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## The Journey Out to the Centre. The Cultural Appropriation of Ayers Rock

### Abstract

It is well-known that the term 'Australian' referred originally to the indigenous peoples of Australia, not to the settlers of 1788. The transformation in the meaning of the word was linked to a growing need to develop an identity<sup>2</sup> for settlers<sup>3</sup> who could never go 'home' to Europe, and the change seems to have been complete by about the end of the eighteenth century. The transformation of meaning has had important results for Aboriginal Australians - they have lost the identification of themselves with their country while through it, settler Australians have legitimated their own claim to Aboriginal land. The processes by which meanings are transformed within a political hierarchy, I refer to as cultural appropriation. It is a process which is continuous and one now gathering considerable momentum in Australia.

# The Journey Out to the Centre. The Cultural Appropriation of Ayers Rock<sup>1</sup>

It is well-known that the term 'Australian' referred originally to the indigenous peoples of Australia, not to the settlers of 1788. The transformation in the meaning of the word was linked to a growing need to develop an identity<sup>2</sup> for settlers<sup>3</sup> who could never go 'home' to Europe, and the change seems to have been complete by about the end of the eighteenth century. The transformation of meaning has had important results for Aboriginal Australians - they have lost the identification of themselves with their country while through it, settler Australians have legitimated their own claim to Aboriginal land. The processes by which meanings are transformed within a political hierarchy, I refer to as cultural appropriation. It is a process which is continuous and one now gathering considerable momentum in Australia.

Cultural appropriation can be seen in a great many areas, for example in the rash of new folk-songs celebrating authentic Australian outback values. John Williamson's song written in 1986, 'Raining on the Rock' is an interesting example, for not only is the appropriation very clear, but it refers specifically to Ayers Rock which, I shall argue, is becoming the sacred centre of a rapidly developing settler cosmology.

Pastel red to burgundy and spinifex to gold  
We've just come out of the mulga  
Where the plains forever roll  
And Albert Namatjira has painted all the scenes  
And a shower has changed the lustre of his lands.

*And it's raining on the Rock in a beautiful country  
And I'm proud to travel this big land like an Aborigine  
And it's raining on the Rock. What an almighty sight to see*

*And I'm wishing on a postcard that you were here with me*

Everlasting daisies and beautiful desert rose  
Where does their beauty come from, heaven knows  
I could ask the wedge-tail but he's away too high  
I wonder if he understands it's wonderful to fly?

*And it's raining on the Rock in a beautiful country....*

It cannot be described with a picture  
The mesmerizing colours of the Olgas  
Or the grandeur of the Rock  
Uluru has power!

*And it's raining on the Rock in a beautiful country  
And I'm proud to travel this big land like an Aborigine  
And it's raining on the Rock. What an almighty sight to see*

*And I'm wishing on a postcard that you were here with me*

In Williamson's song, the claim to be 'like an Aborigine' is particularly effective, I think, when it comes after the final verse and the reference to Ayers Rock. The statement that 'Uluru has power' is not only an expression of the widely-held view<sup>4</sup> that Aboriginal Australians draw power from 'the Rock' but a statement that such power really exists and is knowable to settler Australians like the singer. The singer then claims to be travelling around the countryside 'like an Aborigine', a claim that utilizes the imagery of Aboriginal Australian 'travelling' and its links with the Aboriginal Dreaming Tracks.<sup>5</sup>

The writer's intention could well be to validate, legitimate or celebrate the power of Aboriginal law and ways. Yet there is no doubt that the claim that settler Australians can be 'like Aborigines' is a very clear attempt to appropriate an identity which has now become a source of power. The same theme is presented strongly in the popular film 'Crocodile Dundee'. The hero, Dundee, is shown as having access to the hidden part of Aboriginal life, and to the power that those hidden secrets convey.

In 'Crocodile Dundee', however, while it is never clear whether Dundee is of Aboriginal stock, it is perfectly plain that he grew up in mystically close contact with Aborigines and the land.<sup>6</sup> Within the imagery and narrative sequence of 'Crocodile Dundee', there is a very clear expression of the idea that settlers who grow up on the land 'like Aborigines' can also sometimes have access to the power that such closeness to the land brings. Within a context of struggle over land-ownership, such claims are far from benign and they reproduce those made publicly in the community and the print and television media. In Alice Springs, for example, settlers who have a basic knowledge of local Dreaming Ancestors, are quick to point out that they too have 'birth rights' in the Yiperinya Caterpillar Dreaming sites of the town. The irony is that Aboriginal Australians in the town who wish to conciliate, are led to acknowledge such claims, even if only at a very superficial level. It is at this point that the relations of power governing the nature of knowledge become very clear. T.G.H. Strehlow<sup>7</sup> used 'his' conception totem to bolster his right to hold sacred objects that were shown only during secret ceremonies,<sup>8</sup> de-

spite the fact that he was not an initiated adult. And in the case of Ayers Rock, the slogan used to oppose the hand-over of the Rock to its 'traditional' owners was 'The Rock Belongs to Everyone'.

The present force of the current of appropriation arises both from the partly successful moves to legitimate Aboriginal claims to land during the nineteen seventies, and from the conscientious fabrication of a national identity taking place in the nineteen eighties in response to the incorporation of Australia into the periphery of a world-economic system. As national boundaries become economically insignificant, as national governments become less and less able to influence national economic forces, there seems to be a reaffirmation of the cultural reality, value and autonomy of the nation state.

The Australian bicentennial events have provoked a plethora of nationalistic activities at glorifying the achievements of the last two hundred years. These events are taking place within an economy deteriorating into stagnation, a society in which unemployment and falling wages are becoming very common and in which the values of the nineteenth century petit-bourgeoisie are increasingly stressed. Initiative and enterprise are the key-words and the emphasis is on exploiting all and every available resource. In the nineteenth century, economic exploitation was largely of the natural world - Europeans mined and cleared and re-planted the globe at a fantastic rate. Foreign cultures were collected up, ordered and named as part of the first wave of classifying the expanding colonial world. In the 'post-industrial' world, culture itself is considered as simply another resource, and is being mined and exploited accordingly. But collecting and naming are no longer sufficient. Other knowledges are being transformed rather than classified, perhaps in order to support an illusion of the reality of nationality. It is the conjunction of the exploitation and sale of cultural assets with a desperate search for a national identity, that produces the pace and intensity of the current wave of cultural appropriation. It is distinctively Australian than an indigenous settler culture of 'Australian-ness' focuses constantly on the desert, on the centre of the land, and within such an ideology it is clear that the Aboriginal Australian must occupy an ambiguous position. This is a point I shall return to shortly.

