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Painting war: The end of contact rock art in Arnhem Land

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Introduction

World War II represented a seismic shift in mid-twentieth-century history in the Northern Territory, Australia. Military activity leading up to and during World War II intensified in the region, given the role northern Australia had as a platform to conduct operations in the South West Pacific Area (SWPA) (Grey 1999; Powell 1982). The global conflict had profound impacts on Indigenous communities across northern Australia, however the archaeological signature of these impacts is limited (Riseman 2007, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Saunders 1995; Trudgen 2000).

At least three major contact-period occupation nodes have been identified in the archaeology of the Wellington Range—Djulirri, Malarrak and Maliwawa (Figure 13.1) (May et al. 2010; Taçon et al. 2010, 2012; Wesley et al. 2012; Wesley, Litster, Moffat et al. 2018; Welsey, Litster, O'Connor et al. 2018). At two of these three nodes, rock art motifs related to World War II have been recorded—a warship at the Djulirri rock-shelter and an aircraft at Maliwawa. Of all the recorded depictions of non-Indigenous ships, boats and aircraft in the rock art record of Arnhem Land there are few motifs that can be identified with as high a level of certainty as a modern-era military warship and aircraft (Barrett 1946; Burningham 1994, 2000; Chaloupka 1988, 1993, 1996; Clarke 2000a; Clarke and Frederick 2006, 2008, 2011; Cole 1980; Edwards 1979; Gunn 1988; Gunn et al. 2012; May et al. 2010; Mountford 1956; Roberts 2004; Taçon et al. 2010, 2012; Turner 1973; Wesley et al. 2012). The depictions in the Wellington Range provide a platform to discuss some of the earliest Indigenous records of encounters between the Commonwealth of Australia's Royal Australian Navy (RAN) and Royal Australian Airforce (RAAF) (Taçon 2018). As there are limited records of Indigenous engagement with naval shipping and aviation in the Northern Territory that identify specific encounters between Indigenous people of the Wellington Range region, these motifs demonstrate the significance arising from cross-cultural engagement between Aboriginal communities in north-western Arnhem Land and the operations of wartime ships and aircraft (Clarke and Frederick 2006, 2008; Porr and Bell 2012).

Differentiating the timing of the paintings is also significant for our understanding of the continuity of Indigenous traditional knowledge and customs in north-western Arnhem Land. These rock art images provide tangible evidence for interaction between the coastal Indigenous communities of western Arnhem Land and operations arising from World War II beyond written historical records and documentation, and also provide the basis for discussing the diminishing representation of introduced imagery in Arnhem Land rock art production during and after World War II.

Figure 13.1. Location of the study area.

Source: ANU CartoGIS.

Figure 13.2. Rock art panel from Djulirri, Arnhem Land, illustrating the maritime imagery recorded by Indigenous artists.

Source: Daryl Wesley.

World War II and Indigenous engagement in western Arnhem Land

Allied military units located along the north Australian coastline required a constant supply of provisions, fuel and equipment during World War II. Darwin was a focal point of military build-up for all three services from 1939 with periods of intense Allied army, navy and air force activity across the Northern Territory (Rayner 2001). Various ships and aircraft were used to supply remote coastal RAAF radar installations on Bathurst and Melville Islands, North Goulburn Island and Marchinbar Island; with numerous squadrons of bomber and fighter aircraft operating out of airfields located at Mililingimbi and Gove and seaplane bases on the Tiwi Islands and Groote Eylandt. These forward operation bases provided opportunities for direct engagement between service personnel and local Indigenous populations, especially those located near existing mission settlements of Waruwu, Mililingimbi, Yirrkala and Angurugu.

