

## Black Mountain Symposium 2018 Background Paper No. 21

### Quick guide to creative/artistic material about Black Mountain

Julie Hotchin

julie.hotchin@gmail.com

**Abstract.** Black Mountain has inspired creative works from writers and artists since the Limestone Plains were selected as the site for the national capital. This background paper presents a brief overview of selected creative and artistic works inspired by Black Mountain since the early 1900s. The imposing form of Black Mountain featured in the paintings commissioned to portray the landscape of the future capital and in works by artists from the 1920s to the 1940s. Writers have also been inspired by the mountain and the scenic backdrop it creates for the city. Black Mountain has been the subject of verse and described as the setting for fiction in works by local and national authors. Its flora and fauna have inspired a book for children and artworks in various visual media since the 1980s, including drawings, ceramics, photography and textiles. Composers and local musical ensembles have also drawn inspiration from the mountain. While most of these creative responses have been produced locally, several of these writers, artists, photographers and musicians who lived or worked in Canberra have established national and international reputations. Black Mountain and its striking vistas have become a recognisable feature that evokes the ‘Bush Capital’ and the ‘city in the landscape’, representing the natural and aesthetic values of its setting and the individual creator’s responses to this place.

More recently, Black Mountain and the telecommunications tower are employed to convey ideas about a ‘modern’ Canberra. Stylised images of the tower feature prominently in popular culture. Despite the initial controversy over the tower’s construction, it has become an icon of the city reflected in diverse contemporary media such as film, tattoo art and pop art.

#### 1. Introduction

Artistic and creative responses to Black Mountain evoke a broad range of meanings. This background paper introduces a range of visual, literary, textile and musical responses to Black Mountain from the early twentieth century to the current day. Creative responses have focussed on the mountain as a part of the hills surrounding Canberra, a key feature in the ‘amphitheatre’ of the city, as a natural feature within its landscape, or on the plant and animal life it supports. Literary responses also engage similar themes, with the addition of a strong satirical tone in the 1970s during the height of the controversy over the construction of the Telstra Tower. References to Black Mountain in poetry and fiction also describe place, offering a distinctly local character to writing that engages with everyday concerns beyond the ‘Canberra’ of the media. The panoramic scenic backdrop of Black Mountain and its rich ecology have also inspired photographers, botanical artists and ceramic art, discussed briefly in Purdie<sup>1</sup>.

#### 2. Painting and drawing

Early depictions of the site of Canberra, including Black Mountain, represent Federation era ideas about landscape and national identity. The selection of the site for the capital was influenced by an emerging sense of identity, expressed through images of the Australian landscape. The site for the future capital was to ‘occupy a commanding position, with extensive views, and embracing distinctive features which will lend themselves to the evolution of a design worthy of the object’.<sup>2</sup> In recommending the site for the Federal Capital, surveyor Charles Scrivener praised the site that

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<sup>1</sup> RW Purdie, ‘Black Mountain educational, recreational and creative activities’. Black Mountain Symposium 2018 Background Paper No. 17 (Canberra, Friends of Black Mountain, 2018).

<sup>2</sup> H McMahon, Minister for Home Affairs, instruction to Charles Scrivener in 1908, cited in Ken Taylor, *Canberra: City in a Landscape* (Halstead Press, 2006), p. 31.

would become Canberra, admiring the ‘amphitheatre of hills with an outlook towards the north and north-west, well sheltered from westerly winds’. To further promote the region proposed for the new capital, a competition was established to paint the Federal Capital site. The instructions for the artists emphasised elements of the landscape considered most suitable for the site of a future capital. The paintings were to be of a ‘panoramic nature, with midday effect preferred to some evening or scenic effects’, and executed with topographical accuracy. The winning painting by W Lister Lister<sup>3</sup> and that awarded second place by Penleigh Boyd<sup>4</sup>, both simply titled ‘The Federal Capital Site 1913’, depict ‘grand sun-drenched golden vistas’ scattered with stately eucalypts, with the timbered bulk of Black Mountain appearing to the right.<sup>5</sup> Both paintings were acquired by the Commonwealth and are in the collection of Parliament House.

As Ken Taylor has observed, the ‘hills define[d] the city’s setting’ from the beginning.<sup>6</sup> Other early images depict Black Mountain’s presence as an imposing natural feature within the panoramic landscape. Charles Coulter’s cycloramas, prepared for the Federal Capital design competition in 1911, depict 360-degree views of the city site landscape from what are now City Hill and Capital Hill. They dramatically convey the ‘amphitheatre’ of the location’s setting.<sup>7</sup> Other early images also feature Black Mountain as a backdrop to activity on the plains below. William Johnson’s sketch ‘Federal Camp at Canberra, mess tent, Federal members’ quarters and official tent, Black Mountain’ (1909), depicts a series of tents set among eucalypts at the base of the mountain. Johnson was one of the Parliamentary members in favour of the Canberra site for the capital. The overall impression is of the dominating quality of the mountain in contrast to the diminutive tented camp and a building, likely Action Homestead, in the foreground.<sup>8</sup>

The work of later artists featured the mountain’s form in quite different ways. Several images of Black Mountain painted or drawn between the 1910s and 1940s focusing on the shape and density of the mountain itself, emphasising its presence and effect within the landscape, rather than the mountain as part of the hills and ridges surrounding Canberra.

Sydney artist Eirene Mort included a sketch of Black Mountain among those she produced during several stays in Canberra with relatives in the early 1920s.<sup>9</sup> Her drawings centred on aspects of rural life and skills that gradually were being superseded by the progress of the capital. Mort depicts the mountain as a massive bulk rising in the distance of the image. The sheep quietly grazing in the foreground evoke an ‘agrarian landscape of a nostalgic decline, as if to set it against the coming city’.<sup>10</sup> She collected her sketches of the Canberra region for an exhibition she hoped to hold at the opening of Parliament in 1927, although her plans were not realised.<sup>11</sup>

Just a few years later, in 1931, Grace Cossington Smith’s painting ‘Black Mountain’ renders a strikingly different vision of landscape.<sup>12</sup> Cossington Smith had been invited to Canberra to instruct the wife of the Governor-General, and from her base in Yarralumla she painted several scenes of Canberra. She was strongly influenced by the idea of landscape as spiritual and she

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<sup>3</sup> W Lister Lister, ‘Federal Capital Site 1913’, Australian Parliament House, Historic Memorials Collection: <https://nga.gov.au/exhibition/CAPITAL/Default.cfm?IRN=215530&BioArtistIRN=25493&mystartrow=25&realstartrow=25&MnuID=SRCH&ViewID=>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Penleigh Boyd, ‘Federal Capital Site 1913’, Australian Parliament House, Historical Memorials Collection: <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135214794/view>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>5</sup> Miriam Kelly, *Capital and Country: The Federation Years 1900-1913* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2013), p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Taylor, *City in the Landscape*, p. 154.