With the unification of economies and the obsolescence of national boundaries within the world capitalist-system, and with the changing structures of the world-economy, comes the increasing prominence of tourism. The commodity 'Australia' is now to be defined in terms of its distinctiveness or difference from the rest of the world, an increasing problem as western capitalism tends toward an international homogeneity of culture which is especially evident in urban Australia. Aboriginal Australians become a critical aspect of difference but they do so in a particular way. They become part of difference expressed through the natural world, and are perceived once again as natural curios along with the platypus and Ayers Rock. This aspect

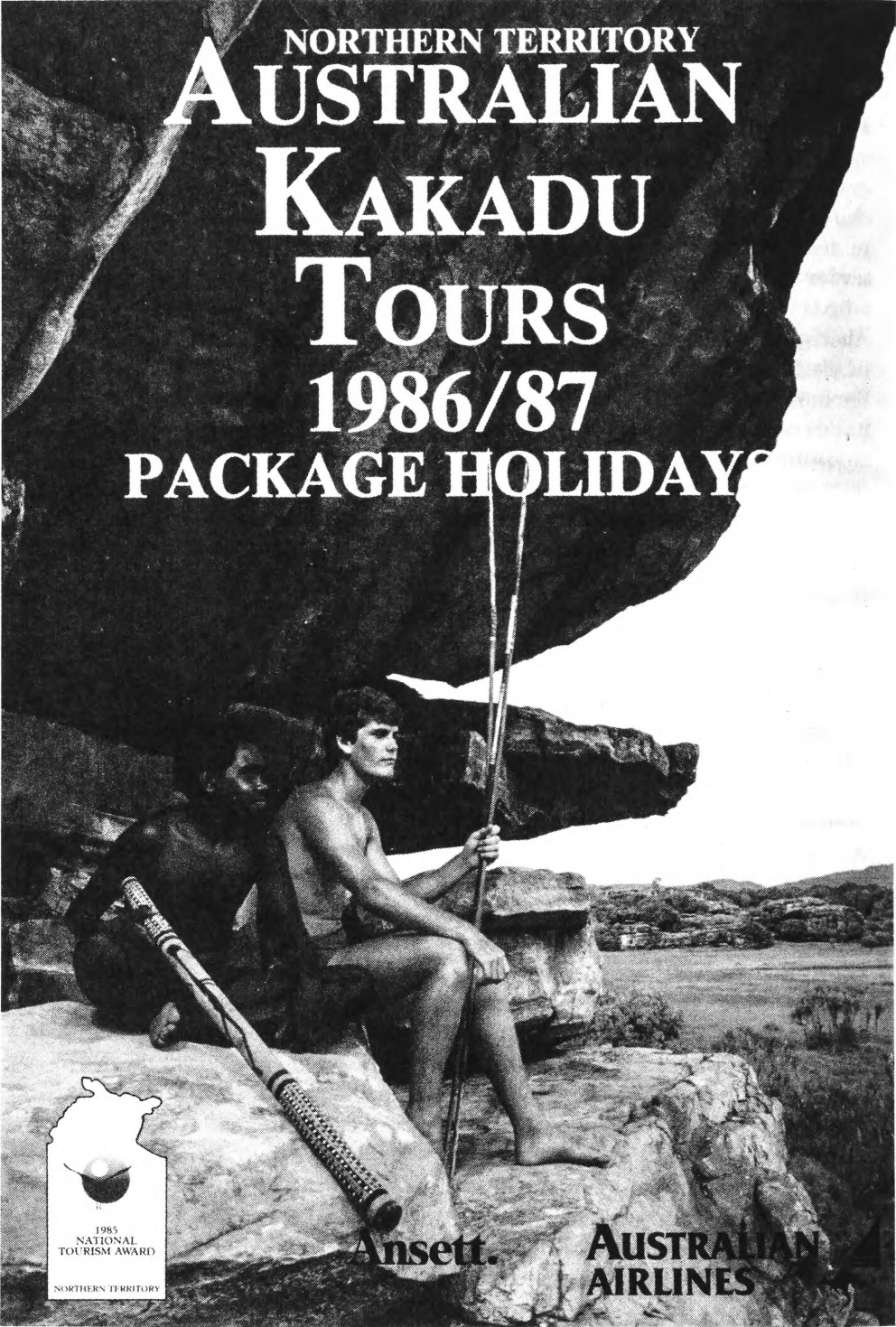
of Aboriginality is enshrined in Australian understandings through the presentation of Aboriginal life and culture in museums where Aboriginals jostle for attention beside whale skeletons, large gold nuggets and kangaroos. It is not only that Aboriginal Australians are consistently rendered as 'natural', timeless and unchanging, but there is also a claim to present this land as 'ours' 'together', just as 'we' *all* 'own' Ayers Rock.

Just such a claim is expressed vividly on the cover of a glossy tourist brochure advertizing Kakadu National Park.<sup>9</sup> It shows two young men sitting under a rock shelter, looking amicably out over the park. One young man is a settler Australian, the other an Aboriginal. However, it is the settler youth who is the taller, who sits higher in the picture and who holds the spears. The Aboriginal Australian sits cross-legged, presumably in a 'traditional' manner, and holds the didjeridoo. It is an image in which the power is clearly in the hands of the settler, with only the trappings of traditional culture in the hands of the Aboriginal. It places that settler in command of an Aboriginal environment with control of Aboriginal weaponry. Given the struggle over ownership and use of the Kakadu region between miners, conservationists, pastoralists and Aboriginals, the structure and symbolism of the image is far from neutral.

As I noted above in connection with the slogan 'The Rock Belongs to Everyone', the most recent movement towards appropriation is characterized by just such egalitarian claims. It is now common to hear settlers explain that 'We are *all* Australians' and to continue by saying that 'We *all* have equal rights in these places, not just Aborigines. We want our children to be able to see and understand their heritage.' This then is the new racism, a racism which is expressed and practised through doctrines of egalitarianism. Its soft but critical edge is seen in the forms of cultural incorporation and appropriated meanings used to control and express once again settler and Aboriginal perceptions of Aboriginal society and culture. In other words, it is through particular forms of cultural appropriation, those embodying notions of equality, that knowledge of both Aboriginal culture and the relations of that culture to settler society, is represented not only to settlers, but to Aboriginal Australians themselves.

But it is also important to note that within the long-standing notions of 'the Bush' and 'the Outback', the most authentic manifestation of bush values and actions is located at 'the Centre'. It is in the outback that one finds the real Australian, the bearer of authentically Australian values and skills. Central to the authenticity of the inhabitant of the outback, the 'bushman', the drover, the pastoralist, is the ideology of egalitarianism and it follows that if the most authentic bush values are found at the centre of the outback, then the most egalitarian of fraternal values and behaviours will be found there too. This is a universalizing form of masculine equality, and it is this which is sought by those leaving the cities for the Centre. The Australian

NORTHERN TERRITORY  
**AUSTRALIAN  
KAKADU  
TOURS  
1986/87  
PACKAGE HOLIDAYS**



**Ansett.**

**AUSTRALIAN  
AIRLINES**

'Centre' is characterized by its harshness, its redness, its space and emptiness.<sup>10</sup> At the centre of the Centre of 'the outback', lies Ayers Rock. Ayers Rock has developed both an international and a national significance as a pilgrimage site.

