foregrounding contemporary practice against a (relatively) monolithic European-colonial culture, while the other explores the complexity and multi-layering nature of colonial culture and its continuities with the present day.

“Postcolonialism” emerged in the 1980s as a theory, or more precisely, an umbrella description for ‘a range of theories and commentaries that question and often oppose the standard historical accounts of imperial histories’.¹ Understandably, this term came to hold particular resonance for Australian artists, curators and art historians, in part as a response to the bicentenary of European settlement in 1988. This anniversary was the catalyst for many publications and exhibitions on the subject of Australian identity and visual culture, which often included the colonial period as part of broader historical trajectory that went up to the present day.² Postcolonialism was also the intellectual impetus behind the Sydney Biennial of 1992, but in this instance the concept was used to position local contemporary practice within an international framework of “border art”.³

The author would like to thank Dr Paul Fox, for his generous assistance with the research for this paper.

¹ Reader, 1996, p.7; See also ‘The turn to “theory” in the 1980s’ (McLeod, 2000), and the emerging understanding of Australia as a ‘postcolonial nation’ during the 1980s (Green, 1995, chapter six). However, Green does identify the early 1990s as the moment when ‘postcolonial perspectives ... became crucially important’ (pp.116-117).

² Overton, 1989; Kerr, 1996.

³ Bond, 1992.

Not as many art exhibitions, however, concentrated on the ways in which postcolonial perceptions allowed Australian artists and their audiences to reassess the early visual history of the nation. Two important examples of this more expansive agenda were the exhibitions *Sweet Dampener and Gossip: colonial sightings from the Goulburn and North-East* presented by the Benalla Art Gallery in 1994 and *Colonial Post Colonial*, held at the Museum of Modern Art at Heide in 1996.⁴

Indeed, after seeing the Heide exhibition, the critic of the Age newspaper declared:

one reason taxpayers support public funding of the arts is because of the role they can play in the search for social identity and self-understanding. But few exhibitions mounted recently in our public galleries have been prepared to take on "the big picture". I am hard pressed to think of any major thematic surveys of the "where we have been and where we are going" type. *Colonial Post Colonial* should be applauded for its ambition in this regard. It looks at issues of national identity, past and present, by juxtaposing colonial artists' visions of Australia with their critical reappraisal in the work of artist of the 1980s and '90s.⁵

Large in scale and visually spectacular, *Colonial Post Colonial* displayed the work of nineteen leading contemporary artists, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, whose recent practice engaged critically with either the art of colonial Australia or the non-Western "other" (in particular, Asian cultures). The participants were drawn from across Australia and included Gordon Bennett, Fiona Foley, Leah King-Smith, Stephen Bush, Julia Ciccarone, Peter Cripps, Sue Ford, Sigi Gabriele, Fiona Hall, Tim Johnson, Narelle Jubelin, Geoff Lowe, Ross Moore, Constantine Nicholas, Ian North, Geoff Parr, Deborah Russell, Imants Tillers and Jane Trengove. The diversity of artistic media on display was equally impressive, ranging from large paintings and glossy cibachrome photocompositions to installations of wax emu eggs, wooden boomerangs and kangaroo paw plants or tableaux of plaster figures and found objects. The exhibition's impact was described by one viewer as 'luxurious and captivating, weaving between flora, fauna and the constructed sites of landscape and identity'.⁶

As the title of the exhibition made plain, contemporary works of art comprised only half of the show, as the curatorial premise required them to be placed in 'proximity to key examples of material culture from our colonial archive',⁷ encompassing major nineteenth-century loans from national and state collections. Some contemporary works, indeed, made explicit

⁴ Fox with Phipps, 1994; Engberg, 1996. The Museum of Modern Art at Heide is now known as Heide Museum of Modern Art.

⁵ Anon., 1996, p.17.

⁶ Reader, 1996, p.7.

⁷ Reader, 1996, p.7.

reference to a colonial primary source present in the display, as was the case with Eugene von Guerard's *View of Tower Hill* (1855), the 'prototype' for Geoff Lowe's *Tower Hill 1960-61* (1984).⁸ Similarly, Robert Dowling's *Early Effort – Art in Australia* (c.1860), inspired the painted response from Sigi Gabriele called *Portrait of a young man as an artist / Portrait of a vacuum as an artist*, (1988-1996). Fiona Foley went so far as to reconstruct early ethnographic depictions, inserting herself within the tableaux, as a form of 'perverse re-enactment', in photographs titled *Native Blood* (1994).