<sup>7</sup> *Canberra’s Federal Capital Design Competition 1910-1912 in Snapshots* (Canberra, 2013), pp. 3-4, 7.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Federal camp at Canberra, mess tent, Federal members quarters [and] official tent, Black Mountain’ [picture], by W Elliot Johnson. National Library of Australia, Bib ID: 904786.

<sup>9</sup> <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134824355/view>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Brown, *A History of Canberra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 90

<sup>11</sup> Eirene Mort, *Old Canberra: A Sketchbook of the 1920s*, with an introduction and notes on the sketches by Pat Wardle (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1987).

<sup>12</sup> <https://nga.gov.au/Exhibition/cossingtonsmith/Detail.cfm?IRN=133763&ViewID=2>, accessed August 2018.

revelled in colour as an expressive medium to convey deeper truths about landscape forms.<sup>13</sup> Her 'remarkable' depiction of Black Mountain portrays the mountain as a dark bulk, tilted on an angle, beneath the bold blue brushstrokes of the sky and the ground extending in the foreground. The sense of energy and movement is amplified by the tilting telegraph poles in the foreground. Cossington-Smith portrays an 'iconic rural landscape' in a manner that challenged the prevalent notion of landscape as a national symbol.<sup>14</sup>

A second modernist image of Black Mountain was painted by Roland Wakelin, a friend of Cossington Smith, in 1944.<sup>15</sup> This painting dates to the latter part of Wakelin's career, when he had shifted from use of colour as the chief medium of expression to greater tonal qualities, such as greater use of grey and brown in his painting. His 'Black Mountain' has romantic overtones. The scale of the densely treed mountain occupies the middle of the image, with a feature, perhaps the sandstone quarry, catching the light to the right of the image (the mountain's eastern side). The diminutive figure of a man approaches the mountain on a path, and the scene is illuminated by the light shifting beneath the clouds. The composition of this work, showing a figure moving along a winding path towards a mountain, is similar to other works Wakelin painted in the mid-1940s.<sup>16</sup> Wakelin's 'Black Mountain' is depicted with dense, dark tree cover, perhaps an allusion to the mountain's name. The sombre tones and size of the mountain suggest it dominated the surrounding landscape. Once again, the landscape is portrayed as rural, with little, apart from the quarry, to suggest the expanding city nearby.

In 1987 artist Stephanie Radock employed Black Mountain tower as a point of perspective to observe and draw the panoramic mountain landscape. The resulting sketches, prints and linocuts were exhibited in her *Black Mountain Project* at the opening of the Contemporary Art Space in Canberra in July 1987, and a further 60 drawings were displayed in the downstairs space in the tower at the same time.<sup>17</sup> Radok drew upon early descriptions of the distinctive light and panoramic images of the mountains encircling Canberra, such as those represented in the cycloramas of Charles Coulter in 1911, for inspiration. A quote from the back of a 1920s photograph, reproduced on the rear cover of her booklet, indicates how she identified her project within a tradition of admiration of the city's natural setting: 'Hilly country between Canberra and Mount Coree. It stretches to every horizon like ocean waves on a stormy day.'<sup>18</sup> Radok used the tower's viewing galleries as a base from which to observe and reflect the changing light and appearance of the mountains around Canberra. Sitting on the gallery for hours in the March afternoons, she described the 'hills glowing with pink light that vibrates through the air'. She produced 150 drawings over two months, after which selected works were transferred into prints and linocuts. Her works represent the shape of mountains and the tonal qualities of shifting light in a contemporary abstract form.

The continuing Aboriginal connections to Black Mountain are strikingly represented in a design by Georgia Mokak (a Djugun woman who grew up on Ngunnawal and Ngambri country, and who is now based on Gadigal Country). Her image blends the topography of the mountain and the campus of the Australian National University on its slopes with the lines of the university's roads. Georgia's work was selected as the Australian National University's design for Reconciliation Week in 2017. She describes her response to the work as 'acknowledging this space and its

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<sup>13</sup> Denise Mimmocchi, 'Unveiling nature: landscape in the 'epoch of the Spiritual', in *O'Keefe, Preston, Cossington Smith: Making Modernism*, ed. by Lesley Harding and Denise Mimmocchi (Art Gallery of New South Wales and Heide Museum of Modern Art, 2016), pp. 43-63.

<sup>14</sup> Ann Stephen, 'Grace Cossington Smith Black Mountain c. 1931', in *Making Modernism*, p. 66. Stephen describes the mountain as 'bare and treeless', although it is more likely that this appearance is due to the dark grey paint the artist used and not the actual degree of vegetation covering the mountain at the time.

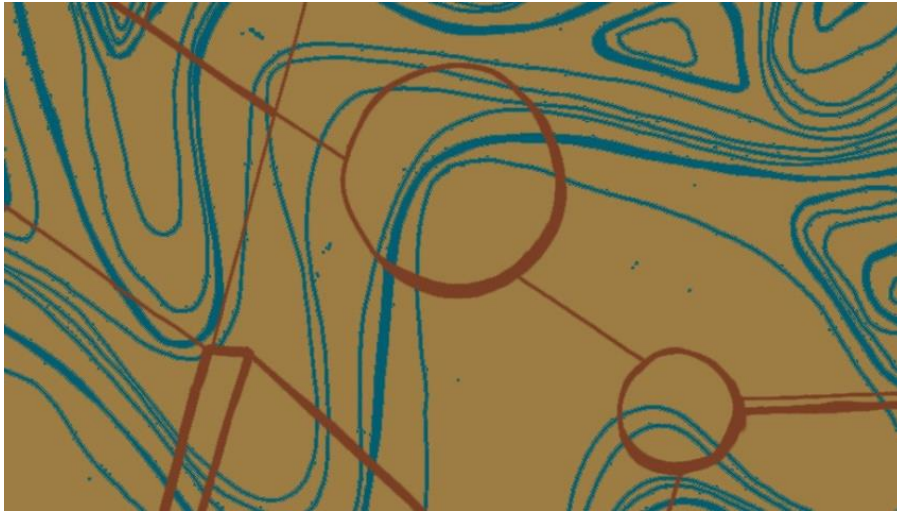
<sup>15</sup> <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/3168/>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>16</sup> For example 'Landscape with Figure' (1943) and 'Sunday: Upper Hutt (N.Z.)' (1947) in Leslie Walton, *The Art of Roland Wakelin* (Seaforth: Craftsman's House, 1987), plates 65 (p. 83) and 76 (p. 92).