Most research about Indigenous engagement during World War II concerns the wartime roles of Indigenous servicemen and women during this conflict (Ball 1991; Hall 1997). The reality for most Indigenous north Australians was not active service, but largely support roles through the provision of labour (Hall 1980, 1997; Saunders 1995). In the past, the narrative of Indigenous Australian interactions with the Australian military has been considered from European perspectives, but more recently there has been a significant increase in literature discussing other roles of Indigenous participation in World War II (e.g. Hall 1997; Riseman 2007, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Saunders 1995; Trudgen 2000). Saunders (1995) and Riseman (2007, 2010, 2012a, 2012b) both provide excellent accounts of the roles, participation and the conditions that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people endured during World War II across northern Australia. The service role of Indigenous people in the Northern Territory is mostly documented through their participation in surveillance activities with the mobile troops of the North Australian Observer Unit (NAOU) and the Northern Territory Special Surveillance Unit (NTSRU) (Gray 2006; Riseman 2007, 2010, 2012a, 2012b). Indigenous communities in eastern Arnhem Land were known to play a significant role in the NTSRU during World War II (Riseman 2007, 2010, 2012a, 2012b). Closer to the Wellington Range, Indigenous labour from the Goulburn Island Mission contributed significantly to the operation of the RAAF 309RS radar station on North Goulburn Island from May 1943 to February 1945 (Adcock 1999:12; Nottle 2007:106; Vahtrick 2007:113). The 309RS was mostly serviced with personnel transfers and supplies by small coastal ships and aircraft, most notably RAAF Avro Ansons (Alford 2011:171; Nottle 2007:106; Vahtrick 2007:113).

World War II resulted in a dichotomy in Indigenous mobility, with the centralisation of Aboriginal populations into internment camps at one end of the scale and, on the other, with many families maintaining a highly mobile, traditional existence on Country to avoid internment and the threat of Japanese invasion. Administration of the north was taken over by the Australian military during World War II and mass civilian evacuations followed the bombing of Darwin in February 1942. Many Aboriginal people were forcibly moved off Country to live in large, regulated settlements between Darwin and Larrimah (Layton and Williams 1980:110; Ritchie and Bauman 1991:25). At the outbreak of war in 1939 the Government set about looking for a suitable 'holding place for incorrigibles and other natives requiring repatriation' (Foley 1982:11). After the bombing of Darwin in 1942, the Commonwealth Department of Native Affairs marshalled as many Aboriginal people as possible, interning them in control camps at Adelaide River, Pine Creek, Katherine, Koolpinyah and Mataranka for the duration of the war to be prisoners in their own land (Hall 1980:80). By 1943, 140 people were camped at Adelaide River and a further 1157

at Mataranka (Keen 1980:54; Layton and Williams 1980:114; Ritchie and Bauman 1991:25). During the war, the Australian Army insisted that Aboriginal people be confined to these camps to ensure their safety, prevent Aboriginal people assisting the Japanese, ease rationing and prevent contact with troops (Foley 1982:22; Hall 1980:80). From these camps up to 724 Aboriginal men and women provided a labour force for wartime capital works and day-to-day camp labour at many military installations, farms, gardens and canteens (Hall 1980:80–81; Keen 1980:54; Layton and Williams 1980:115; Ritchie and Bauman 1991:25–26).

The war years also had a notable detrimental impact on the customary practices and ceremonial systems of Aboriginal groups, as traditional movement was heavily restricted and consequently the continuity of ceremonial activity became virtually impossible (Ritchie 1980:12). Wartime rationing and other restrictions also meant life at mission settlements in Arnhem Land was difficult. In order to avoid interment in military camps and the hardship of mission life, many Indigenous families moved out to be on their Country, living off traditional economies, resulting in a very high level of mobility (R. Petherick, pers. comm. 1996). While many Aboriginal people returned to their Country or pastoral stations at the close of war, some Aboriginal families remained at these military settlements (Keen 1980:54; Layton and Williams 1980:115; Ritchie and Bauman 1991:25–26). Historical evidence of Indigenous mobility and life in Arnhem Land during World War II is relatively scant and archaeology provides an avenue to explore the impact of the war on Indigenous populations. Despite the significant Indigenous involvement in various activities of World War II and exposure to the enormous diversity of warships, military aircraft and other war materiel involved, it is a conundrum that there is a distinct lack of introduced imagery associated with this period in the contact rock art assemblages of western Arnhem Land.