As a relatively new nation (created in 1901) suffering an abrupt rupture in their history, settler Australians have lacked a sacred centre for their symbolically constructed social and cultural world. There has been no single, central, place at which the universal values that characterized aspects of nationalistic ideologies and rites could be located and made manifest. While settler Australians built a plethora of shrines to death and masculinity inside the towns (war memorials, R.S.L. Clubs), attempts to create a distinctive national identity have lacked the legitimation of a primordial origin myth that celebrates what Victor Turner<sup>11</sup> calls the anti-structural, universalizing, unifying values of society.<sup>12</sup> While the Anzac myth works well for the structural domain of the social and is the basis of a flourishing structural cult, its central shrine, the War Memorial in Canberra is also set firmly within the city, just as were the great shrines of the Greek city-states. But it is at shrines that are located outside the towns, outside social and spatial structure, outside the interests of kin, political and economic groups, that the over-arching values which are said to characterize society as a 'whole' become visible. The 'Muslim World' has Mecca as a primordial place of origin; the European landscape is dotted with great pilgrimage shrines set up outside the spatial and temporal constraints of social structure (Lourdes, Our Lady of Fatima and, in an earlier era, St James of Compostella and the other way-stations leading to Rome and Jerusalem) and the Indian religions all have important anti-structural shrines. But no prophet led Australians into their promised land, they were banished. There was no place at which the law that would bring order out of chaos was proclaimed authoritatively by the gods, there was no cosmic revelation, and there is no place set apart to which one can journey in search of the source, no place at which the meaning of life can be revealed. There is instead, the grim order of an all too mundane nature that characterizes a military colony, an imposed and unwanted régime of terror coupled with an inner emptiness and the fear that perhaps Australians have, in reality, no nature, no culture<sup>13</sup> at all. It is perhaps the absence of a central site of generation that helps to account for the continuing uneasiness that characterizes Australian identities and which requires Australians to expend so much energy on telling themselves who they really are. If it is true to say that 'authority once achieved must have a secure and usable past',<sup>14</sup> then we must analyze the ways in which the bicentennial celebrations of 1988 are being used to rewrite the past of the new nation of 1901 in response to the changing nature of the state.



## AYERS ROCK AND SETTLER TOURISTS

Given the symbolic and structural significance of the Centre in Australian histories, literatures, folk-lore and advertizing; given the challenge to manhood offered by the rigours of that Centre, it is perhaps not so surprising that Ayers Rock, a spectacular monolith, should have come to assume an increasing importance to settler Australians. Ayers Rock can be said, with only a slight empirical quibble,<sup>15</sup> to lie at the heart of the Centre and at the centre of the Australian landscape. The Rock itself is a magnificent sight at any hour of the day. When Finlayson<sup>16</sup> first saw it on the horizon, he was nearly one hundred miles and still three days away from it by camel; today, even the rapid and easy approach by car on sealed road cannot destroy the impact of that first sight. Ayers Rock, then, has natural qualities which lend it value as a symbolic site, but it is important to recall that such spectacular qualities are by no means a prerequisite for the successful development of a sacred site. The black rock which is the focus of the mosque in Mecca is very small, indeed, and there is nothing obvious about the natural qualifications of many Aboriginal sacred sites. The significance of a successful site or shrine comes not from its natural characteristics but from its continuing role in connecting the events and symbolism of the past to the present. The great pilgrimage shrines of the world, some of which lie in magnificent natural settings and some of which do not, are characterized by the access they provide to the gods, by a primordial event, and by the ways in which, through ritual, visitors are able to shed the constraints of the world, gain access to the gods, and reach a momentary union or loss of self beyond structure.

Ayers Rock as yet lacks a stunning intrusive cosmic event, but the stealing of baby Azaria by the Dingo and the subsequent sacrifice of Lindy Chamberlain to the male gods of Australian society may have the dramatic qualifications for a national super-natural intervention.<sup>17</sup> But to some extent the Rock's extraordinary size and shape so counteract popular images of nature that its existence could itself be understood as proof of a divine and incomprehensible intervention. This empirical 'proof' or sacred origin need not be closely linked into the symbolic structures of meaning that operate within the cults that are growing around the Rock. Again, I refer to Mecca, as it offers a clear example of the disconnection of the focus and legitimation of the site from the specific cult practices which operate at it. Over the millennia, a folklore has grown up around the properties of the sacred black stone, but this has not been substantially incorporated into Muslim doctrines or dogma, even if it may be of more significance to pilgrims than it is to theologians. Meccan pilgrimage rites focus on the Kaaba with the sacred stone located at one of its corners, yet the rites do not make much play on the stone at all. It provides a pivot for the circumambulation, and it legitimates the location. One should touch the stone or kiss it, but these acts are not

incorporated into the actual rites of pilgrimage as set out in the various pilgrim handbooks. In the past, the Meccan stone supported a solar calendrical cult. Pilgrims circumambulated the stone in a clockwise direction, a direction which is usual at shrines – one circulates with the right shoulder to the sacred centre. Muhammed changed the direction of flow by decree, and Mecca remains the only major shrine at which pilgrims turn the left side of the body to the centre and move against the sun. Muhammed is thought to have made this change in order to sever the new religion from its predecessor, yet his act provides us with an example of the way in which quite different cults and meanings can be built upon the same natural base.

It is quite possible, then, for a cult not to have a close initial relationship to the focus of the place at which it settles. While not wanting to suggest that cults are only ethereal creatures in search of embodiment, it seems to me that Australian settler nationalism and ideologies of identity can indeed be thought of as a cult in need of a central and suitable location. Furthermore, the transformations of time and space that can be found within Australian settler nationalistic ideologies and symbolism are so related to origins and social structures that Ayers Rock, standing alone at the centre of the great Australian 'emptiness', is a peculiarly suitable candidate for attaching *this* myth to *that* place. If this argument could be sustained, it would indicate that Ayers Rock is on the way to becoming one of the great pilgrimage shrines of Australia and there is now sufficient empirical evidence to suggest that this is precisely what is happening.

The rapid development of the Centre as a tourist destination, the paving of roads and the up-grading of accommodation and other facilities means that now as never before, the 'average settler Australian' is able to make the journey out to the centre, to throw off the constraints of social structure, live the authentic Australian outback life, and to recreate the egalitarian frontier myth. The number of tourists to the centre of the outback has increased dramatically during the last decade, and it would be unwise to ignore the crucial importance of Ayers Rock to current cultural representations concerning national identity and authenticity. A great many tourists, particularly those equipped with four-wheel drive vehicles and their accompanying paraphernalia, bear some of the pilgrim's sociological characteristics.<sup>18</sup>

The modern-day stockmen and drovers, re-creating the conquest, the hardihood and the egalitarianism of the frontier through recreation, are also re-creating and affirming the essential masculinity of that frontier and its way of life. As one would expect in an increasingly integrated world-economy, Ayers Rock is of significance beyond the political boundaries of Australia. The last decade has seen a world-wide boom in the sales of distinctively Australian paraphernalia in Europe and America. The Akubra drover's hat and the 'dry as a bone' stockman's oilskin coat sells well overseas (in America) and within Australia. Ayers Rock has been developed as an international tourist resort and the number of tourists visiting it is increasing rapidly.