Other artists, like Fiona Hall, could be seen to subvert the distinctive appearance of some colonial objects – such as the precise and much-prized miniaturisation found in nineteenth-century trophies like the exhibition's silver mounted emu eggs. This colonial aesthetic she ironically evoked in her now famous *Paradisus terrestri* series, made from shiny sardine cans, rather than precious metal. 'The juxtaposition', declared one critic 'is perfect'.⁹

But the actual act of contrasting and evaluating different aspects of the installation was intellectual as much as visual, for the exhibition display did not rely only on simple comparisons, i.e. positioning colonial examples directly alongside works of contemporary art. Indeed, this happened more often in the pages of the exhibition catalogue than in the gallery space. Instead, visitors were carefully conducted through a circular pathway, which one first entered by way of a "Colonial Corridor" decorated with paintings, photographs and objects from the nineteenth century set against a blue wall (illust. 1). This passageway led on to a series of smaller interlinked and brightly lit "white cube" galleries on either side, in which the viewer was confronted by groupings of contemporary art that complement each other or presented telling contrasts.

The exhibition's circular route meant that works of art and room vistas were revisited or seen from different angles, while eventually one returned through the historical corridor to exit. The exhibition's concept and design were thus closely intertwined, an approach that several reviewers singled out for comment:

The circular reprise in the naming of the exhibition, and the fact that to leave the exhibition you must revisit the Colonial Corridor, are an attempt to avoid a simplistic opposition between the colonial past and a present that might be deemed post-colonial, in the sense of having left all that behind.¹⁰

The strong sense of curatorial control was often communicated through simple visual means - for instance, the colonial and contemporary rooms were painted different colours - rather than by wall texts. In fact, apart from

⁸ Geoff Lowe (with Tony Clark and Greg Page), *Tower Hill 1960-61*, 1984. Other works by von Guerard were 'quoted' in contemporary works, such as Imants Tillers' *Mount Analogue* 1985.

⁹ Fox, 1997, p.322.

¹⁰ Anon., 1996, p.17.

labels identifying the artists and details of the works, there were no lengthy didactic panels providing explanations of what one should notice and think.¹¹ Instead, viewers were invited to interrogate the works themselves; an intellectual challenge that again was well received: 'The exhibition provokes. It asks fundamental questions which probe the nature of Australian aesthetics. It also creates moments of pure visual delight'.¹²

The person responsible for conceiving this complex and successful exhibition was Juliana Engberg, who has been described by *Artforum* magazine as 'Australia's most maverick and ambitious curator of contemporary art'.¹³ She was appointed Senior Curator at Heide in 1995, following an impressive career as a highly innovative and intellectual curator, commencing with the directorship of the Ewing and George Paton Galleries at the University of Melbourne, the 'formative contemporary arts space' of the time. This was followed by curatorial positions at Monash University Gallery and the Australian Centre for Contemporary Art (ACCA).¹⁴ Her move to Heide, following these posts in academic and contemporary arts organisations, prompted her to re-consider her exhibition practice, especially with respect to Heide's greater size and its mission and audience. As Engberg stated recently, when reflecting on her career as a curator:

Once you move out of a smallish space like the George Paton Gallery and move somewhere like Heide ... you are also moving toward an audience. When I got to Heide I realized there were a great number of people I wished to speak with and engage with, not only artists but a broad, general audience. Out at Heide there tends to be a particular kind of audience, a comfortable, often middle class, slightly older demographic, and I needed to think of some curatorial way of engaging with those people ... I invented what I called the trans-historical show, which was a good way of dealing with a lack of bulk in the Heide collection and the desire I had to combine history with current practice. Shows like ... *Lovers* (1995), *Colonial/Post Colonial* (1996) and *The Real Thing* (1997) were actually rather entertaining shows for that public to deal with. They grew a greater audience for art ... That was exciting for me and from that time I have always

¹¹ Engberg is well known for her dislike of 'preachy-teachy' texts: 'I don't want to clutter up my wall space when I should be concentrating on the presentation of the work'. Rule, 2013.