The warship painting at Djulirri

Djulirri is a large rock-shelter complex and the main shelter contains approximately 1300 rock art paintings, of which 29 are paintings of transportation, consisting of Macassan ($n = 2$) and European ships and boats ($n = 25$) and a single depiction each of a wagon and biplane (May et al. 2010; Taçon 2018; Taçon et al. 2010, 2012). The images of the Indonesian praus have been radiocarbon dated to a period starting from c. 1650 CE indicating an extended period of Indigenous interaction with foreign maritime activities (Taçon et al. 2010). Identification of the types of shipping vessels is a familiar constituent of wartime history and maritime archaeology (Dellino-Musgrave 2006; Green 1990; McCarthy 2001; Staniforth and Nash 2008). Using similar methods that were developed for the identification of shipwrecks, as used in maritime archaeology, it is possible to identify ship types represented in the rock art (Burningham 1994, 2000; Wesley et al. 2012). The rock art painting of the warship depicts the port side view of the naval vessel (Figure 13.3). It has been illustrated with an outline and solid infill technique with white, grey and black pigments. The white and grey illustrates the deliberate use of two pigment tones, illustrating a waterline and a distinctive keel shape. It has two masts with lines connecting the masts and a forward stay to the bow (Figure 13.3). The detail of the lines is typical of a modern naval radio array. There are two guns depicted, fore and aft. A single funnel is shown. A bridge is located forward on top of the superstructure above the deck. The bow and stern are steep and not curving like many other ship paintings in the site (Figure 13.3).

Figure 13.3. Line drawing and photograph of Djulirri ship.

Source: Daryl Wesley and Virginia das Neves.

Significantly, there were many naval ships operating in Northern Territory coastal waters during this period (Rayner 2001). RAN corvette ships like the HMAS *Castlemaine*, HMAS *Cootamundra*, HMAS *Latrobe* and armed motor launches escorted cargo ships to provide protection against Japanese air force attack (Alford 2011). However, the shape and configuration of these other ships do not match the profile of the ship motif at Djulirri, which closely resembles that of HMAS *Moresby* (May et al. 2013). The colour scheme, fore and aft masts, radio array, guns without turrets (as they are not distinguished from the upper structure), the very low bow and stern to the waterline and distinctive rectangular depiction of the superstructure are all features that closely mirror the design of the HMAS *Moresby*. When compared with photographs there are similarities in the layout of the masts, rigging and superstructure. In contrast to other warships of the interwar and wartime periods, very few ships with twin mast configurations were operating and fewer still in Northern Territory waters. The depiction of the forward and rear guns suggests that this is a representation of the HMAS *Moresby* in a re-armed configuration for World War II escort duty.

Figure 13.4. HMAS *Moresby* c. 1933, Bowen Queensland.

Source: Joseph William Bell, State Library of Queensland (John Oxley Library). Copyright expired.

The HMAS *Moresby* was tasked with undertaking coastal surveys and improving nautical charts along the Arnhem Land coast. HMAS *Moresby*, formerly HMS *Silvio*, was put into service with the RAN in 1925 (Bastock 1975:100). The *Moresby* is shown in Figure 13.4 as having both fore and aft masts, which was an unusual feature for modern warships (Bastock 1975:100). The shape of the ship is also unusual: it was built by the British in World War I as an anti-submarine escort and therefore had a distinctive profile. The bow and stern looked very similar, to confuse U-boats as to which way the ship was heading (Bastock 1975; O'Connell 1994). The *Moresby* was converted for use in a surveying role between 1926 and 1929. O'Connell (1994:6) describes its conversion in 1925, writing that both bow and stern of the

Moresby seem to have emerged to be again identical. The guns were removed. A long wide boat deck was superimposed at the bridge wheelhouse level and a suite suited to the needs of a captain of such a vessel added aft of the 'dummy' bridge.

The presence and absence of major armaments for peacetime duty is critical for chronological identification of the Djulirri rock art motif.

Recommissioned in 1935, the *Moresby* was sent to Darwin to survey the Clarence Strait in Northern Territory waters (Bastock 1975:100; O'Connell 1994:6). At the outbreak of World War II, HMAS *Moresby* was re-armed for patrolling the east coast of Australia and convoy escort duties in 1941 (Bastock 1975:100). After 1941, the *Moresby* made numerous appearances in Darwin during the war years, operating in the South West Pacific Area (SWPA) on convoy escort duty. This period of service after 1941, when the HMAS *Moresby* was re-armed, becomes a significant factor for identifying the Djulirri motif. In 1935, during coastal charting service in the north, when encounters between the HMAS *Moresby* and Indigenous people in Queensland and the Northern Territory first occurred, the *Moresby* was missing the forward and rear guns. The *Northern Standard* reported in 1935 that the Aboriginal crew, aboard the *Moresby* while the ship was conducting survey work, complained of their working conditions, undertaking the majority of 'heavier and dirtier' tasks, as well as their low wages. The article goes on to say that the Aboriginal crew had 'warned other boys not to accept employment should the vessel return to Darwin waters for survey work' (*Northern Standard* 1935:9). Furthermore, support for the ship motif relating to Indigenous contact during its wartime service can be found in a 1944 photograph from the Australian War Memorial. Figure 13.5 shows the crew from the HMAS *Moresby* interacting with local Tiwi Island Traditional Owners as guides on a shooting party near the Snake Bay flying boat base on Melville Island.