Pilgrimage, tourism and trade have always gone hand in hand. In the ancient world, the peace of the annual market was guaranteed by the feast days of the local saint or god. Mecca was one such trading town and the Black Stone was the marker of the town's sacred protector. Pilgrims covered the costs of their journey through trading as they travelled, and the result of the processes by which pilgrims stepped outside of the constraints of daily life can be seen in the jollity described by Chaucer. To be a pilgrim was by no means a purely pious experience. Contemporary pilgrims are just the same and in a self-consciously secular world, the tourist on tour to the Centre, in search of enlightenment through visits to secular<sup>19</sup> sources of knowledge, carries many of the attributes of the pilgrim.

The settler Australian tourist to Ayers Rock plays out pilgrim and tourist roles in varying combinations and degrees. There are a variety of ways of making the journey out, just as there are a variety of ways of getting to Mecca (organized tour, independent travel, by plane or bus or on foot, with visits to way-stations or without); but the move to get 'out' of the city and into the 'Outback', to divest oneself of the trappings of civilization, and to live a simpler, more independent and more *authentic* life, is, I think, very strong. It is a theme that is widely expressed in the pseudo-exploration literature and in magazines catering to the leisure market, particularly those aimed at the 4-wheel drive, 'off-road', market.

Those who move out towards the centre, adopt new, more authentically Australian, garments (rough clothes – the felt hat, the boots, the tough trousers or ripped shorts, often ex-army gear); a new language of mateship and equality with a distinctive vocabulary and accent, and new attitudes to those whom they encounter. People wave at passing traffic, passers-by may even stop and come over for a 'chat' or a 'yarn', particularly if there is a warning that can be passed on. 'Watch out for the patch of "bulldust" up ahead' or perhaps, 'the road's washed out, and everyone's bogged up to the axles down there'. The language and the roles and norms can be heard both in the crowded, treeless, campsites which cater to the new mass tourism and among those who wish to camp alone, as all indulge in the authentic pleasure of yarnning. The journey out to the centre is characterized by an immediate friendliness, a dropping of the social barriers of class and status between men, a willingness to help those in trouble, and also, by a desire to struggle against the rigours of a harsh land and to conquer. The desire for conquest is a matter I shall return to in discussing the gendered space of the Australian symbolic world.

There are a number of parallels that indicate the way in which Ayers Rock might be considered as a developing pilgrimage shrine. These include the spatial structure of the site, the ritual and symbolism evident in tourist behaviour, settler concepts of the sacred-ness of the Rock, and the ways in which the Aboriginal presence at the Rock feeds into settler dreams of their authentically Australian identities.<sup>20</sup>

The ritual aspects are perhaps rudimentary as yet, but they are regular and recognizably those of pilgrimage sites even if at present those acts are more generally thought of as secular rather than religious. To begin with, Ayers Rock, like Mecca, is surrounded by a discrete area (administered by the Mutitjulu Community in conjunction with the National Parks and Wildlife Service), an area in which no life may be taken – visitors may not take any life nor cut any blade of grass within the sacred precinct, nor may any buildings, apart from those of the local Aboriginal Australian community, be erected near the Rock. On reaching the Rock, visitors can only stay at the tourist resort which lies 14 kilometres from the Rock itself, and they are not permitted to be in the area surrounding the Rock after nightfall. In many respects the Aboriginal keepers of the Rock who live within this forbidden realm come to act as guarantors of its authenticity, an ancient priesthood which knows the secrets of the Rock and its power, with more in common with the Meccan Eunuchs than they have with the settler pilgrims.

Then, the climbing of the Rock and the walk around its circumference are both characteristic of pilgrim behaviour at shrines elsewhere. In Knock (Ireland) and at Lhasa in Tibet, pilgrims climb the holy mountain, sometimes on their knees, and frequently expire on the way. At Ayers Rock every early visitor from Gosse to Finlayson to the members of the scientific parties organized by the South Australian Museum, all struggled manfully to the top. Those who now come as tourists do so, too, the climb also taking its toll on the elderly and foolhardy. The number of deaths at the Rock is steadily rising. The way is now marked by a hand-rail and the number of climbers of all ages is vastly increased.

Ayers Rock is known to settler Australians for its size and for its dramatic colouring. Each visitor goes to watch the Rock at sunset with the hope of seeing the vivid red of the daytime Rock change to the deep violet of its evening incarnation. The more enthusiastic go also at dawn, where they see the goldness redness of Rock rise from the blackness of the desert night. The redness of the Rock is part of a potent colour symbolism in which settlers see the central landscape as characteristically red. Visitors look for the redness as an indicator that they are entering the Centre, and it would be interesting to plot the red sand zones onto the map and see where the tourist destinations lie in relation to it, where the 'outback' might begin. The redness is evident in literary texts, paintings and film and is closely linked up with the centre's dryness and danger. The redness of the Rock and its pulsing transformations of colour give it a very special place in this imagery and those colour transformations act as a challenge to man's control of nature. Here is nature, primaevial and pristine, and man<sup>21</sup> is but as an ant upon its surface.

The circumambulation of the Rock by settler Australians also has a long history. In the past, the track lay close to the base of the Rock, and visitors moved through a series of Aboriginal sacred caves and water-holes. With the

closing of some of these sites and the establishment of a new track which makes the walk even longer (about 7 miles), the contact of the walkers with the Rock and its Aboriginal sites has been reduced. Evidence from other developing shrines, however, suggests that the new route around the Rock will eventually become more clearly linked in to the Rock's surface and mythology and the tour guides with their explanations and commentary should assist this process. Ayers Rock has indeed been transformed from an Aboriginal sacred site to an 'Australian' one which belongs to all by birth-right.

Information on the Rock and its significance comes to visitors mainly through settler Australians - through commercial tour guides and through the activities of the resort and National Parks employees. The Mutitjulu Community has some input through their liaison with the National Parks and Wildlife Service, but a great deal of the guiding is done by people who are quite independent of any Aboriginal control. This process ensures that the view of Aboriginal culture and nature that is obtained by tourists is essentially a settler view, one which uses Aboriginal Australians as exemplars of prehistoric society who have access to an ancient knowledge of the land. The reproduction of these images is important to Australian politics of race but it is a theme which is also taken up, elaborated, and appropriated by those pilgrims who see Ayers Rock as part of a global system of sacred sites.