<sup>17</sup> Stephanie Radok, *The Black Mountain Tower Project* (Deakin: S. Radok, 1987).

<sup>18</sup> *Tower Project*, p. 1. The text on the rear cover indicates that it was 'written on back of photograph in Mildenhall Collection 1926 National Library of Australia.'

continuing culture regardless of the inevitable gentrification'. She chose to 'interweave lines from the topographical maps, the bush and lines from some of the identifiable structures around the ANU campus to encourage further learning and deeper engagement with this space and its relationship to the surrounding area.' Georgia states that the design is a visual acknowledgement of continuing relationship with the place rather than a verbal one: 'No matter how many layers of concrete, excavated land, or stories of building there are, you will always be on Ngunnawal and Ngambri Country.'<sup>19</sup> Significantly, the design also suggests the impression of past generations and their journeys and uses of the mountain overlaid with those of the present.



**Fig. 1.** Georgia Mokak, Black Mountain, 2017.

Black Mountain features prominently in works by contemporary Canberra artists. For example, Susan Trudinger portrays Black Mountain in her vibrant, fun and colourful scene of the Balloon Festival held in March each year.<sup>20</sup> With the National Arboretum in the foreground, the mountain provides a backdrop and recognisable setting for the activity. This work is an example of contemporary art that emphasises the lightness, open space, and visual appeal of the mountains and the activities centred around the lake and the city's national cultural institutions. Another local artist, Martin Paull, depicts Black Mountain in bold strokes of colour, accentuating the moving clouds and shifting light as it passes across the treed slopes. The play of light and colour on the mountain are also characteristic of Micky Allan's *Black Mountain Suite*, discussed below.

On a different scale, Black Mountain's flora and fauna is also popular with botanical artists. Cathy Franzi's installation *62 Orchids:Black Mountain*, exhibited in 2015, formed part of her doctoral research into the representation of Australian flora on ceramics. Sally Mumford's watercolours of Black Mountain's birds and vegetation aimed to connect people to the landscape, to promote its beauty and its protection.<sup>21</sup>

### 3. Photography

The striking setting of Black Mountain, the tower on its summit and its flora and fauna are popular with photographers.

Well-known local photographer Heide Smith's photographic records of local scenes and activity in Canberra in the 1980s include images of Black Mountain as part of her visual exploration of place and local identity. In the preface to *I love Canberra II*, she writes that her photography is a

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<sup>19</sup> Personal communication with Georgia Mokak, August 2018, and announcement of the award at <http://www.anu.edu.au/news/all-news/student-behind-the-reconciliation-week-graphics-off-to-venice-biennale-for-a-month>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>20</sup> <https://bluethumb.com.au/susan-trudinger/Artwork/black-mountain-and-balloons>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>21</sup> The works of these artists are discussed in more detail in Purdie, 'Recreational, Educational and Creative Activities.'

way to record the growth of a new city, 'of history in the making.' She emphasises the visual appeal of Canberra, particularly for photographers: 'it's a great spot to own a camera.' Her *I Love Canberra II* contains several images of Black Mountain, each exploring an aspect of the mountain's relationship to the city and its landscape.<sup>22</sup>

More recently, Mairi Barton's photographic portraits of the tower on the summit are the focus of her book *Black. Black Mountain photo series by day and night*.<sup>23</sup> Her photography explores the concept of 'black' through images of the tower and the mountain under varying conditions. Her work presents meditative responses to place through its changing light and atmosphere in a similar manner to the artwork of Stephanie Radok, albeit from a different orientation. Other photographers have been inspired by the mountain's biodiversity and the beauty of the natural bush and its inhabitants. Local photographers Col Ellis, Michael Hood and ecologist David Wong have focussed on aspects of the area's flora and fauna. They aim to showcase the mountain's diversity and to educate the public about the value of nature on their doorstep.<sup>24</sup>

The tower, too, has become a photographic subject in its own right, featuring in the portfolios of local photographers such as Glenn Martin<sup>25</sup>, Chilby Photography<sup>26</sup> and Ilya Genkin.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4. Literature

Black Mountain has provided inspiration for generations of local and national writers. Manning Clark's celebrated roof-top study in Forrest afforded panoramic views towards both Black Mountain and Mt Ainslie. The poet Alec Hope once remarked on the view: 'I see books being written here'. He was right; this was the space in which Clark wrote his six volume *A History of Australia*.<sup>28</sup> The novelist Christina Stead, when she was staying in University House, reportedly took delight in the view of the tower from her window, and was comforted by it at night.<sup>29</sup> Black Mountain has been the subject of poetry and children's literature, and described as the setting for fiction and in verse. The emphasis and tone of this literature varies widely. A strong theme of the poetry, especially of the 1970s, is a growing environmental awareness, along with a strongly satirical criticism of the telecommunications tower. The following is a very brief introduction to a necessarily small selection of works written about Black Mountain and how it has been used to convey a specifically local sense of place.

##### 4.1 Poetry

Canberrans feel strongly about their 'urban forest'. Ideas of the 'bush capital' have contributed, since the 1960s, to a creative awareness and engagement with environmental issues through poetry. Judith Wright is the best known of these poets, noted for how her sensitivity to the Australian bush and its conservation infused her writing. In the opening lines of her 'Brief notes on Canberra' she admires its landscape setting as a 'tawny basin in the ring of hills [holding] nothing but the sunlight's gaze,/a blue-blank opaline mirage'. The plains and the lake are

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<sup>22</sup> Heide Smith, *I Love Canberra II* (Canberra: Heide Smith Photography Pty Ltd, 1986). The images are: 'Looking from Mt Taylor into Woden Valley', 'The Telecom Tower', 'Canberra in evening seen from Mt Pleasant', Lake reflecting yachts at anchor and the Telecom Tower'

<sup>23</sup> Mairi Barton, *Black. Black Mountain photo series by day and night* (Canberra: Mairi Barton, 2016). See also <https://pinchmyself.org/welcome/creative-life/photos/photography-books/black-a-black-mountain-photo-series-by-day-and-night/>, accessed October 2018.