Figure 13.5. HMAS *Moresby* shooting party on Melville Island.

Source: Australian War Memorial (P02305-019).

The aircraft painting at Maliwawa

The Maliwawa complex is formed by three major rock-shelters with a series of smaller rock art panels interspersed around a small sandstone outlier of the Wellington Range (Wesley, Litster, O'Connor et al. 2018). The main gallery of the Maliwawa art site contains 542 paintings, beeswax figures, stencils, drawings, a print and an engraving (Taçon et al. 2012:432). A painting of an aircraft is depicted in a perspective manner, like some of the ships on the Djulirri panel (Figure 13.2). The motif has been painted using an outline and solid infill method, with further line infill to create details of feature within the painting (Figure 13.6). The outline and line infill are painted in black pigment with a combination of red and yellow pigment infill. The motif has well-defined aircraft characteristics which illustrate the fuselage, monoplane wings, a vertical stabiliser (rudder), possible horizontal stabiliser (elevator), cockpit and fuselage windows and a RAAF roundel on the fuselage behind the main wing. In consultation with the Australian War Memorial's curator of aircraft, this aircraft was identified as the Avro Anson, operated by the RAAF during World War II (John White, pers. comm. 2011). The RAAF were operating squadrons with Avro Anson aircraft in the Northern Territory from 1938 to 1945.

Figure 13.6. Rock art motif and D-stretch image of the aircraft from Maliwawa.

Source: Daryl Wesley.

Figure 13.7. RAAF Avro Anson circa 1940 in flight.

Source: Australian War Memorial (P128002). Copyright expired, public domain.

The Avro Anson was a twin-engine aircraft designed as a light bomber. The RAAF began to acquire the British built planes (Figure 13.7) in 1936 and later went on to operate 1028 of them in Australia (RAAF Museum 2009). RAAF Avro Anson squadrons began to arrive in Darwin in 1938 as part of the Northern Territory coastal defence build-up, firstly on long-distance flying tests, and then posted on a permanent basis in 1939 (Alford 2011; *Northern Standard* 1938:4). With the outbreak of World War II, the Avro Anson squadrons were tasked with aerial survey and photography of the Northern Territory coastline and had begun regular patrols of the Arnhem Land coast by December 1939 (Alford 2011:14; *Northern Standard* 1939:4). Early in the Pacific War, the Avro Anson was found to be a poor performer as a bomber or attack aircraft and was then relegated to supply and transport duties in the Northern Territory through World War II (Alford 2011:171–173). Avro Anson aircraft were used by the No. 6 Communications Unit (notably commanded by Flight Lieutenant Clyde C Fenton, the renowned Northern Territory Flying Doctor, well known to Indigenous communities) to transport and supply remote RAAF stations during World War II (Alford 2011:171–173). The 309 Radar Station (309RS) based on North Goulburn Island from 1943 to 1945 was regularly supplied, via the South Goulburn Island Mission airstrip, by a variety of RAAF aircraft including the Avro Anson (Nottle 2007:106; Vahtrick 2007:113).

These aircraft were marked with the traditional red, white and blue roundels. After the Allies engaged in combat with Japanese air forces from December 1941, the RAAF ordered the removal of the red centre from the roundel owing to numerous ‘friendly fire’ incidents during the Malayan campaigns in June 1942—the Allied aircraft’s roundels were easily confused with the Japanese Rising Sun air force symbol (Dunn 2003). All RAAF aircraft from June 1942 to 1945 were marked with blue and white identification roundels painted on the wings and fuselage (Cochrane and Elliot 1998:13). This is a significant temporal identifier for depictions of RAAF aircraft in the Northern Territory during World War II. The roundel on the aircraft motif at Maliwawa

is significant, as it is depicted in the tricolour style with a red circle in the centre. Given that the tricolour roundel (red, white and blue) was replaced by the bicolour roundel (blue and white) in August 1942 (Dunn 2003), the painter witnessed this aircraft between late 1938 and August 1942. Therefore, this motif could not have been painted before 1938. The painting is very likely to reflect the artists' wartime experience of observing the aircraft between 1938 and 1942 and suggests that this motif was painted at Maliwawa during the wartime period.