¹² Fox, 1997, p.322.

¹³ Rule, 2013.

¹⁴ Engberg was Assistant Director at Monash University Gallery and Senior Curator at the Australian Centre for Contemporary Art (ACCA). See Biennale of Sydney website, 'Artistic-Director' <http://www.biennaleofsydney.com.au/exhibition/artistic-director/> (accessed September 2013).

thought of the three things that I am mostly interested in – and that's art, artists and audience.¹⁵

Communication was thus a major concern of the exhibition's curator (and Heide Museum of Art more generally), who sought to engage a larger, more mainstream audience by means of assertive and exciting curatorial design and complementary educational activities. The Museum already had in place an existing sponsorship agreement with Manningham City Council to help fund its education programmes for that year.¹⁶ But significantly, for *Colonial Post Colonial*, additional resources were brought to bear, with the Museum forming a partnership with the Next Wave Festival, one of Melbourne's major contemporary arts events. This resulted in a jointly offered 'Art Information Forum', held at RMIT in the city, at which those artists and writers participating in *Colonial Post Colonial* 'address[ed] the problems and possibilities posed by postcolonial theory for contemporary visual art and history practices'.¹⁷ Furthermore, Engberg secured as many of the exhibition's nineteen artists as possible to participate in the Museum's own education programme through 'Artists' and Writers' Talks', a 'Teachers' briefing' and a 'Friends' Floortalk'. Again, these events were explicitly promoted as 'offer[ing] opportunities to visualise and make relevant the theories of post colonialism'.¹⁸

Ultimately, these public programmes must be understood as part of the larger scholarly ambition surrounding the exhibition, which was exemplified by the important catalogue, whose contributors read like a "who's who" of the Australian art world. The publication, which was conceived, edited and designed by Juliana Engberg, comprised one lengthy essay examining recent perspectives on colonial art by Engberg herself, and then nineteen shorter texts by individual authors, including academics, writers, curators and artists such as Roger Benjamin, Chris Healy, Helen McDonald, Ann Stephen, Stuart Koop, Elizabeth Gertsakis, Harriet Edquist and Zara Stanhope (illust. 2).¹⁹ Significant sponsorship had been obtained for the catalogue, which was seventy-five pages in length and lavishly illustrated with black and white reproductions of the colonial images and full-colour plates of the work of the contemporary artists.²⁰

When writing to invite authors to contribute to the catalogue, Engberg had positioned her exhibition as a meeting point between academic theories

¹⁵ Matthews, 2013. Maudie Palmer, former Director of Heide who appointed Juliana Engberg as Senior Curator, has also commented that Engberg's brief at the time was to produce quality exhibitions with popular appeal (personal communication with author, 15 October 2013).

¹⁶ Museum of Modern Art at Heide, 1996. The author would like to thank Heide Director, Jason Smith, for granting her access to the Museum's exhibition files.

¹⁷ Museum of Modern Art at Heide, 1996.

¹⁸ Museum of Modern Art at Heide, 1996.

¹⁹ Engberg, 1996, p.74.

²⁰ Heide had received sponsorship for the exhibition, including the catalogue, from the Schizophrenia Fellowship of Victoria (with funds provided by VicHealth). Engberg, 1996, p.6.

(that until now had been imported largely from overseas), and local practice. The catalogue presented the opportunity to investigate these theories within the context of recent Australian art historical and historical discourse.²¹ Engberg also emphasized that her aim to identify 'visual correspondences' did more than simply contrast the present with the past. The exhibition would also examine various artistic strategies found in colonial art, which still resonated in contemporary practice such as the Cartesian grid, scientific objects, the panoramic view, etc., – in other words, all those 'which are regularly employed by contemporary artists'.²²

It was this complex relationship between the colonial works and the contemporary artists that was the focus of a thought-provoking evaluation of the exhibition. In a review in *Art and Australia*, Paul Fox (who had contributed a short essay to the *Colonial Post Colonial* catalogue) presented an insightful analysis of what he regarded as the installation's relatively one-dimensional reading of colonial visual culture, arguing:

Colonial Post Colonial presents colonial space as a European, male space; nowhere in the exhibition are nineteenth-century women's representations of space, or nineteenth-century Aboriginal portrayals of land, memory or Europeans. ... There is no hint of the subversion, resistance or negotiations of photography made by Aboriginal people. The Colonial Corridor might have been more complex if nineteenth-century painted spaces were seen to be the result of multiple rather than single viewpoints. Instead, what we see are the master's, rather than the subaltern's view of colonialism.²³

He also noted the relative absence of colonial works that reflected the era's obsession with 'sex and power', noting: 'while Lucian Henry's *Waratah* is included in the exhibition, nineteenth-century women flower painters are not, even though, as Joan Kerr argues, women's flower painting can be seen as an alternative to the male representation of colonial space'.²⁴

Paul Fox, a leading Melbourne historian, writer and curator, was uniquely qualified to make these observations, for only two years earlier, he had explored the 'subaltern's view' in a ground-breaking exhibition entitled *Sweet Dampier and Gossip: colonial sightings from the Goulburn and North-East*, presented by the Benalla Art Gallery in 1994. While taking the role of lead curator, Fox had received valuable assistance in researching and presenting this project from the art curator, Jennifer Phipps. Both Fox and Phipps were experienced and innovative professionals, who were very familiar with the collections of Victoria's National Museum, State Library and National Gallery,

²¹ See letters from Senior Curator, Juliana Engberg, to potential authors of catalogue, 14 December 1995, Heide Museum of Modern Art exhibition files.

²² *Colonial Post Colonial*, Museum of Modern Art at Heide, 27 May – 11 August 1996, information sheet, undated, Heide Museum of Modern Art exhibition files.

²³ Fox, 1997, p.322.

²⁴ Fox, 1997, p.322.

as well as current developments in arts practice. Fox had been the Thomas Ramsay Science and Humanities Scholar at Museum Victoria between 1989 and 1991, when he researched the history of the Museum's collection and, at the time of the *Sweet Damper and Gossip* exhibition, was curator at the National Philatelic Centre, Australia Post.²⁵ Likewise, Phipps was the Curator of Australian Art (1920-1970) at the National Gallery of Victoria, who had undertaken extensive research on the art collection of the State Library of Victoria and produced a series of highly regarded exhibitions, ranging across the colonial and the contemporary.²⁶

Several years before commencing *Sweet Damper and Gossip*, Fox and Phipps had begun sharing their knowledge of the colonial archive when researching exhibitions on colonial science and art, such as Phipps' *La Trobe and his circle* (1989) and Fox's *Drawing on Nature: images and specimens of natural history from the collection of the Museum of Victoria* (1992), a cross-cultural exploration of the portrayal of nature by European and Indigenous people, which toured Victoria, Melbourne and Sydney.²⁷ Certainly, the success of the latter exhibition was the impetus behind *Sweet Damper and Gossip*, for Pamela Gullifer, the Director at Benalla, invited Fox to undertake a similar project at her Gallery focusing on the local region. What began as an installation of colonial views of the Goulburn and North-East, however, slowly developed a bolder agenda, when Fox discovered a rich array of texts and images that re-configured the conventional view of the colonial frontier.

The stated aim of the exhibition *Sweet Damper and Gossip* was to present 'a dual concept' of the region's landscape, 'both from a European and Aboriginal viewpoint',²⁸ with settlers' images based upon the Picturesque tradition hung beside simple but expressive works by nineteenth-century Aboriginal artists, using European drawing materials for the first time. The exhibition's curious title underlined its central theme: that of the contested and violent history of the frontier, which had been subsequently obscured or re-written. 'Sweet Damper' was a euphemism for damper laced with arsenic, which was used to eradicate 'any opposition to the [settlers'] occupation of Aboriginal land',²⁹ while gossip, along with subterfuge and mimicry, were the means by which the Aborigines challenged European authority. Rather than passive victims of invasion, the Indigenous people of the Goulburn and the

²⁵ Fox's interests range widely, from Australian history and garden history to museums and heritage. His influential publications include the *Meanjin* article 'Memory, The Museum and the Postcolonial World' (1992) and *Clearings: six colonial gardeners and their landscapes* (2004)

²⁶ Phipps is perhaps best known for trailblazing contemporary exhibitions such as *Off the Wall/In the air: a seventies' selection* (1991), but she also co-curated major exhibitions and publications on colonial art, like *Victorian Vision, 1934 onward* (with Christine Downer, 1985); *Artists' gardens: flowers and gardens in Australian Art 1780s-1980s* (1986); *Art Record: the cataloguing of Australian oil paintings in the State Library of Victoria* (with Christine Downer, 1991).