<sup>24</sup> Purdie, 'Recreational, Educational and Creative Activities.'

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.glennmartin.photography/>, accessed October 2018.

<sup>26</sup> <https://chilby.com.au/Telstra-Tower>, accessed October 2018.

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.genkin.org/cgi-bin/photo.pl/australia/canberra/au-canberra-0039>

<sup>28</sup> Milton Cameron, *Experiments in Modern Living: Scientists' Houses in Canberra 1950–1970* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2012), p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Ann Moyal, *Clear Across Australia: A History of Telecommunications* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1984), p. 289.

surrounded by mountains as if in an ‘arena, amphitheatre, gallery.’<sup>30</sup> Her allusion to an amphitheatre and how it suggests an expansive panorama echoes the responses of the earlier generations who beheld the plains in the early twentieth century. Wright strongly opposed the plan for a telecommunications tower on Black Mountain. She was one of the witnesses called by the Citizens’ Committee to Save Black Mountain to give evidence in their legal challenge to its construction. She resisted the notion that the mountain provided an ‘impressive podium’ for a man-made structure, and imagined this intrusion upon the natural line of the mountain as a threat to all the hills surrounding Canberra and beyond.<sup>31</sup> In a verse written about Black Mountain she describes the terrified near hills of the city warning the more distant ones about what had befallen Black Mountain, urging them to keep their distance:

*At night the near hills  
flash to far ones  
Danger danger.  
Don’t come down here,  
Danger danger.  
Stay up there or  
they’ll kill you.*<sup>32</sup>

Dorothy Green, another Canberran poet and literary scholar known for her environmental awareness, composed a longer sombre and satirical piece that imagines the construction of the tower as a ‘murderous’ intrusion upon the summit. In ‘Mount Majura to Black Mountain. Te saluto moriturum’ Green adopts the classical motif of a valedictory address to someone who is about to die (‘Te saluto moriturum’ which translates as ‘I salute you who will die’) to express grief and loss for the imagined death of the summit after it was crowned by the tower. Her verse appeared in the *Canberra Times* on 24 March 1973, amidst the ferment following the release of the Environment Impact Statement for the tower. The Citizens’ Committee to Save Black Mountain was established at this time, which later mounted a legal challenge to the tower’s construction.<sup>33</sup>

The verse opens with an imagined serenade from Mount Majura in praise of the unity of the hills surrounding Canberra. Black Mountain is addressed as the ‘Dark hill that is the centre of our peace’, crowned with ‘golden fire’ by the setting sun. The mountain is set into the landscape, nurturing a thriving ecology: ‘Soft to the water leans your curving shoulder,/Sheltering each season’s secret generation/of flower and creature.’ The construction of the tower results in a ‘fool’s cap’ adorning the summit, destroying this natural setting. The ‘megalomaniac tower’ is ridiculed as a statement of ‘the great image of authority’, that requires ‘a huge concrete hat/upon a mountain top to show its power’. She is highly critical of the Post Office, who designed and built the tower, which was destined to become ‘an everlasting and most melancholy/Monument – to envy, greed and folly.’ This verse lament echoes the tenor of opposition to the tower at the time. Green adds her voice to calls for Black Mountain’s summit to remain free of built structures and to retain the visual integrity of the city’s hills.

Criticism of the proposed telecommunications tower, and of the process through which it was imposed—as many thought at the time—upon Canberra, features prominently in satirical verse published in the *Canberra Times* during the height of the tower controversy in the early 1970s. These verses comment wryly on the self-aggrandisement of government agencies and the expense of the project. Representative of this strand of verse is ‘Tower economy’ by Joan Lynravn, who

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<sup>30</sup> Judith Wright, ‘Brief notes on Canberra. I. City and Mirage’, in *Collected Poems 1942-1985* (Sydney, Fourth Estate, 1994; 2016 edition), p. 326.

<sup>31</sup> Artist Sir William Dargie described Black Mountain as an appropriate ‘podium’ for the tower in his evidence to the hearing in the ACT Supreme Court; Eric Sparke, *Canberra 1954-1980* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1988), p. 260.

<sup>32</sup> Republished in the *Canberra Times*, 14 May 2012.

<sup>33</sup> Julie Hotchin, ‘Black Mountain as a place of protest: tower, gondola and highway.’ Black Mountain Symposium 2018 Background Paper No. 20 (Canberra: Friends of Black Mountain, 2018).

was secretary and research assistant to Professor Keith Hancock in the School of History at the Australian National University, and part of the academic circle that led the legal challenge against the tower:

*The PMG has two designs  
For his Black Mountain Tower,  
Towards steel or concrete he inclines  
For boosting TV power.*

*It might be far more apt if he,  
With postage up once more,  
Used cardboard for economy  
And old stamps for décor.<sup>34</sup>*

Underlying the satire, however, is a sense of loss, of being witness to the pace of change as the city expanded and familiar natural landscapes, especially those that once formed 'Greater Black Mountain', were fragmented and built upon.<sup>35</sup> Two verses out of many illustrate this sentiment. 'The Birds' by Ruth Molloy is a meditation on renewal and regeneration after the construction of the Molonglo Arterial (Parkes Way) in the mid-1970s separated the mountain's lower slopes from the lake.<sup>36</sup> The speaker mourns the loss of the 'wild birds/of the Lake/underneath the/brow/of Black Mountain's arc' where she had learned to 'show my grief/at man's invasion/of their world/with his divisive/partitioning/of what they knew/ and I went no more ...'. The natural restoration of the lakeside parallels the recovery from grief. Then, after a time, the speaker hears a currawong singing in the university grounds, enticing her to the Lake, where 'the wild birds/are calling!'.



**Fig. 2.** Telstra Tower. Photo: Angus Thompson (Wikimedia Commons).

Joan Lynravn's 'The Man Who Hated Trees', published in the *Canberra Times* on 25 July 1970, conveys a darker tone of simmering anger and frustration at the gradual destruction of Black Mountain by planning decisions in the period immediately prior to it being declared a nature reserve. The verse is a fable about one Fred Bloggs 'a town planner and road engineer' who was

<sup>34</sup> 'Tower economy', by Joan Lynravn, *Canberra Times*, 2 October 1971, p. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Mark Butz, 'The Canberry Ranges, Black Hill, Black Mountain, 'the Golden Hill' and beyond.' Black Mountain Symposium 2018 Background Paper No. 19. (Canberra: Friends of Black Mountain, 2018).

<sup>36</sup> *Canberra Times*, 11 March 1978, p. 11.