End of contact imagery in rock art

The western Arnhem Land sandstone plateau holds an enormous body of Indigenous rock art spanning from the Pleistocene through to the recent past, recognised as one of the greatest rock art precincts in the world (Chaloupka 1993; Flood 1997; Layton 1992; Morwood 2002). The introduced imagery of Macassan and European material culture greatly assists in developing an almost decadal chronology for western Arnhem Land contact rock art. Methods to classify the ships painted in rock art have been established where studies can reliably identify the type and class of the ship; however, only a few are identified by name (Burningham 1994, 2000; May et al. 2013; O'Connor and Arrow 2008; Roberts 2004; Taçon et al. 2010; Wesley et al. 2012). Despite these methodological difficulties, Arnhem Land rock art researchers have attempted to identify historical individuals (e.g. the explorer Leichhardt), named ships and aircraft depicted in rock art paintings (Chaloupka 1993; Gunn et al. 2012; May et al. 2010, 2013; Roberts 2004; Roberts and Parker 2003). The distortions of time that are generally referred to as a problem for ethnographic analogy are far less problematic when dealing with a warship motif with a date unlikely to be older than 1945, when the HMAS *Moresby* was reaching the end of its service life. Aircraft also prove to be excellent chronological markers owing to rapid changes in design and technology. Because the aircraft motif painted at Maliwawa can be dated to a very specific period between 1939 and 1942, the artwork would have probably been painted in response to early wartime experiences of Indigenous people residing in the region or at the nearby South Goulburn Island Mission of Warruwi.

Porr and Bell (2012) challenge the primacy of Western scientific and literary academic methodologies in the study of Aboriginal rock art. They state that Indigenous ways of knowing need to be utilised seriously in a critical re-evaluation of the Western scientific endeavour (Porr and Bell 2012:15). Hodder (1998:65) would argue that the painting of the warship and aircraft motifs are part of an intellectual body of knowledge and work that should be differentiated from that of practical consciousness or habitus. Equally, Layton (1998:71) argues that in Aboriginal society creative retelling is inherent in the structure of Aboriginal cognition. Layton (1992:73) contends that Indigenous communities are trying to make sense of wholly new experiences to which they were subject during the colonial period, which is revealed through their creative endeavours. Baker (2005:17) challenges historical orthodoxies in the examination of the history of Arnhem Land in relation to Aboriginal mission history where 'invasion narratives speak of the chaos associated with un-negotiated crossing of boundaries, trespass, intrusion, death, disruption, dislocation and destruction of local culture'. Baker (2005:17) identifies that concepts of negotiation and consent vary greatly during the mission occupation of Arnhem Land throughout the early twentieth century. There are many examples of Indigenous groups owning their version of the historical narrative of negotiation with outsiders entering Arnhem Land (Baker 2005). Therefore, the rock art at Djulirri and Maliwawa are very likely to be an important layer of this Indigenous ownership of a post-colonial narrative and experience.

The twentieth-century ships that share the same rock art panel as the warship motif at Djulirri represent specific points in time when European contact experiences were still being represented through a traditional idiom (Layton 1998:73). In eastern Arnhem Land, contemporary Indigenous

artistic practices continue to include imagery from the precolonial period, representing Macassan culture contact, which has been incorporated into Yolngu history and dreaming (McIntosh 1996, 2006, 2009; Morphy 1991; Sutton 1988). Layton (1998:76) states that:

it can be argued that there is both a strong, conservative strand in traditional Aboriginal society, which has enabled the impact of colonialism to be withstood, and for traditional rights to land to be asserted in a traditional idiom, and also a creative strand which repeatedly generates new variants of cultural practices and, more rarely, transforms the cultural structure itself.