²⁷ Fox, 1992b. Paul Fox, personal communication with author.

²⁸ Gullifer, 1994, p.5.

²⁹ Bruce, 1994, p.154.

North-East were revealed as figures of resilience and agency, who negotiated and adapted European practices in order to survive.

The 'dual concept' of the exhibition was given deliberate physical expression in the installation of the works, which included a striking array of objects ranging from the visual (paintings, photography, works on paper and artefacts) to the textual (manuscripts, maps and books). Within the gallery space, European and Aboriginal images were placed side by side, with similar subjects put together to form a 'double viewing',³⁰ while the accompanying labels presented quotes from nineteenth-century written sources. Fox did not add any explanation to these original 'voices', stating: 'I don't believe in telling people what to see. If you put the voice there, then people could look at the image and think about it'.³¹ The subtlety of this approach was appreciated by some reviewers, with Weston Bate noting: 'the [exhibition's] main selection criterion was thematic integrity, and although genuinely artistic, strange and rare, their deeper meaning is always implicit.'³²

These juxtapositions of paired images and texts were a revelation, as very few of the Aboriginal works were known to the modern audience. One critic described the drawings of Yakaduna (also known as Tommy McCrae) as 'a rare treat and something which probably won't be seen again in a hurry'.³³ The paired display also threw light on the degree to which the two cultures, European and Aboriginal, were interwoven. For instance, a number of the European texts and images evoke the idea of the 'frontier civilized', especially through gentlemanly pursuits like reading and gardening, etc. But certain Aboriginal images reflect a similar fascination with the figure of the gentleman, such as the depiction of *Squatters of the Old Time* by Yakaduna.³⁴ These quirky linear portrayals become figures of fun – a visual parallel to the Aboriginal practice of subversive parody. Moreover, on the label, Fox could cite contemporary accounts of the Aborigines of the region, who liked to call themselves 'gentlemen', because 'white gentlemen did not work, only poor fellow and as they did not work they were black gentlemen'.³⁵ Such statements undercut the European assumptions of superiority, while at the same time mocking the settler's values.

In addition to this 'double viewing' of the colonial cultural material, Fox and Phipps also embraced the idea of adding another 'layer' to the exhibition by including art of the present day – namely, paintings and photographs by

³⁰ Paul Fox, personal communication with author.

³¹ Paul Fox, personal communication with author.

³² Bate, 1994, p.20.

³³ Bruce, 1994, p.155. Fox's catalogue, with its examination of the drawings of Yakaduna (Tommy McCrae) was published in January 1994, and thus pre-dates Andrew Sayers' *Aboriginal Artists of the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994. For an account of contemporary artists' 'discovery' of McCrae's work, see Kerr, 1996, p.382.

³⁴ Yakaduna (c.1836-1901), also known as Tommy McCrae, *Squatters of the Old Times*, undated, ink on paper, University of Melbourne.

³⁵ George Augustus Robinson's journal, 11 May 1840, cited Fox with Phipps, 1994, p.12.

contemporary artists Imants Tillers, Leah King-Smith and Gordon Bennett, all of whom address the interface of White and Black Australia in their subjects.³⁶ The choice of works were carefully aligned with the exhibition's themes – Bennett's *Psychotopographical Landscapes* (1990) alluded to the Aboriginal use of European signs to claim their land, while Tiller's *[Deaf]* (1989) suggested the erasure of Aboriginal language and the 'silence of the frontier'. These echoes of frontier 'contestations and fictions' in the postcolonial art of the 1990s allowed the curators to reinforce the message of the ongoing relevance of the country's colonial history and prompt the audience to ask questions: 'Today, to look at the landscape, what do we see? What do we speak of?'.³⁷ Or, as Fox had proposed in an earlier essay: 'do Australians inhabit a postcolonial world or a landscape of colonial memories?'³⁸