‘frightened of trees’. Fred admired his ‘network of roads, some of concrete, some tar’ which ‘soon covered the landscape both near and afar/While scarcely a small shrub remained/In the once garden city.’ Black Mountain, ‘almost “undisturbed” bush’, was the last to be targeted by the planners’ roads, only narrowly escaping that fate because of its declaration as a reserve. She likens this decision to “Fred Blogg’s Waterloo”, a victory for nature over the encroaching city. Lynravn captures the tension of competing ideas about the value of Black Mountain. Conservationists, led by the National Parks Association, campaigned to preserve the site as native forest, while the National Capital Development Commission, responsible for roads and planning, sought to preserve its slopes for future roads.<sup>37</sup> Behind the wry humour Lynravn expresses deep appreciation for the natural environment and the preservation of what remained of the former expanse of native woodland on Greater Black Mountain. Poetry written in the context of the controversy over the tower formed part of a distinctly local expression in the 1970s. It was shaped by local poets and writers whose works touched on distinctly Canberran themes—suburbia, the ironies of political and bureaucratic life, their relationship to the city, and the dimensions of its natural setting—landscape, wildlife, light and the shifting seasons.<sup>38</sup> Black Mountain appears less frequently in verse after the tower controversy, and where it is mentioned, it tends to be referenced as a mountain backdrop to the city, in relation to the lake or as a feature that lends a recognisable sense of place.

The verse of Sergio Mouat, a local poet who settled in Canberra after fleeing Chile under the Pinochet regime, speaks of the city as restorative. ‘Inspired by the beauty of the landscape and the tranquillity of Canberra’, he photographed local places and described them in verse. These works appeared in an exhibition titled *Canberra, Where the Wattle Blooms* in the Legislative Assembly in April 2003.<sup>39</sup> The publication arising from this exhibition is a tribute to the city’s natural and built features, including Black Mountain. His poem in praise of the mountain describes its ‘dense foliage bereft of sun’ making ‘it look dark’, alluding to the origins of its name. The tower on the summit ‘seems to hang from the sky’ while its slopes host the Botanic Gardens ‘where sing birds that care for this sacred place, an altar to the Aborigines.’<sup>40</sup> This is a rare poetic instance in which Aboriginal connections to Black Mountain are acknowledged as a layer of the many meanings of this place.

Black Mountain conveys a recognisably local mood and setting in other works. Michael Clarke describes a ‘winter-smear’d October day’ in which the mountain appears as a backdrop to his musings on the movement of people and traffic in the rain.<sup>41</sup> The expansive vista taking in the lake and the water jet to ‘the tall spire on the black summit’ serves as a point of orientation in Frankie Seymour’s ‘The City of Illusions’.<sup>42</sup> SK Kelen’s ‘Prelude’ juxtaposes Black Mountain Tower against the natural features of the Brindabellas. The elongated, exposed form of the tower accentuates the rawness of the winter wind as it ‘hums and rings/like a syringe singing to the city’ in contrast to the ‘spiral breath’ of the trees. The city’s ‘bastard tower’, ‘telecommunicating’ thoughts, remains an odd juxtaposition with the surrounding mountains.<sup>43</sup> In Charlotte Clutterbuck’s ‘Why I still go to Church’ the ‘Big Syringe/of modern communication on Black Mountain’ is contrasted with the intimate human scale of the spire of St Stephen’s in Manuka.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Butz, ‘The Canberry Ranges’.

<sup>38</sup> Brown, *Canberra*, pp. 209-10.

<sup>39</sup> Sergio Mouat, *Canberra: Where the Wattle Blooms. A Collection of Poems and Photographs*. Translated from Spanish by Marisa Cano (self published by Sergio Mouat, 2004).

<sup>40</sup> Mouat, *Where the Wattle Blooms*, p. 28.

<sup>41</sup> Michael Clarke, ‘Canberra in October’ in *The Poetry of Canberra*, ed. by Philip Mackenzie (Canberra: Polonius, 1990), p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Frankie Seymour, ‘The City of Illusions’ in *Poetry of Canberra*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>43</sup> SK Kelen, ‘Prelude’ in *Goddess of Mercy* (Blackheath: Brandl & Schlesinger, 2002); see also <https://www.poetrylibrary.edu.au/poets/kelen-s-k/prelude-0764004>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>44</sup> Charlotte Clutterbuck, ‘Why I still go to church’, *Eureka Street*, Vol. 20, no. 4 (2 March 2010): <https://www.eurekastreet.com.au/article/why-i-still-go-to-church>, accessed October 2018.



The metaphor of the tower as a syringe shows the enduring appeal of this image, which was first used to describe the tower's design when it was first revealed in November 1970.<sup>45</sup>

Local poet Paul Hetherington's verse 'Gesture' is a whimsical reflection on the function and form of the spire:

*The tower becomes  
an insouciant gesture,*

*A robotic scout  
for a future city,*

*Or the letter 'I'  
in wild silence.*

'Gesture' accompanies a striking image of the elongated spire, the 'I' rising above the treetops, by photographer Jen Webb in their *Watching the World: Impressions of Canberra*.<sup>46</sup> Originally produced as a collaborative piece for the 2013 centenary exhibition *Imagine Canberra*, the book aims to engage with the 'everyday and unexpected aspects of Canberra, while also including new perspectives' on the city's better known landmarks. Its explicit focus is on Canberra a lived city, 'the place we call home'.<sup>47</sup> Here, as in other media, the tower on Black Mountain represents the 'ordinary parts of town', one of the features that has come to represent the lived experience of local residents in the city in contrast to the 'Canberra' of government.

## 4.2 Fiction

The beautifully written and illustrated children's book *My Little World* introduces the plant, insect and animal life of the dry woodland forest of Black Mountain to a young audience.<sup>48</sup> The author, Julia Cooke, was inspired as a child by the details of bush insects and other tiny creatures that inhabit the forest, and which are difficult to see. Written in verse, her story relates the curiosity of a young child exploring the forest with her grandparents, and the plants and insect life they discover along the way. Originally written as an English assignment when the author was a student at Narrabundah College, *My Little World* reveals the author's curiosity and deep appreciation of the wonder of nature and how to introduce to it to others. The illustrations by Marjorie Crosby-Fairall are richly detailed and attractive. They are also scientifically accurate, depicting the species likely to be encountered on a walk on Black Mountain in October. The book includes a list of plant, insect and animal species described and illustrated within its covers. *My Little World* was launched by Ian Fraser at the Australian National Botanic Gardens on 9 April 2011.<sup>49</sup> The author's curiosity with the ecology of Black Mountain led her to pursue science as a career, and she is now a plant ecologist and Lecturer in Ecology at the Open University in Milton Keynes, United Kingdom.<sup>50</sup> *My Little World* is an excellent example of the creative educational engagement with the plant and animal life on Black Mountain in the tradition promoted by Nancy Burbidge in the 1960s.