## AYERS ROCK AND THE NEW AGE PILGRIMS

In addition to the flow of foreign and local tourists, Ayers Rock is now regularly visited by an international membership of mystics. Australian sacred sites are listed in the New Age 'Pilgrim's Guide to Planet Earth',<sup>22</sup> a handbook which gives a brief synopsis of Aboriginal spirituality and a list of Aquarian communities and festivals all over the world. Other sites of significance to the New Age movement are the Egyptian and Mayan pyramids, Stonehenge, the megalithic 'astronomical' site at Callanish in the Outer Hebrides, the Easter Island statues, and Mt. Fuji. There is an international mystical circuit on which Aboriginal Australians and Ayers Rock have gained a secure place.<sup>23</sup>

The popularity of Ayers Rock among mystics seems to be a relatively recent phenomenon, however, and the number of international pilgrims is low but growing. The foreign pilgrims at Ayers Rock are part of a world-wide mystical tradition which draws on a multitude of sources for inspiration. Mayan and Hopi Indian traditions have been prominent, as have the variety of forms of Hindu and Buddhist beliefs, Theosophy, Druidic beliefs and the Jewish mystical tradition. These religious ideologies feed into and mingle with Aquarian New Age and other alternative life-style philosophies. The numbers of those becoming aware of Ayers Rock through their participation in one or more fractions of the western mystical tradition is, I believe, increas-

ing very rapidly. The emergence of Ayers Rock into this world consciousness is of great significance as the number of potential pilgrims is very high.

At present international pilgrims who fall into this category are known to have come from America, Britain, Germany and Japan. These foreign visitors to the Rock do not think of themselves simply as tourists; they are people who think of themselves as seeking contact with mystical forces through the journey out to sites of particular power. Yet, as I noted above, tourism and pilgrimage have always gone hand in hand and the roles are interchangeable and interactive, distinguishable only partly through emphasis. The visitors who are at Ayers Rock who define themselves as pilgrims are, in my view, pilgrims in the full sense of the word. They have all the sociological qualifications of pilgrims as the Turners<sup>24</sup> would describe them and they share the characteristics and aspirations of pilgrims to Mecca or to Our Lady of Walsingham in England.

The understandings of these pilgrims, in common with those of their Australian counterparts, are expressed in purely cultural terms. The Aboriginal Dreamtime and the travels of the Dreaming Ancestors are understood as creative and originating forces, and Aboriginal ritual is a method of reaching that primal world. In interpreting Aboriginal religion, the works of Mircea Eliade are often referred to, so that the universal features of the spiritual path come into focus.<sup>25</sup> Of the anthropological texts, Elkin's *Aboriginal Men of High Degree* (1945, reprinted 1977) is important, as are some of Strehlow's writings. Aquarian writings on Aboriginal religion have two important characteristics. First, in the understandings of these texts that are presented,<sup>26</sup> there is no sense of any relation between a cosmology and a particular social structure, no sense of the politics of religious beliefs, but rather, a feeling of the timelessness and essential universal truths that such beliefs offer. And second, Aboriginal beliefs are homogenized so that it is possible to speak in generalities and to use a word or concept from here and another from there, without having to consider how widespread such ideas or practices were.

## THE NEW AGE IN AUSTRALIA

Some settler Australians are part of this international mystical movement. The significance of Aboriginal religion<sup>27</sup> and Ayers Rock for Australian New Age believers is developing rapidly. Ayers Rock is prominent in Australian Aquarian philosophies, it is sometimes held to lie on a line of power which connects directly with St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall<sup>28</sup> and it is at the Rock that the initial spark that will infuse the world network with light, will strike.<sup>29</sup> In Australia, it is common to find the same people influenced by a variety of philosophical traditions and committed to the same range of political causes. The range of small alternative religious and life-style groups in

Australia alone is very great. The groups tend to be small, unstable, but linked into a loose network. They must not be underestimated as taken together, they contain and influence very large numbers of people. Adelaide, a city of about one million people, contains at least five well-stocked esoteric bookshops which cater to this market.

Among the Australian groups involved are the Rainbow Group,<sup>30</sup> the Fountain Group and a range of meditation and therapeutic groups.<sup>31</sup> The Fountain Group, for example, in common with many others inside Australia and out, is particularly interested in the lines of the magnetic grid encompassing the world. Sites on the intersections of nodes of this grid are particularly powerful access points and ritual concentrates on getting the magnetic structures or forces of the body into a more natural alignment with those of the earth. Crystal therapy and magnetic therapies aim at this. There are also techniques for locating and making magnetic forces and lines visible, and techniques of intervention which aim at making the black forces of evil recede until they are replaced by white.<sup>32</sup>

The Aquarian pilgrim to the Outback and its Centre is very active. One contributor to *New Age News* writes of her trip to the Northern Territory: 'We were on a metaphysical journey seeking ways, by the use of Australian Bush Flower Essences, to help heal negative human emotions.... While we were in the north, I realized that the physical world has been very largely mapped and is known; but *now* the real pioneer work is in the area of "inner" space and in the growth of consciousness.'<sup>33</sup> Although I have separated New Age pilgrims from those tourist-pilgrims whose interest in Ayers Rock originates in more mundane concerns, this passage indicates the ways in which alternative cosmologies are very closely linked to the rationalities and concerns of mainstream settler Australians. The language and the mode of the search vary, but the underlying concern with identity and authenticity, and the use of pioneering and outback metaphors are common to all Australian pilgrims. The frontier is still there. In addition, the use of specifically Australian essences rather than the more traditionally known herbal remedies and scents, combines the belief that the Australian landscape is the oldest, with the belief that Australia was also the most isolated of the continents. It is when one goes out into 'the bush' that one can find the most ancient of essences preserved from interference and pollution by the physical and cultural isolation of the Australian continent from the rest of the planet. Timelessness and isolation are the key factors, factors which are potent in Australian race politics.

What I want to address, though, is not the detailed content of the beliefs and rites of these groups, but the universalizing claims they make and their implications for Aboriginal Australians. Let me begin with a paragraph from Selleck's booklet of visions and predictions for the coming of the New Age in February 1988.

For ten years I have had a vision of a gathering of people at Uluru.<sup>34</sup> They are there to take part in an awakening of deep mystery from within the Earth. They hold hands in a circle. A didjeridoo plays. A Great Light emerges from beneath the Earth at Uluru. It grows larger and larger until it encircles the Earth. All the people can then see. We are one. We are one. We are one.<sup>35</sup>

In one sense, these are the age-old sentiments of transcendent unity everywhere, but in the Australian context, they carry quite specific, local, meanings. Although there is a clear hope that the Aboriginal owners will join in, the 'they' who will all hold hands around the Rock are largely settler mystics. The unity that is sought is a unity which transcends all local differences and encompasses all religious traditions. In such a unification, Aboriginal Australians would, of course, lose their identity, their singularity, their difference. A great light will emerge, and Aboriginal religion will become united with everyone else's, that is with a settler mysticism that has already incorporated Aboriginal mysticism. Note, too, the use of the didjeridoo, a musical instrument not found in central Australia, but used to indicate the ancient secrets of Aboriginal Australian religion.