However, for one reviewer of the exhibition, Candice Bruce, this twentieth-century component 'worked less well, mainly because one wished for more of it in order for it to make the same impact that the earlier work carried.'³⁹ Certainly, with only five contemporary works and over fifty colonial objects, the former could only ever act as a stimulating visual postscript.⁴⁰ Bruce's comments also underline the fact that the exhibition was, at heart, about northern Victoria's colonial history, and its postcolonial perspective was not dependent upon the inclusion of contemporary art. It was Fox's revisionist reading of the nineteenth-century archive that directly aligned with postcolonial calls for subaltern peoples to 'speak in their own voices', and thereby correct the perceived imbalance of power existing between the colonist and the colonial subject.

For a relatively small exhibition initiated by a regional gallery, the impact of *Sweet Damp and Gossip* was considerable. Sponsorship permitted the publication of a thirty-two page illustrated catalogue (illust. 3), and also enabled the exhibition to travel from to Monash University Gallery in Melbourne and Shepparton Art Gallery in the north of the state, between April and June 1994.⁴¹ The catalogue in particular, was widely acknowledged as a major work of scholarship – Bruce urging 'don't miss buying the catalogue', while Bate declared: 'Only when I read the catalogue did I realise that I had failed to penetrate much beyond the customary surface [of the exhibition]. In that sense the catalogue is absolutely necessary if one is to recognise and reflect upon the full possibilities of the material.'⁴² More importantly, the local Indigenous

³⁶ Fox with Phipps, 1994, pp.22, 27.

³⁷ Fox with Phipps, 1994, p.7.

³⁸ Fox, 1992b, p.317.

³⁹ Bruce, 1994, p.155.

⁴⁰ The decision to include the work of contemporary artists was prompted by the requirements of the NETS funding agreement but Fox emphasizes that he readily took up this opportunity to include another 'layer' to the interpretation of the project. Paul Fox, personal communication with author.

⁴¹ Benalla Art Gallery secured support from NETS Victoria, the Sydney Myer fund and Pedia Pty Ltd. See Fox with Phipps, 1994, p.2.

⁴² Bate, 1994, p.20.

community, the Rumbalara Aboriginal Co-operative, had been consulted throughout the exhibition's development and Fox's research material would subsequently be incorporated into Aboriginal land claims relating to the northern Victoria.⁴³

However, from another perspective, the postcolonial exhibition model presented by *Sweet Damper and Gossip* - with its complex, layered readings of the nineteenth-century colonial world that also stressed that era's ongoing relevance for contemporary society - has proved less influential than the model provided by Heide's *Colonial Post Colonial*, in which contemporary art takes centre stage, with colonial works acting as visual accompaniment, either source material and/or conceptual springboard. Since the 1990s, a number of curators have adopted the *Colonial Post Colonial* model with striking success - two examples that come to mind are both from regional galleries: Ace Bourke's *Lines in the Sand – Botany Bay stories from 1770*, held at Hazelhurst Regional Gallery and Arts Centre in 2008, and Lisa Slade's *Curious Colony: a twenty first century Wunderkammer*, presented by the Newcastle Region Art Gallery in 2010.⁴⁴ Understandably, the many years of extensive archival research and interdisciplinary knowledge required of a 'rare and adventurous' exhibition like *Sweet Damper and Gossip* has made it a much harder pathway to follow.⁴⁵

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⁴³ Paul Fox, personal communication with author.

⁴⁴ See exhibition websites:

http://www.sutherlandshire.nsw.gov.au/Arts_Entertainment/Hazelhurst/Exhibitions/Previous_Exhibitions/2008/Lines_in_the_Sand_-_Botany_Bay_Stories_From_1770;

http://www.newcastle.nsw.gov.au/region_art_gallery/exhibitions/past/2010/artist/curious_colony_a_twenty_first_century_wunderkammer2

⁴⁵ Bate, 1994, p.19.