Black Mountain also appears, less prominently, as a setting for children's fiction. Michael Salmon's popular *The Monster That Ate Canberra* includes the mountain as one of the recognisable features of the city for young readers. First published in 1972, the illustrations and text in successive editions of this book document the changing appearance and significance of Black Mountain. In the first and early editions of the book, the mountain is portrayed as part of the scenic backdrop to Lake Burley Griffin, where the hero of the story, Alexander the bunyip,

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<sup>45</sup> Hotchin, 'Place of Protest', p. 4.

<sup>46</sup> Paul Hetherington and Jen Webb, *Watching the World: Impressions of Canberra* (Canberra: Blemish Books, 2013).

<sup>47</sup> Paul Hetherington, cited at: <https://www.canberra.edu.au/about-uc/media/monitor/2015/july/canberra-captured-in-new-uc-book>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>48</sup> Julia Cooke, *My Little World*. Illustrated by Marjorie Crosby-Fairall (Gosford: Scholastic, 2011).

<sup>49</sup> <https://anbg.gov.au/gardens/about/media/11-04-1-MyLittleWorld-book-launch.pdf>

<sup>50</sup> <https://juliacooke.net/>

decides to settle.<sup>51</sup> The black and white ink image depicts early 1970s Canberra, with Black Mountain, surmounted by the two mesh radio masts, clearly visible in the background. In 2004, a revised edition of the publication, included an updated image of the lake, including Black Mountain and Telstra Tower in the background. In this edition, the tower now features in the story as one of the city's landmarks eaten by the bunyip. The tower's shape is described as like a 'gigantic ice cream sundae with nuts on top'. People stop the bunyip eating mid-bite, shouting 'That's our tower'. The humorous tale reveals how the structure had come to express the identity of Canberrans. The bunyip theme continues in the children's story *The Bunyip of Haig Park* (1997).<sup>52</sup> Black Mountain is described here as a place 'where buniyps still live', possibly inspired by the well-known tale about Alexander. A young bunyip is forced to leave home on the mountain, after which he befriends a boy in Haig Park. The black and white illustrations depict Black Mountain crested by an angular, stylised tower, showing a recognisable setting for the narrative. The association of Black Mountain with mythical creatures may be an allusion to the legend about a cave on Black Mountain, imagined to have been a hide out for bush rangers.<sup>53</sup>

The local author of crime fiction, Dorothy Johnston, employs the Telstra Tower as the scene of crime in her detective novel *The White Tower*.<sup>54</sup> According to the blurb, the body of a young man is discovered at the base of the 'famed communications tower atop Canberra's Black Mountain'. The image on the dust jacket cover for the 2006 edition portrays the upper part of the tower reflected in white evening light against a moody background and the reflective visage of the female protagonist.<sup>55</sup> Chapter Four opens with an evocative description of place. As the detective drives towards the tower on the road to the summit she is struck by the view of 'Canberra laid out like a dream, smell of the bush, its fingerprints all over Black Mountain.' The mountain 'squatted' under the tower, implying its imposing presence, especially from below, while the tower itself, 'so tall and white, so elongated, needle-thin' looked like a 'stick building where stick figures went to play.'<sup>56</sup> Here the mountain and the tower, set slightly apart from the city, despite its encroachment, act as the setting for this murder mystery.

## 5. Textile art

The exhibition *Poetry and Place*, curated in 2017 by Dianne Firth of the University of Canberra, explored a collaboration between how artists working in different media, in this instance poetry and textiles, responded to the experience of nature and landscape in Canberra. Firth notes that Canberra is often derided for *not* being like other cities, although many have been inspired by its environment and 'cherish its beauty, changing seasons, contact with nature and space.'<sup>57</sup> Firth invited poets to write about their experience of landscape in Canberra. She, in turn, created large-format textile artworks in response. The exhibition included fourteen of these paired works in creative dialogue.

One pairing expresses responses to Black Mountain. Local poet Subhash Jaireth's poem 'Ngambri (Black Mountain): Walking with Kobayashi's Snail' is a meditation on walking the mountain that takes inspiration from a short verse by Kobayashi Issa (1763–1828) called the 'Snail': 'Oh Snail,/ Ever so slowly climb/Mt Fuji'.<sup>58</sup> In contrast to the majesty of Mt Fuji the author encounters Black

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<sup>51</sup> Michael Salmon, *The Monster That Ate Canberra. A Book for the Younger Generations of Canberra* (Canberra: Summit Press, 1972; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1974). Revised editions published by the National Capital Authority in 2004 and Halstead Press in 2011.

<sup>52</sup> Kathleen McConnell, *The Bunyip of Haig Park*. Illustrated by Jenny Yim (Canberra: Ginninderra Press, 1997).

<sup>53</sup> Butz, 'The Canberry Ranges'.

<sup>54</sup> Dorothy Johnston, *The White Tower* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> [https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1236459.The\\_White\\_Tower](https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/1236459.The_White_Tower)

<sup>56</sup> *The White Tower*, p. 20.

<sup>57</sup> Dianne Firth, *Poetry and Place* (Bruce: University of Canberra, 2017) and the review by Helen Musa in *City News*, 30 August 2017: <http://citynews.com.au/2017/arts-diannes-inspiration-takes-lot-poetic-licence/>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>58</sup> Firth, *Poetry and Place*, p. 16.

Mountain as a ‘pimple on a flat landscape. Like a hairy wombat it squats with ease and poise.’ In his regular walk, three times a week, the author is ‘happy to skirt around the spiky tower that looks at home squirting waves of wordless sounds’ and instead to move through the ‘the palette of endless green tinged with hesitant dashes of yellow.’ The poem also reflects on the meaning of the place, juxtaposing the Aboriginal (‘Nyamudy’) term Ngambri, or breast, with the ‘Black’ of the settlers, ‘a glib euphemism for dark, dangerous, unknown and unknowable’, hinting at the darker side of Canberra’s colonial settlement and expansion.



**Fig. 3.** Dianne Firth, Ngambri (Black Mountain): Walking with Kobayashi Issa’s Snail (2017), Panel 3 of 3. Photo: Art Atelier Photography.