A crystal is thought to lie beneath Ayers Rock, and the Rock is held to be welded into the same web of power that supports the other sites of significance within this cosmology.<sup>36</sup> The significance of crystals in Australian Aboriginal ritual as described by Elkin<sup>37</sup> is a happy confirmation of the powers of crystals, for the most recent phase of crystal therapy arose from Hopi crystal imagery and the mining of Hopi Crystals by the Utah Mining Company.<sup>38</sup> A universal cosmology which originated in America, largely on the west coast, is therefore being used to provide an explanation of the spiritual power of an Aboriginal sacred site. This explanation supersedes those offered by Aboriginal cosmology and is used to explain the sacredness of the site to Aboriginals themselves. In addition to replacing the origin and cause of the power of the place, mystical explanations also point to links with other equally powerful places. Such explanations have the effect of negating local knowledge and reducing Aboriginal religion to a variation of a universal, often shamanistic, religion which is being defined and explored by settlers and which originates in western mysticism. Bits and pieces are taken from a variety of religions and traditions and are welded into something quite foreign. The Mutitjulu<sup>39</sup> analogy with quarrying is very apt, particularly so given the move away from material exploitation and towards cultural exploitation to which I referred earlier.

In addition to incorporating Aboriginal concepts into a new religion, the new mystics have their own rites, derived from non-Aboriginal sources, which they carry out at the Rock. They use their crystals to get at the power of the crystal under the Rock; they use their magic to produce global and local harmony, and so forth. They attempt to put the power of the Rock at the service of their own universalizing and egalitarian aims. Yet the response from Aboriginal Australians is often far from welcoming.



Aquarian claims to be in telepathic or 'direct' communication with the Aboriginal law men of Ayers Rock are not verified by those who are learned in Aboriginal ritual who live at the Rock. Settler attempts to tap into the power of the Rock are seen by local Aboriginals as simply more of what has gone before – now settlers are mining Aboriginal culture rather than the body of the land itself. And there is opposition to mystics who want to meditate at or on the Rock and perform their own rites during the night, as the sites of greatest power to Aquarians are those already identified as being most powerful by Aboriginals. These are precisely the sites that are forbidden to tourists and protected by settler law. The fear that Aboriginal secret sites will be violated yet again is very great, and well-founded.

At the time of the Harmonic Convergence of 16-17 August 1987, an event widely reported in the media,<sup>40</sup> park rangers had to blockade the entrances to Uluru National Park and make special searches of Ayers Rock and the Olgas to ensure that all settlers left the park at dusk. The Harmonic Convergence was an event originating in American entrepreneurial mysticism<sup>41</sup> which was understood in varying ways by the groups and individuals concerned with it. In Australia, Ayers Rock was the site of greatest significance and there were attempts to organize a large gathering of pilgrims there to, among other things, encircle the Rock with a human chain. One pilgrim describes the time as 'clearly marked as the long awaited quantum point in humanity's re-evolution ... the long promised Millennium of Universal Order will be heralded in...'<sup>42</sup> while another expects the transformation of the genetic blueprint of all living cells.<sup>43</sup>

Formal applications to hold a major gathering at the Rock were resisted by the local Aboriginal community, as were applications by pilgrims to camp together with their Aboriginal 'brothers'. Park rangers managed to intercept some of the convergers and prevented intrusions into the Aboriginal community. Yet one Aquarian<sup>44</sup> claims to have spent the night at the rock, despite being specifically warned off by the rangers, and claims that others did likewise, in order to conduct dawn rites in the Rock's large caves. Zable's claims may be spurious, yet others also say that they went in at dawn and the intent is there – the intent to put into practice the dictum that 'the Rock belongs to everyone', in this case, everyone who really understands. Aboriginal sacred sites are secret and to be protected from all but the settler mystics who also understand the eternal truths of Aboriginal religion. In other words, the universalizing and egalitarian sentiments of mystical doctrine are used to deny the specificity of Aboriginal belief, to disregard entirely the wishes of Aboriginal custodians, and to insert settler Australians into the very heart of that secret Aboriginal knowledge on which their only recognized claim to land rests.

In addition to settler attempts to incorporate the Rock into their own cosmologies, there are also the ambiguities posed by settler understandings of

the nature of these particular Aboriginal sacred sites. These ambiguities arise partly from the ready analogies drawn by settler mystics between Aboriginal concepts and those of settler cosmologies. For example, the Rainbow Serpent is linked to other serpentine symbols like the Loch Ness Monster; the notion of the spiritual links of individuals with the land is extended to give settlers their own 'dreamings', and the Harmonic Convergence rites in Sydney took the form of building a 'Rainbow Serpent' of sand on Bronte Beach. The 'Dolphin Dreaming' of the eastern coast is an example of a settler 'dreaming' that is very popular – the dolphin links into a set of beliefs about the mystical nature and speech of dolphins, their relations to the rainbow, and so on.<sup>45</sup> There were several 'Dolphin Dreamers' at Ayers Rock for the Harmonic Convergence. In addition, some therapy or healing groups offer courses in aspects of Aboriginal Australian cosmology.<sup>46</sup> Aboriginal social structures have been crucial for the Australian communalists right from the start when the first communes and festivals tried to organize themselves as 'tribes'<sup>47</sup> although they have a place in Australian settler beliefs that is generally unrecognized. In its present form, interest in Aboriginal Australian religion grew out of the attempt to peel away the corrupting structures of materialism and to resurrect earlier forms more suitable to the human psyche and body. In its Theosophical form, it derived from the search for the pre-Atlantan islands of Lemuria. 'A New Age group in Perth has published detailed accounts of Lemurian sites said to be found in Western Australia and throughout the other Australian states...' and early Theosophists thought that the Aborigines were the descendants of the ancient Lemurians.<sup>48</sup>

Yet the understandings of Aboriginal religion that are propagated are, of course, related to purely settler concerns. One of the other ambiguities which arises from such an engulfed cosmology, concerns the relation of Aboriginal sacred sites to gender hierarchies. Questions of gender are of importance not only to feminist mystics and New Age philosophies but to settler Australian 'tourist-pilgrims' to the Centre of the Outback. These latter are recreating the unrelentingly male ethos of the Australian frontier, even if they do so in a very comfortable way. In the case of New Age philosophies, it is important to note that the coming era will be one in which the female essence will triumph. The division and hierarchical structures of today's world will be replaced by a oneness that is essentially feminine and the feminine side of men that is held to be essential to a peaceable world will be able to emerge. As a result, women and men will be able to live together in a new harmony.

In the case of feminism, there are feminist women who are actively seeking to formulate theologies freed from the constraints of patriarchal thought. This difficult task has provoked an interest in comparative religions and in Australia, the rise of a feminist anthropology has provided new approaches to Aboriginal women's rites. The re-evaluation of the anthropology of Aboriginal women has merged with the doctrines and interests of those seeking a distinctively female-oriented religious life.