Illustrations



Fig 1: *'The Colonial Corridor'*, photograph of installation, 1996, from the exhibition, *Colonial Post Colonial*, Museum of Modern Art at Heide, Bulleen, 1996, (photographer John Brash).

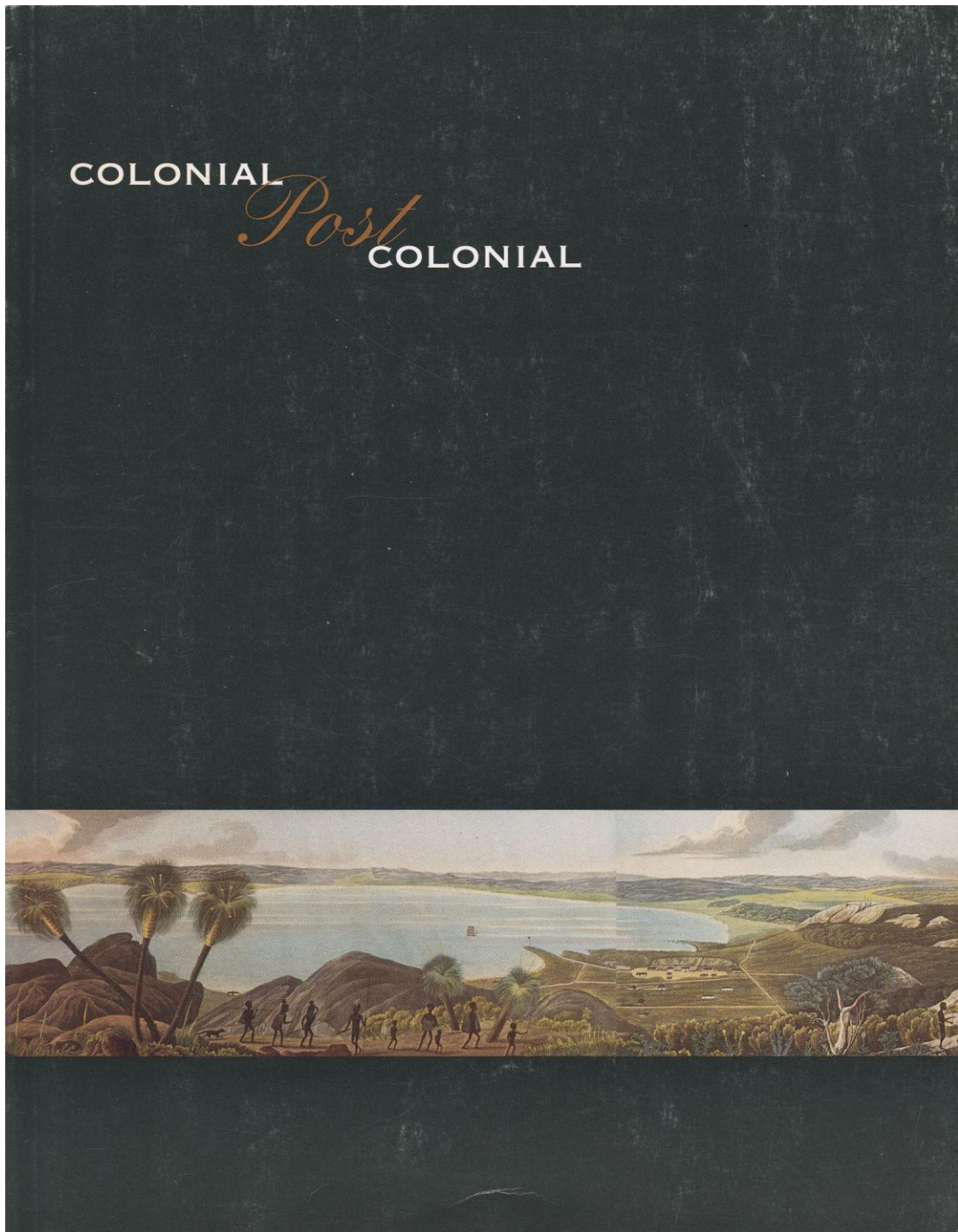


Fig 2: Cover of catalogue of the exhibition, *Colonial Post Colonial*, Museum of Modern Art at Heide, Bulleen, 1996. The catalogue was written, edited and designed by curator of the exhibition, Juliana Engberg.