Dianne Firth’s textile response is a triptych of Black Mountain, in which the mountain is screened by thin, greyish, undulating trunks. The form of the trunks and modelling of the ranges are sparse and evoke the influence of Japanese design, gesturing towards Kobayashi’s verse. Firth’s Black Mountain expresses landscape as form. It also celebrates the woodland that covers the mountain; evoking the thin trunks of *Eucalyptus macrorhyncha* and *E. mannifera* on its western slopes.

Textile artist Sally Blake has created a database of fabric dyes using *Eucalyptus* species based on research conducted at the Australian National Botanic Garden from June to November 2016. Her research resulted in the creation of a *Eucalyptus* dye database in which dyes based on the leaves or bark of various eucalypt species used to colour fabric such as wool, silk or linen are recorded. The database lists each eucalypt species and provides an image of the colour achieved when the dye was based on leaves or bark, and using different mordant, or no mordant at all. The result is a remarkable kaleidoscope of earthy, warm tones. Sally also includes instructions for preparing the dyes and her observations about suitable mordants and processes for an effective result. Although not focussed on Black Mountain *per se*, Sally’s research included the most common eucalypt species on the mountain alongside many others found in the Botanic Gardens.<sup>59</sup>

## 6 Music

Black Mountain has also inspired acoustic creativity. In 2002 local painter Micky Allan and classical cellist David Pereira collaborated on a work for the exhibition *Artists and Musicians – Collaborations*, for which they produced the piece *Black Mountain Suite*. In her notes about this project, Micky Allan relates how they explored ideas for the exhibition and settled on Black Mountain, ‘one of Canberra’s landmark mountains’, as their subject. They structured their day into four sessions, conceived as progressing through time of the day, which they later named Early, Sun, Storm, and Late. Allan described the interaction between music and paint as ‘exhilarating’, stimulating both artists to create works of mutual inspiration: ‘Sometimes he would lead with a sound and I would respond with strokes of paint, then I might splash in a colour,

<sup>59</sup> <https://sallyblake.com/eucalyptus-dyes-1/>, accessed August 2018. Sally’s project was supported by the Australian Government through the Australia Council for the Arts and the Australian National Botanic Gardens.

which would then suggest to him a new sound; it was like a dance.’<sup>60</sup> Pereira composed a four-movement piece for solo cello and Allan a ‘sequence of four dynamic and moody landscapes with swift brushstrokes of pure colour.’<sup>61</sup> Pereira’s composition was published the following year as *Black Mountain Views*. He performed the work most recently in a concert titled ‘Sounding the Arboretum’ at the National Arboretum as part of the Canberra International Music Festival on 13 May 2013.<sup>62</sup> This seems a particularly apt performance setting for a work inspired by one of Canberra’s densely tree-topped hills visible from the Arboretum.

Several local music groups across a diverse range of musical genres have drawn on Black Mountain as an expression of local identity. The Black Mountain Brass Ensemble were active in Canberra in the early 1990s, performing at the ANU.<sup>63</sup> The Black Mountain Band are a local four piece ‘heavy metal band’ who describe themselves as: ‘A cold wind blowing from the heart of a desolate nation, Black Mountain are a four piece black metal band from Canberra. Pagan hymns and sounds of war.’<sup>64</sup> Their boldly designed logo incorporates the summit of the mountain crowned by the telecommunications tower and the words ‘Pagan Hymns’.<sup>65</sup> A contrasting musical style is offered by The Black Mountain String Band who refer to themselves as ‘a fantastic celebration of old time string band music: where three fiddles and voices harmonise with infectious rhythms of banjo, guitar and double bass.’<sup>66</sup> The Black Mountain Piano Quartet came together as ‘the result of creative collaborations between the four players in various combinations. Together they express a passion to explore and share a love for the piano quartet repertoire.’ A promotional photograph of the ensemble shows them standing on the edge of the lake, with Black Mountain as a backdrop. When asked why the quartet chose Black Mountain as their name Jason Li, violinist, responded that they all ‘love’ Black Mountain and it is situated in the geographic centre of where the members live. Black Mountain represents the imaginative and spatial ‘heart’ of the group.<sup>67</sup>



**Fig. 4.** The Black Mountain Piano Quartet.

<sup>60</sup> Micky Allan, ‘Notes on Collaboration with David Pereira’, <http://www.mickyallan.com/Bodies/Pereira.html>, accessed August 2018, and Purdie (2018), Black Mountain Symposium Background Paper No. 17, p. 16.

<sup>61</sup> Russell Smith, *Muse*, May 2003: <http://www.mickyallan.com/Bodies/Pereira.html>.

<sup>62</sup> David Pereira, *Black Mountain Views. Music: Solo Cello* (Canberra: Violoncello!OneWithYourSound, 2003). Audio highlights for this concert: <http://www.cimf.org.au/2013-concert-11-sounding-the-arboretum/>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>63</sup> Black Mountain Brass Ensemble, Item 324 AU ANUA 226-324. <http://archivescollection.anu.edu.au/index.php/black-mountain-brass-ensemble>

<sup>64</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/pg/blackmountainblackmetal/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/blackmountainblackmetal/about/?ref=page_internal)

<sup>65</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/pg/BlackMountainBand/posts/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/BlackMountainBand/posts/?ref=page_internal)

<sup>66</sup> <http://blackmountainstringband.com/>

<sup>67</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/TBMPQ/>. Jason Li, personal communication July 2018.

## 7. Performance Art: Stelarc, 1982

Perhaps one of the lesser known artistic activities inspired by or performed on Black Mountain was the performance art activity exhibited by the Cyprian performance artist Stelarc on 10 October 1982. In its prime during the 1960s and 1970s, artists used performance art to reinterpret art as more than objects in museums. Since the mid-20th century Stelarc (born Stelios Arcadiou) has employed technology to explore limitations and challenges to the human body. In the late 1960s, he made a suspension work in which he was hung in a harness, but in the mid-1970s he achieved his suspension works by means of fine meat hooks inserted through his body. Stelarc has suspended himself in around 25 performance pieces between 1976 and 1992 in a variety of locations—over the ocean, in warehouses, between two buildings in New York. They are explorations into determining the limits of the body in relation to forces of nature, particularly the law of gravity.