Some feminist mystics have been concerned to establish the existence of Aboriginal women's sacred sites and to extract from Aboriginal religions some of their important messages for women. It is now rather widely held that Mt. Olga and the surrounding hills are a women's sacred site. The Olgas have come to represent the new, feminine, world. The rounded intimacy of the Olgas is contrasted with the rigid, terrifying masculinity of Ayers Rock. The water-worn patches etched into one section of the Olgas are perceived as being vulvas - again, a symbolism developed by women who were seeking a contrast to the widely reported phallic symbolism that characterizes many religions. Such an interpretation of the Olgas contrasts with that of Aboriginal Australians and, indeed, constitutes a transformation of local understandings.

It seems to me that the rise of the Olgas as a female sacred site goes far beyond the Aquarian cosmologies within which it seems to have originated. It is connected to the same factors which are leading to the immense tourist activity at Ayers Rock. The significance of both places derives from their location within a settler cosmology in which Australian-ness and authenticity are worshipped in 'the Outback', in 'the Bush'. In the context of the cult of frontier masculinity which characterizes Australian society, a cult which has its structural, urban, focus on the Anzac myth and memorial shrines, the gender separation evidenced at the 'centre' of the outback makes a lot of sense. The blood-red Rock, its severity and harshness, epitomize 'the heart of the centre'. There is nothing soft or feminine about it. The Olgas, on the other hand, are held to be quite different and they are secondary. One goes to visit the Rock, and sees the Olgas if time and energy permits. Their ovoid form, their multiple curves, their vulva-like crannies - these are the feminine element writ large.

If it is indeed the case, that the Australian cult of frontier masculinity is at last developing an anti-structural sacred site at 'the centre', then we are faced with a site that carries radically independent sets of meanings for different social groups. A dramatic Aboriginal site is being converted into a site of significance to several opposed groups of settler Australians. The new values attached to it have nothing to do with Aboriginal religion, much of which is devalued into 'art' or entertainment. The new values building up around Ayers Rock have instead everything to do with the bonding of settler society through race and the hierarchical division of that society through gender.

There are, then, at least four sets of cosmologies circulating around Ayers Rock and the Olgas. The first of these is Aboriginal and is, of course, partly secret. In this cosmology, however, Ayers Rock carries sites of significance to women and to men, while the Olgas is a powerful and predominantly male place even though female ancestors travelled to it and left the insignia of their genitalia in passing. The second cosmology is the international mystical tradition with which the Australian movement shares much, especially its ori-

gins.<sup>49</sup> In this cosmology the Rock and the Olgas tend to be less overtly engendered, perhaps because of the universalistic sentiments and the explicit privileging of a notion of the eternal feminine enshrined in their beliefs. The crystals and power of the site on an international magnetic grid and network predominate in this group of beliefs. The third is the specifically Australian settler mysticism that contains many feminist aspects. It is this latter cosmology that defines the Olgas as a female sacred site. Ayers Rock is central to each of these, but it has also become immensely prominent in the cosmology of a much wider settler public through the massive increase in tourism, and it is this I see as referring to a mushrooming nationalism – to the gender structures of Australian society, to the struggle to develop some sense of identity and authenticity in a homogenizing world, and as receiving a terrific boost from the nationalist emphases of the bicentennial activities.

In the bicentennial process, through the re-creation activities of recreation, through the commissioning of new conservative histories,<sup>50</sup> through re-printing and re-issuing the earlier colonial literatures,<sup>51</sup> and through the redefinition of the authentic in terms of the landscape and outback in art and film, Aboriginal Australians are being pushed back to where they used to be, back into the primordial time and no-place of myth.

I now want to return to my opening remarks in which I stated that the term 'cultural appropriation' refers to the processes by which meanings are transformed within specific hierarchical structures of power. It is important to note that cultural appropriation refers not just to any meanings and not to meanings taken out of their political contexts. It is the place of meanings within a structure of power, in this case, within the structures of race, that renders them into sites of struggle.

In the case of Ayers Rock, a site of significance to Aboriginals has been incorporated into several distinct settler cosmologies in such a way that settler claims to land and settler versions of Aboriginal meanings are legitimated. In this case, settler nationalism marches hand in hand with its alternative, settler mysticism, so that in the bicentennial nationalist fervour of 1988, there can still be no place and no comfort for Aboriginals.

The political processes which have forced settler Australians to recognize and re-value Aboriginal culture have led to successful Aboriginal claims to land. These are the material bases which keep reconstituting the symbolic and cultural frontier at the centre of Australian race politics, the frontier which is critical to the rampant settler nationalism which glorifies that frontier, the conquest of the land and the particular form of masculinity that goes with it.

Yet Aboriginal claims to the land are still contested, and the nature of Aboriginal society and culture is a matter of fierce popular debate. That struggle for the land and the struggle to enforce existing race and gender hierarchies will come, it seems to me, increasingly to focus on Ayers Rock. As

more settlers make the journey out to the Rock as tourists and mystics, more live out the Outback myth of Outback egalitarian mateship. The rise of the Rock in settler cosmologies accompanies a conservative movement in Australian politics, one seen in many aspects of daily life, but one seen most clearly in the pace of the cultural appropriation of Ayers Rock.