Relationships that developed through long periods of culture contact—as with the Macassans—manage to penetrate through cultural structures and have lasting incorporation into traditional narratives, language and mythology (McIntosh 1996, 2006, 2009; Morphy 1991; Ryan 1990; Wiseman 1996); whereas culture contact with Europeans and experiences of World War II may generate a new variant of cultural practice such as painting European ships and aircraft, but emerge for a very limited period in Indigenous rock art production in western Arnhem Land.

World War II imagery is notably lacking in both the rock art record and the contemporary artistic traditions of Arnhem Land, despite the proliferation of personnel, ships, vehicles and aircraft in the Northern Territory. Gunn et al. (2012:63) establish a well-defined record of customary designs during the post-contact Indigenous rock art produced from 1845 to 1940. These motifs consist of polychrome x-ray paintings and designs that dominate Nawarla Gabarnmang (Gunn et al. 2012:63). The introduced contact image of a horse at Nawarla Gabarnmang is found underneath many layers of customary zoomorphic x-ray imagery painted within a 95-year time span (Gunn et al. 2012:61). Therefore, the Indigenous rock art painting experience demonstrated by Gunn et al. (2012) at Nawarla Gabarnmang illustrates the primacy of customary motifs and designs in Indigenous rock art production. In the case of wider western Arnhem Land, introduced contact imagery, such as European ships, people, boats, animals and guns are seldom represented in post-World War II traditional Indigenous art production (McLean 2011; Ryan 1990; Sutton 1988; Taylor 1999). Bardayal ‘Lofty’ Nadjamerrek identified three rock-shelter sites where he painted customary imagery in the years immediately following World War II, when he was travelling between the Maranboy tin mine and Gunbalanya (Peter Cooke, pers. comm. 2017). Brandl (1982:31, 69, 124–125) documented experiences working with Mandarg and Jacky Bunggarnial in 1969, where both had produced rock art paintings using customary anthropomorphic imagery, a crocodile design and a rainbow serpent in Cadell River rock-shelters. Chaloupka (1993:241) also describes the postwar activities of artists such as Nayombolmi, Djimongurr and Djorlom, who painted various traditional anthropomorphic and zoomorphic rock art motifs within different areas of Arnhem Land. These are all examples that illustrate the primacy of cultural structures represented by traditional motifs and cultural designs in the Indigenous art production of western Arnhem Land.

Contrasting this, history and oral history attest to the immense impact of World War II on Indigenous society in northern Australia (Hall 1980, 1997; Riseman 2007, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Saunders 1995; Trudgen 2000). These experiences were varied and differed significantly from any that Indigenous communities had encountered before, or after, in terms of the size and scale of personnel and material culture. Therefore, the absence of these experiences in rock art is at odds with how Indigenous people had previously expressed their cross-cultural experiences with abundant contact rock art imagery. This cannot be explained via an absence of occupation of western Arnhem Land either. Indigenous occupation and mobility in Arnhem Land substantially increased during the war years as many Aboriginal families lived on Country to avoid internment. We propose that by the 1940s, there had been a fundamental shift in Indigenous perceptions of Europeans and material culture as the ‘other’. Therefore, ships, aircraft, vehicles and material culture had started to become part of the larger normative Indigenous experience. Material

culture such as ships, aircraft, trucks, bicycles, firearms, carts and cars, which have all been noted in the rock art record of western Arnhem Land, had now become part of the normative social and economic life of Indigenous society. As a result, this repertoire of introduced imagery significantly diminished in Indigenous artistic production within rock-shelters in Arnhem Land post-World War II.

Conclusion

Despite the increase in naval shipping and aircraft across the Northern Territory coastline during World War II, this period of conflict is represented in the Indigenous rock art record in the Wellington Range by only a single ship at Djulirri and an aircraft at Maliwawa. The World War II chronological timeline provides a significant platform to discuss the implications of transformations in cross-cultural interactions for local Aboriginal people operating in a much larger maritime seascape and landscape than their local estates and territories prior to Macassan and European contact (Clarke 2000a, 2000b; Clarke and Frederick 2006, 2008, 2011; Porr and Bell 2012). Importantly, it marks the decline of contact rock art in the region and heralds a period of marked change in rock art production, reflecting the manner in which engagement with Europeans had become part of the 'normative' experience in Indigenous society in western Arnhem Land by the 1940s.

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