The performance in Canberra took place in large eucalypts on the ‘foothills’ of Black Mountain. As performance is, by its very nature ephemeral, the photographs document this artistic performance. A photograph of the installation, ‘Prepared tree suspension event for obsolete body number six, Black Mountain’ is held by the National Gallery of Australia.<sup>68</sup> The image captures the artist as he is suspended from the limbs of *Eucalyptus* in the foothills of Black Mountain. The size and scale of the tree limbs overshadow the dimensions of the human body, while also providing the structure upon which it can be suspended. The trees are integral to the intent of the performance, providing the means of suspension and representing the organic unity of which the human body is part. Stelarc describes the experience of the body as:

*stretched between what it never was and what it could never become; suspended between the inward pull of gravity and the outward thrust of information, the body returns to the tree, anxious and vulnerable affirming its primal origins, amplifying its obsolescence. [. . .] The breeze is blowing over aerodynamic stretched skin, the body is attaining planetary escape velocity. The brain is bursting from its genetic confinement, hovering between gravity and fantasy, intuitively.*<sup>69</sup>

"Prepared Tree Suspension: Event for Obsolete Body No. 6",  
Black Mountain, Canberra 1982.

## 8. Popular culture: the tower as modernist icon

More recently, Black Mountain and the telecommunications tower have been employed to convey ideas about a ‘modern’ Canberra, and stylised images of the tower feature prominently in popular culture. Despite the initial controversy over the tower’s construction, it now holds great appeal as an icon of the city as reflected in diverse contemporary media such as film, souvenirs and pop art.

From the time it opened in May 1980, the Black Mountain tower was adopted across a range of visual media as an icon of Canberra. In 1981 it featured prominently in a poster advertising a rally for full employment on May Day. The tower is depicted as a moated castle, with its entrance boarded up, while a group of people in medieval dress joust, feast and dance on the grass imagined to surround the tower at the summit. Another poster promoting local community radio station 2XX, dated sometime between 1981 and 2000, depicts the tower on Black Mountain next to a silhouette of Parliament House, while a witch figure sparks her wand above the mountain. The text below the image expresses the station's aims: ‘and she looked down and said "Let there be a voice loud and strong. A voice for the people, by the people!"’. Both posters indicate how the tower quickly became associated with grassroots, local activities tinged with a mood of resistance to government. The Black Mountain Sub-Branch of the Australian Labor Party, based in Turner, adopted a logo depicting a syringe shaped tower atop the summit for the Black Mountain News in

<sup>68</sup> An image of this performance accompanied by a description by Anne O’Hehir is at <https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/Detail.cfm?IRN=35323>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>69</sup> Commentary on performance from the artist’s website: <http://stelarc.org/?catID=20316>, accessed August 2018.

1991. Once again, the satirical image seems suggestive of symbolic resistance to authority. The tower, constructed after such opposition, in turn appears to have acquired playful meanings associated with subverting bureaucracy, authority or government—characteristic themes shaping life in Canberra. Images of the tower are used to promote local products. Black Mountain Coffee, a special blend roasted locally by Seven Miles, was developed specifically for Canberra’s boutique coffee scene.<sup>70</sup> Recently, the tower’s design has been adopted to represent the city for the tenth anniversary of the popular Canberra Handmade Markets. Local designer Little Noisy Miner was commissioned to draw the tower as one of 10 special items to commemorate this anniversary. The streamlined design of the spire and viewing platforms adorns prints and forms an eye-catching semi-circular image on publicity material and shopping bags specially produced for the event. The tower has developed into a recognised and much-loved symbol of the city adopted here to celebrate the local identity of the market and Canberra’s burgeoning design scene.

Tattoos depicting images of Telstra Tower are another increasingly popular means by which Canberrans express their identification with the city. As reported in the local press: ‘Nothing says ‘I love Canberra’ quite like a Telstra Tower tattoo.’<sup>71</sup> Those who want to display their ‘love for Canberra in a profound way’ on their skin, but not permanently, can instead use Missy Minzy’s temporary tattoos. Created by a local designer, these temporary tattoos feature images of the city’s landmarks including ‘Parliament House, Telstra Tower, balloons and our iconic bus shelters (and much more!).’<sup>72</sup> The popular, playful, designs of local artist Mick Ashley also include the tower. His poster ‘Wifi’ depicts a group of people mesmerised by the rays emanating from Black Mountain Tower. Titled ‘City of the Dammed’, the image plays on the technological themes associated with the tower and popular images of the city.<sup>73</sup> The modernist structure of the tower, praised in the early 1970s as a ‘symbol of our new technological age’, has inspired images of a contemporary, even futuristic city since its opening. A striking example is the use of the tower as the location for the science fiction adventure *Blue World Order*, which premiered at the Canberra International Film Festival in 2016.<sup>74</sup> Set in a ‘post-apocalyptic wasteland’ the movie’s promotional poster and trailer feature the tower as the centre of the action, a solid structure guarded by armed warriors who gaze into the distant orange haze. Starring Billy Zane, Jack Thompson and Bruce Spence, and filmed entirely on location in Canberra, the publicity material warns the viewer that ‘you will never look at Black Mountain Tower the same again’!

## 9. Conclusion

Black Mountain has represented shifting ideas about the idea of the national capital and the community of local residents who inhabit it. The diverse artistic and creative responses to the mountain reflect shifting ideas about depicting landscape, responses to the emerging environmental consciousness in the city from the 1970s, as a familiar place to express local identities. It continues to convey ideas about the ‘bush capital’ alongside notions of a contemporary city. More recently, Canberrans have come to identify with the elongated spire and futurist design of the telecommunications tower. Black Mountain and its tower over time has become an icon of the city, identified with the local community in Canberra in contrast to the more political community on ‘the Hill’.

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<sup>70</sup> <https://www.sevenmiles.com.au/brands/black-mountain/>, accessed October 2018.

<sup>71</sup> <https://www.canberratimes.com.au/national/act/new-tattoo-trend-telstra-tower-and-more-great-canberra-tattoos-20170203-gu59qo.html> and <https://www.canberratimes.com.au/national/act/you-asked-for-it-canberra--more-telstra-tower-and-act-tattoos-20170210-guac28.html>, accessed October 2018.

<sup>72</sup> <https://handmadecanberra.com.au/tattoos/>, accessed October 2018.

<sup>73</sup> <https://mickashley.com.au/product/wifi/>, accessed August 2018.

<sup>74</sup> <https://ciff.com.au/event/blue-world-order/>, accessed August 2018.

Georgia Mokak for permission to reproduce her design of Black Mountain and for sharing her personal response to her work, and to Jason Li of the Black Mountain Piano Quartet for permission to reproduce the image of the ensemble.

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