## NOTES

1. Research for this paper was funded by the University of Adelaide. Unless otherwise stated, all information derives from the author's field-work at Ayers Rock and in Adelaide. I am particularly grateful for the assistance of Hilary Tabrett in suggesting further examples of appropriation and for explaining many aspects of Australian mysticism to me; and also to Annette Hamilton for a stimulating seminar on media imagery which indicated the direction and dimensions of the challenge.
2. R. White, *Inventing Australia. Images and Identity 1688-1980* (George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1981), p. 15.
3. I use *settler* and *Aboriginal* as adjectives to describe categories of 'Australians' to avoid the use of the categories of race, colour or culture.
4. A newspaper report on the hand-over of Ayers Rock to the Pitjantjatjara people was titled 'Centre of Power', for example, and begins with the statement that 'Ayers Rock is saturated with symbolism', R. Davidson & P. Tweedie, 'Centre of Power', *National Times*, 25 April - 1 May 1982, pp. 12-16.
5. Bruce Chatwin's novel *The Songlines* (Jonathan Cape, London, 1987) also plays on the notion of travelling across the land, setting it in an evolutionist perspective.
6. A. Hamilton, 'Media, Myth and National Identity', unpublished paper delivered at Macquarie University, Sydney, 1986.
7. Linguist and anthropologist, born of mission parents at Hermansberg Lutheran Mission west of Alice Springs, who worked in conjunction with the University of Adelaide and the South Australian Museum. See W. McNally's biography *Aborigines, Artefacts and Anguish* (Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1981) and Strehlow's partial autobiography *Journey to Horseshoe Bend* (Sydney, 1969).
8. J. Morton, 'In Search of Lost Law: A Preliminary Study of T.G.H. Strehlow and his Presentation of the Aranda' (unpublished paper, Macquarie University, Sydney, 1987).
9. 'Australian Kakadu Tours 1986/87 Package Holidays', Ansett & Australian Airlines.
10. There are dozens of titles of books that play on this symbolism - Ernestine Hill's *The Great Australian Loneliness*, J. Kirwan's *An Empty Land*, Sydney Upton's *Australia's Empty Spaces*, H.H. Finlayson's *The Red Centre. Man and Beast in the Heart of Australia*, C.T. Madigan's *Crossing the Dead Heart*, Mrs A. Gunn's *We of the Never Never*, and so on.
11. Victor Turner developed his notions of structure and anti-structure in relation to African cults, and then applied them to European pilgrimages in V.W. & E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1978).
12. The Anzac myth carries some of the meanings and functions of a national origin myth, but at present remains set in historical time.
13. The reference is to Marilyn Strathern's influential paper 'No nature, no culture: the Hagen case' in C. MacCormack & M. Strathern, eds., *Nature, Culture and Gender* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980).
14. J.H. Plumb, *The Death of the Past* (Boston, 1971).
15. The actual centre of the Australian landmass lies at Central Mount Stuart, north of Alice Springs.
16. H.H. Finlayson, *The Red Centre* (Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1936), p. 40.
17. I refer to the disappearance of Azaria Chamberlain from the camp-site at Ayers Rock and the subsequent prosecution of Mrs Lindy Chamberlain for murder. The body of the baby was

- never found and Mrs Chamberlain was imprisoned in Darwin. Her husband was charged as an accessory to the murder. Mrs Chamberlain claimed that a dingo stole her baby from the tent. Media reportage was scandalous, and police investigation incompetent. After a series of investigations, Mrs Chamberlain was eventually released from prison, but she served over four years, a sentence that would never have been imposed had she been willing to plead post-natal depression. A film is now being made of the incident, with Merryll Streep in the leading role. There is already an extensive literature commenting on the case.
18. The sociological aspects of pilgrimage are developed much more fully in a forthcoming paper, 'The Creation of an Australian Dreamtime', an early version of which was presented at the Anthropology Seminar, University of Sydney, April 1988.
  19. I use *sacred* and *secular* as empirical native categories only.
  20. This factor is played on increasingly by the advertizing industry. An image of Ayers Rock is used to advertize everything from car batteries to women's clothing.
  21. I use 'man' not in a generic sense, but as a reproduction of the form of discourse used. The bush is a male domain and women have no place in it. In a separate paper, I argue for the maleness of Ayers Rock and the essential relation of the discourse of the bush to gender hierarchies.
  22. P.S. Khalsa, ed., *A Pilgrim's Guide to Planet Earth* (Wildwood House, London, 1981).
  23. Cf. R. Grossinger, *Planetary Mysteries, Megaliths, Glaciers, the Face on Mars and Aboriginal Dreamtime* (North Atlantic Books, Berkeley, 1986) and Adelaide Fountain Group's newsletters.
  24. V.W. & E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (University of Columbia Press, New York, 1978).
  25. P.S. Khalsa, op. cit., p. 252.
  26. *Understanding Aboriginal Culture* by Cyril Havecker (Cosmos Periodicals, Sydney, 1987) and *Crystal Woman. The Sisters of the Dreamtime* by Lynn V. Andrews (Warner Books, New York, 1987) both illustrate this point.
  27. J. Newton, 'Aborigines, Tribes and the Counterculture', *Social Analysis*, forthcoming.
  28. *Adelaide Fountain News* 25: 6, 28 April 1986.
  29. V. Selleck, *Winged Serpents Dancing* (Shekinah Foundation, Thora, 1987), p. 21.
  30. Rainbow, unicorn and butterfly - seen as being the three fundamentally important symbols of the magic movement. Wika, referring to new life and potentiality, sexual power and soul or spirit.
  31. EST (Erhardt Seminars Training), JEL (Joy, Energy, Life) and Insight, for example. Channel 10 in Sydney ran a New Era Programme for some time.
  32. In Adelaide these techniques have been applied to Glenelg, a site of drunkenness and to Mt. Barker Road at a corner notorious for traffic accidents.
  33. K. White, 'Mapping Inner Space', *New Age News*, 1 (9) (1987), p. 7.
  34. The Aboriginal name by which Ayers Rock is known.
  35. V. Selleck, op. cit., p. 22.
  36. Aunt Millie Boyd is quoted as saying that a crystal also lies beneath Mount Warning in N.S.W. in *New Age News* 1 (9) (1987), p. 6.
  37. In *Aboriginal Men of High Degree*, op. cit.
  38. I am indebted to Hilary Tabrett for this information.
  39. Mutitjulu Community is located at Ayers Rock.
  40. 'Mayan Hopes for Harmony', *The Weekend Australian*, 15-16 August 1987; 'Gathering was so Harmonious', *Central Australian Advocate*, 19 August 1987.
  41. From the teachings and visions of José A. Argüelles, 'Harmonic Convergence, the Last Call' in a newsletter distributed by Planet Art Network, Boulder, Colorado, 1986; and see also *Adelaide Fountain News* 39, 9 October 1987: 7. Other meetings were held at Mt. Warning (N.S.W.), Bacchus Marsh (Victoria), Victoria Square fountain in Adelaide, and at Bronte Beach in Sydney.
  42. R. Bee, 'Harmonic Convergence Playback', *Maggies Farm* 37, December, p. 26.
  43. *Adelaide Fountain News* 39, p. 8.
  44. B. Zable, 'Report from Uluru', *Maggies Farm* 37, December, p. 26.
  45. Dolphin symbolism comes from America, too, and Lynn Andrews gives them a pivotal place in her account of the path which brought her to Australia in order to do battle with the forces of evil which are sapping the strength of Aboriginal Australians. One therapy group

- offers seminars on dolphins and whales, Dolphin Dreamtime meditation tapes, dolphin whale products (*Nexus New Times* 3 (Summer 1987) page 49).
46. For example, Natural Living Potential Centres in Cairns offers various therapeutic techniques plus 'Multilinguals, Aborigines, Psychologists, Medicos', *Nexus New Times* 3 (Summer) 1987, p. 47.
  47. J. Newton, op. cit.
  48. N. Drury & G. Tillet, *Other Temples, Other Gods* (Methuen, Sydney, 1980), pp. 10-11.
  49. J. Newton, op. cit.
  50. Like Molony's (1987) *The Penguin Bicentennial History of Australia* and the reappearance of Manning Clark's *Short History of Australia* in a Penguin illustrated edition plus a new children's version.
  51. Particularly the exploration narratives, the diaries and so on; but also the new editions of the works like those of Mrs Anaeas Gunn and Mary Durack which are now considered to be classics.