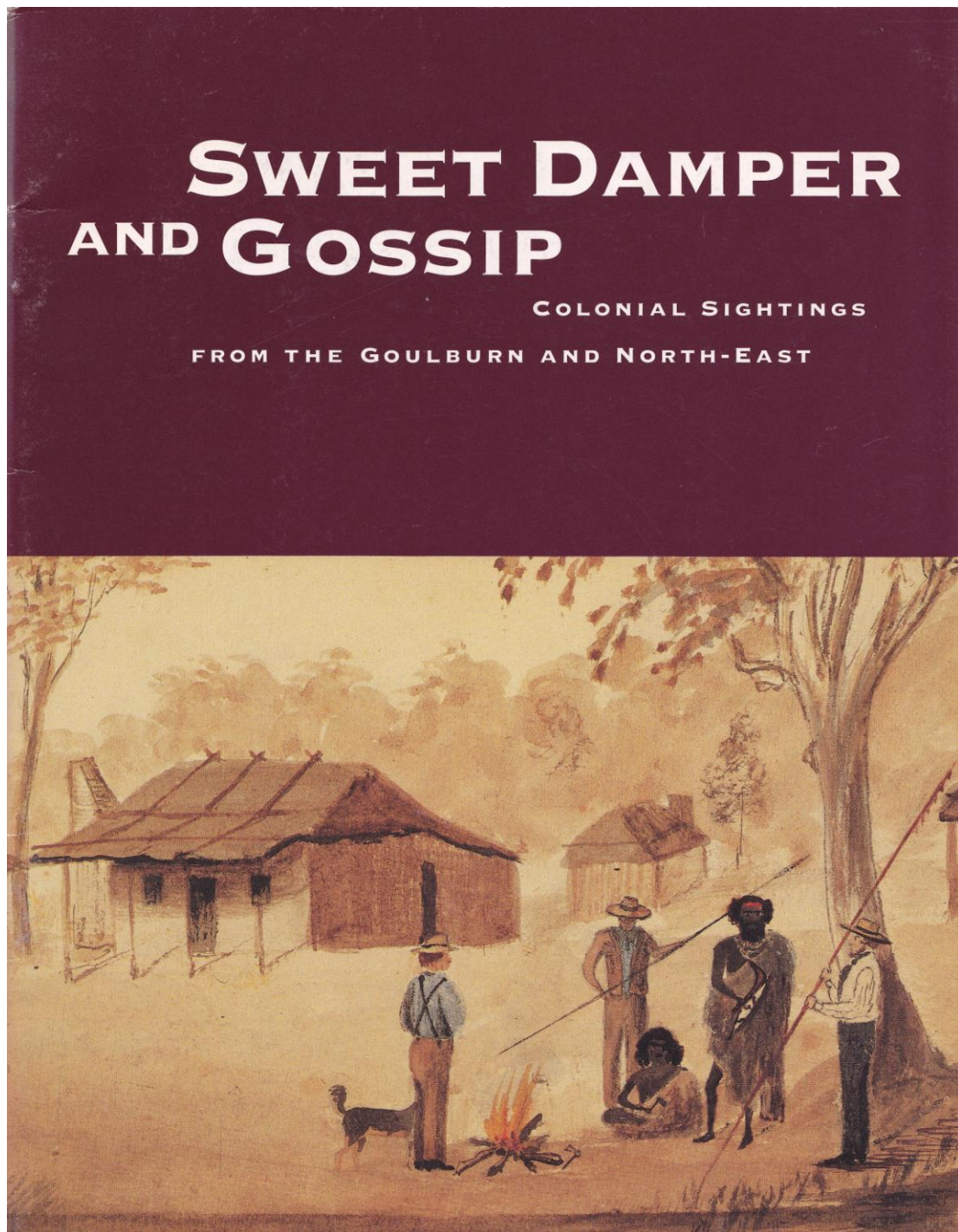


Fig 3: Cover of catalogue of *Sweet Damper and Gossip: colonial sightings from the Goulburn and North-East*, curated by Paul Fox with Jennifer Phipps, organised by the Benalla Art Gallery, 1994.

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